



# G R E A T H I S T O R I C A L M U T I N I E S



*Sydney Bay - Norfolk Island.  
Prisoners of the Pitcairn Islanders*

WILLIAM P. N  
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AND EDINBURGH





# GREAT HISTORICAL MUTINIES

COMPRISING THE STORY OF

*THE MUTINY OF THE BOUNTY*  
*THE MUTINY AT SPITHEAD*  
*THE MUTINY AT THE NORE*  
*MUTINIES IN HIGHLAND REGIMENTS*  
*AND THE INDIAN MUTINY*

DAVID HERBERT, M.A.

EDITOR OF THE WORKS OF SMOLLETT, FIELDING, STERNE, MOORE,  
ETC., ETC.

WILLIAM P. NIMMO  
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## PREFACE.

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THE authorities followed in writing this volume will be acknowledged by all as the best on their respective subjects—at least, for the purpose the author of it had in view. That was to supply a readable book, on a subject of historical interest, in which every fact stated could be relied on as authentic. The authorities chiefly followed are—for the Mutiny of the *Bounty*, Sir John Barrow and Lady Belcher; for the Mutinies at Spithead and the Nore, Mr Johnson Neale; for the Mutinies in Highland Regiments, Stewart's "Sketches of the Highlanders of Scotland," and the journals of the period, especially the *Scots Magazine*; and for the Indian Mutiny, Chambers's "History of the Revolt in India." There were many books to choose from for the last mutiny, but the volume named has been most largely made available. Wherever it seemed in reasonable taste the author has quoted his authority, or otherwise referred to it; but he has not thought it either necessary or seemly to obtrude well-known names upon his readers, as if to catch a reflection of the credit due to them. Thus he makes no pretension to supply his readers with new facts. He is responsible only for choosing a subject of sufficient interest, culling as judiciously as he can from ample materials at hand, and making such reflections during the course of the narrative as seem to be just and useful.

As to the subjects, the mutinies recorded in this volume are unique in the history of the world. Their story is a peculiar inheritance of the British nation. The *Bounty*, the object for which she sailed, the adventures of the mutineers, and the living result visible to-day in Norfolk Island, have no parallel in history. Fiction pales before the results. Lord Byron's "Island," partly founded on it, is tameness itself when compared with the thrilling story as it reads in tolerable prose.

Mutinies like those at Spithead and the Nore could not break out under any other Government that ever existed, but that of

Great Britain, for two reasons besides many others. These are no nation up till their time ever had such a navy; and no other nation in the world could have been heartless enough, or foolish enough, to drive such a navy, by oppression and barbarous treatment, to the extremities which re-acted upon their oppressor and gave them such a fright as brought them a little nearer to reason, and led the way to the comforts which "jolly tars" now enjoy. This phrase "jolly tar," as then used, described the British seaman as he was to be seen on shore—the most degraded of men, in the company of beings more deeply sunk than himself in social debasement. Richard Parker and his associates were benefactors to the British navy, saving it, as they did, from the ruin being worked for it by George III., Mr Pitt, and their adorers. The evidence for this is ample in the pages devoted to the two stories.

The pluck, truthfulness, and daring bravery of the mutinous Highlanders is only paralleled by the treachery and ignorance of those who regarded them as a set of gullible savages, fit only to be the victims of vulgar English cheats. The evidence of this too is very ample.

One would rather not reflect on the Indian Mutiny. It was an iniquitous rising cruelly suppressed; and there was nothing else for it. It revealed in appalling hideousness what an other wise gentle, kindly people could do when they thought their religion was in danger. May the world in due time, by the spread of the knowledge and power of truth, untrammelled by the meretricious shackles of any form of superstition, be set free from the possibility of a repetition of such horrors, springing from social caste and religious zeal! One breathes hard after reading or writing about this fearful revolt, and thinks surely the world must still be very young. Vain, ignorant, upsetting boys are proverbially cruel. Their sports are cruelties to themselves and less offensive creatures. The man mellowed by contact with realities alone is considerate, kindly, and merciful. If there is even the remotest parallel between the development of an individual and that of the human race, the story of the Indian Mutiny, and of all the mutinies in this volume, of every other mutiny, indeed of nearly every event in history, seems to suggest that the world is still in its vain, ignorant, inconsiderate, and very cruel youth. To reveal the truth about it, however it be, is at all times profitable, and this volume is offered as a very humble contribution towards widening the knowledge of a number of particularly significant and attractive occurrences.

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# GREAT HISTORICAL MUTINIES.



## INTRODUCTION.

A MUTINY is an event of much deeper and wider significance than a riot or a tumult. It always supposes, which these do not, a plot and a plan, as well as leaders and followers, mutually pledged to a particular line of insurrectionary action. On the other hand, a mutiny is on a ~~smaller~~ <sup>more</sup> ~~smaller~~ <sup>smaller</sup> scale than a rebellion, although, like the latter, ~~it is~~ <sup>it is</sup> always put down; and it is in this respect that a revolt differs from both. With a revolt we generally associate the idea of a successful issue to the hostile rising. In very ancient times, ten tribes of Israel revolted from allegiance to the royal house of David; and certain colonies in America revolted last century from Great Britain, under the rule of the regal house of Brunswick. A mutiny is commonly spoken of as an unsuccessful insurrection in the army or navy. Mutineers are usually soldiers or sailors; and the affecting, deeply interesting stories which make up the contents of this volume, are a record of sufferings, trials, defeats, and triumphs in the services which employ these two heroic classes. But a mutiny may arise wherever

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## INTRODUCTION.

bodies of men are under special disciplinary restraint. Restrictive regulations fret the mutinous spirit. Slaves have mutinied; so have convicts; and it would not be difficult to imagine a mutiny of monks. In the ordinary sense of the term, however, there is always a suggestion of sadness associated with a mutiny. It implies oppression, daring, defeat, with ever a gleam of benefit secured in the remote issues of despair. Good reasons can generally be discovered for a great mutiny in the oppressive arrangements of government, and in the way in which these are carried out, or alleviations of them neglected, by the immediate superiors of mutineers. Great bravery, and intelligence of no mean degree, are required to organise such a rising, while there must be considerable force of character in those who can inspire men with confidence in an enterprise which must always end in a cruel demonstration of its hopelessness. The result of nearly every one of the gloomy historical events of this sort has been, and is bound always to be, a crushing overthrow in the meantime, and an ultimate triumph of the principle contended for. The leading mutineer has not unfrequently been the martyr of his order, just as has often been the case of the political agitator. Those were true martyrs who suffered imprisonment and death for the principles of the great Reform Bill, before it was passed in 1832; they sacrificed liberty and dear life for privileges of much narrower range than those we now regard as still in need of large extension. Amid all the tumult to be told in the stories of this volume we shall descry here and there a martyr mutineer, and many a very dissimilar sort of character.

Wherever men are marshalled there may be a mutiny, and this has been the case in all time, among all tribes and nations. We meet with such insurrections at the very beginning of history. It was a mutinous host which Moses led out of Egypt into the wilderness of northern Arabia.

When that great leader and legislator "delayed to come down out of the mount," Sinai, where he was in deep communion with Jehovah about the people and the laws which were to be most beneficial for them they mutinied, and willingly parted with their "golden earrings," that they might be melted, and moulded into a "golden calf"—a very appropriate object of worship for them. And mercilessly was the mutiny quelled. When all the sons of Levi gathered round Moses against the mutineers, he said, "Put every man his sword by his side; go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour. And the children of Levi did according to the word of Moses, and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men." Miriam and Aaron were appallingly rebuked at another time for an attempt at heading a mutiny against their brother. She was, as a punishment, made "leprous, white as snow;" and Aaron was compelled to express a humiliating confession of folly. Three leaders—Korah, Dathan, and Abiram—later on, with "two hundred and fifty princes of the assembly, famous in the congregation, men of reed," rose up against Moses and Aaron, "and said unto them, Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them: wherefore, then, lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of the Lord?" This is a genuine utterance of the mutinous spirit. The result was frightful; the three leaders, and their wives, and their sons, and their little children, were, we are told, engulfed by the earth, which "opened her mouth and swallowed them up;" and they all "went down alive into the pit; and the earth closed upon them: and they perished from among the congregation." At another time, a scarcity of bread and

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Hebrews is a long record of memorable mutinies; and of them, the most affecting, the one which touches the hearts of sympathetic readers with the tenderest regrets, is that one in which Absalom, a son of whom King David was vainly proud, rose against his father, and broke the heart of the good old warrior, statesman, musician, and poet—one of the most remarkable and accomplished men of ancient times.

Homer's Iliad opens with an account of a portentous mutiny; and on it and its results, the whole story of that majestic poem hinges. The grievances which induced Achilles, the principal hero of the Iliad, to shut himself up in his tent, refusing to take any further part in the war, was the forcible abduction by Agamemnon's orders, of his beloved captive mistress, Briseis. But in the course of that angry disputation of heroes, which led to this iniquitous show of a tyrant's impertinence, Achilles runs over a list of grievances, of a nature similar to those which have times out of number been regarded as good and sufficient reasons for such military and naval insubordination. As translated by the late Lord Derby, he with scornful glances, flung in the teeth of Agamemnon, the following burning words at the close of a bitter speech:

“With thee, O void of shame! with thee we sailed,  
For Menelaus and for thee, ingrate,  
Glory and fame on Trojan coasts to win—  
All this hast thou forgotten, or despised;  
And threat’nest now to wrest from me the prize  
I laboured hard to win, and Greeks bestowed.  
Nor does my portion ever equal thine,  
When on some populous town our troops have made  
Successful war; in the contentious fight  
The largest portion of the toil is mine;  
But when the day of distribution comes,  
Thine is the richest spoil; while I, forsooth,  
Must be too well content to bear on board  
Some paltry prize for all my warlike toil.

To Phthia now I go ; no better far  
To steer my homeward course, and leave thee here,  
Dishonoured as thou art, nor like, I deem,  
To fill thy coffers with the spoils of war."

**H**e did not go to Phthia ; he went to his tent and sat in it in sorrow and gloom ; and thus he took a

"Vengeance deep and deadly ; whence to Greece  
Unnumbered ills arose ; which many a soul  
Of mighty warriors to the viewless shades  
Untimely sent ; they on the battle plain  
Unburied lay, a prey to ravening dogs,  
And carrion birds."

Achilles and his myrmidons held aloof from the gigantic struggle, in which Europe and Asia are represented as striving for the mastery in the control of the world's civilisation, till the Greeks were humbled to such a degree, that Agamemnon was fain to advise them to take their flight homewards. This counsel was opposed by the chiefs, and an embassy was sent to the mighty malcontent, offering him in addition to costly presents, the restoration of Briseis. All in vain. Patroclus, however, his dearest friend, received, after much entreaty, permission from him to go into the field with the myrmidons, and their horses and armour. Patroclus was slain ; and Achilles rose in wrath to recover the body, disdaining drink or food, till the death of his friend should be avenged. After wounding and slaying many Trojans, he chased Hector three times round the walls of Troy, then slew him, tied the dead body of the most illustrious of the Trojans to his chariot, and dragged it on the ground to the ships of the Greeks. Before Troy was taken, Achilles fell himself at the Scæan gate. Thus was precipitated the death of the handsomest and bravest of all the Greeks, by a complicated series of events, the links of which were forged and knit to each other by a mutinous line of conduct he felt compelled to pursue.

“ But so had Jove decreed,  
From that sad day when first in wordy war,  
The mighty Agamemnon, king of men,  
Confronted stood by Pelen's godlike son.”

The history of Rome, like the history of every military power in ancient and modern times, supplies many records of historical mutinies—mutinies that is of wide and far reaching influence over the subsequent development of the country's resources and institutions. The most memorable incident of this nature was the *Secessio Crustumina*, or **withdrawal to the Sacred Mount—*Mons Sacer***. This event took place in the year 493 B.C. The Roman plebeians, obliged to shed their blood in the wars, and subject to the most rigorous laws at home, had been reduced to the direst distress of all kinds, the chief affliction being irretrievable poverty. During the continual wars their farms and fields had been neglected by themselves, and were ravaged by foreign enemies. The poverty thus induced had laid them under the terrible necessity of borrowing money from the wealthy patricians at an exorbitant rate of interest. An insolvent debtor at Rome in those days, as at Athens, previously to the wise and humane legislation of Solon, could be by law deprived of freedom, and even of life; not only himself, but his children and grandchildren, might be laid hold of as slaves, and thrown, like so much waste, into the private dungeons of the nobles. The number of toil-worn plebeians thus reduced to slavery, about five centuries before the beginning of the Christian era, was as dangerous to the state as it was multitudinous. Excluded from all share in the administration of the republic, while forced to fight hard battles in its service, the plebeians felt more miserable during peace than in time of war; and enjoyed more freedom on the field of battle, than they could lay claim to on their own wretched fields and farms at home—when they happened to have any. Such a state

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of things needed only one spark to kindle a fearful conflagration. The story of this secession has been often told. It cannot be more tersely and clearly repeated than it is by Dr Leonard Schmitz, in his wonderfully comprehensive "History of Rome." In his words it reads thus:

"In the consulship of Appius Claudius and P. Servilius, B.C. 495, an old man, in a most miserable and emaciated condition, rushed into the forum, showing the bloody stripes on his back, and telling the people his history, which undoubtedly was the same as that of many hundred others: he had served in several wars; his farm had been ravaged and burnt, and his cattle driven away; in order to pay his taxes he had been obliged to run into debt; the usurious interest had at length deprived him of his estate, and he had been compelled by his creditor to work as a slave. The excitement created by this occurrence soon spread through the whole city. Numbers of persons who had reason to fear a similar fate, as well as many who were actuated by a feeling of humanity, were seized with indignation; and large crowds assembled in the forum. The senate and consuls were undecided as to what should be done; but Appius Claudius, rich and greedy, as well as haughty and insolent, like all the members of his family, was bent upon quieting the rioters by force, while his colleague tried to appease the excited multitude by gentle means. While these things were going on, messengers from the country announced that a Volscian army was on its road to Rome, intending to lay siege to the city. The plebeians were forthwith called upon to enlist in the legions; but they spurned the summons, declaring that they would rather see the whole republic perish than sacrifice themselves for the benefit of their tyrants and oppressors. At this critical moment, when compulsion was impossible, P. Servilius issued a proclamation, that the complaints of the commonalty should be looked into after the war;

that no person imprisoned for debt should be hindered from serving if he were willing; that no creditor should take possession of or sell the property of any one serving in the army; and that the children and grandchildren of the soldiers should remain at liberty during the war. Upon this announcement, all the *nexi* (persons who, on borrowing money, by their own act and deed formally sold themselves and all they possessed) gave in their names, and took the military oath; and the consul was soon enabled to lead a spirited army into the field. The Volscians were defeated and put to flight; their camp and the town of Suessa fell into the hands of the Romans, and were given to the soldiers to plunder. The consul then returned with his victorious army to Rome. Ecetra obtained peace, but lost a part of its territory. A. Postumius, who had before been dictator, defeated the Sabines, who had made a predatory excursion on the banks of the Anio; and the Auruncans, who had likewise tried to derive advantage from the perilous situation of Rome, were beaten.

"After such brilliant achievements, the armies returned full of hope that justice would be done to them, but they were bitterly disappointed. Appius Claudius opposed every measure of humane and wise forbearance: those who had been slaves for debt were sent back to their prisons, and those who before had been only *nexi*, were given up to their creditors as *addicti* (debtors unable to satisfy their creditors were given over to them as bondsmen under this name); in short, all the old, horrible practices were renewed. But it was impossible to execute the tyrant's commands. Those who had served under P. Servilius applied to him for redress, reminding him of his solemn promise; but as his plans were opposed both by his colleagues and by the whole body of the patricians, he could do nothing, and was despised and hated by both parties. The people were in open insurrection, and pro-

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tected those whom Appius Claudius condemned. The Sabines again threatened Rome with war, but the plebeians steadfastly refused to enlist in the legions. In this manner the year came to its close.

“The new consuls were commanded by the senate to raise an army, but they were unable to carry the command into effect, for the plebeians continued in a state of insurrection; they held public and secret meetings on the Esquiline and Aventine, and demanded of the patricians the fulfilment of their promises before calling upon them to fight fresh battles. Whenever attempts were made to compel the people, scenes of violence occurred which threatened to end in general civil bloodshed. Some patricians advised that peace should be purchased by granting what the insurgents demanded; some would insist upon treating with those only who had served in the late campaign; while a third party, headed by Appius Claudius, obstinately declared that the insurrection ought to be quelled by the appointment of a dictator. Claudius would have been invested with that office had it not been for the fear lest matters should come to extremities at a moment when Rome was threatened by the Sabines, Volscians, and Æquians. The more moderate party therefore prevailed, and M. Valerius was created dictator. The plebeians had confidence in the family of the Valerii. They allowed themselves to be enlisted, and an army consisting, it is said, of ten legions, was soon ready to take the field. The consuls marched against the Volscians and Æquians, and gained brilliant victories. Valerius then led the troops against the Sabines, who were put to flight after a fierce battle, and their camp taken; Velitræ also fell into the hands of the victors; and the dictator returned to Rome in triumph, where he was rewarded with distinguished honours. Faithful to his promise, he demanded that the condition of the plebeians should be investigated; and as



the infatuated senate refused, he resigned his dictatorship. The plebeians, seeing it was not his fault that they were again deceived, conducted him to his house; but the senators, fearing lest the consular armies, when disbanded, should again hold their secret and nocturnal meetings, ordered the legions to remain in arms, under the protest that the Æquians were renewing hostilities. This order drove the army into open rebellion. The soldiers appointed L. Sicinius their leader, crossed the river Anio, and took up a strong position on the Sacred Mount, in the neighbourhood of Crustumerium. The consuls and patricians returned to Rome, and the plebeians for some days remained quiet in their camp, merely waiting to see what the patricians were going to do.

“This secession of the plebs caused the greatest alarm and consternation at Rome; and as it was manifest that force would be of no avail, the senate despatched an embassy of ten men, headed by Menenius Agrippa, to treat with the insurgents. When they were admitted into the camp, Agrippa is said to have addressed the people, and to have related to them the well-known fable of the Belly and the Members, in which the latter are represented as refusing to render their ordinary service to the belly, in consequence of which not only that part, but all the members of the whole body had to suffer. The plebeians understood the moral of the fable, and consented to treat with the deputies. A solemn compact was concluded, which was to bind all Roman citizens, both patricians and plebeians. In order to form a correct estimate of the terms of this treaty, it must be observed that in the meantime the patricians had contrived to gain the interest of the Latins, through a treaty which was made with them by Sp. Cassius during the secession of the plebs. The terms of the compact between the two orders were, that all the contracts of insolvent debtors were to be cancelled,

and that all those who had been made slaves on account of debts should be restored to freedom. The effect of these concessions was of course only momentary; for the law of debt itself was not touched, but remained the same as it had been before. One important and permanent advantage, however, was gained at that time in the institution of the tribunes of the plebs. The sole object of their office then was to afford the plebeians protection against any abuse of a consul's authority. The person of a tribune was sacred: any one who violated it was declared an outlaw, so that any man might kill him; and his house was forfeited to the Temple of Ceres. As a tribune was a public guardian, his house was kept open day and night for all who were in want of his succour against either a magistrate or a private individual. The tribunes presided also in the assemblies of the plebeian tribes, before which they might bring any proposal they thought fit; and if any person impeded them in so doing, they had the power of arraigning him before the commonalty, and proposing a fine to be inflicted on him: if the offender refused to pay the fine, his property was forfeited. Another great power of the tribunes consisted in their veto, or right of intercession, by which they could forbid any act of a magistrate or decree of the senate; for they were allowed to sit at the entrance of the senate-hall, and thus to hear all that was going on within. The senate henceforth appears as the guardian of the patrician order, while the tribunes watch the interest of the commonalty; the two, therefore, were natural antagonists. The merely preventive character, however, which the tribunes originally possessed gradually rose to a preponderating, and, in the end, to an overwhelming power, before which consuls and dictators were made to tremble. By the appointment of the tribunes, the people acquired an organ through which they could give utterance to their wishes and wants, and this is the first

element in the development of a free constitution. The struggle between the two orders must be dated from this time, the plebeians being resolved to acquire an equality of rights with the patricians, and the latter being just as firmly bent on preserving their exclusive privileges. For a long period the plebeians, indeed, continued to recognise certain privileges of the nobles ; but they carried on the contest with a perseverance, forbearance, and moderation, of which there is scarcely a parallel in the history of the world. The main causes of this gradual advancement of the plebeians were, on the one hand, the reverence with which the Romans at all times treated the ancient and time-hallowed institutions of their country, their respect for established laws, and their love of civil order ; and, on the other, the intrigues of the patricians, who frequently either disturbed the meetings of the plebeians, or contrived to set the tribunes against one another. At first two tribunes were appointed, but they immediately chose three more as their colleagues. The number five had reference to the five classes ; one tribune being chosen from each. Another class of plebeian officers, whose institution is connected with the secession to the Sacred Mount, were the *Ædiles plebis*, who formed a sort of plebeian police, and acted as judges in cases referred to them by the tribunes. At a later period they also had the superintendence of markets, and of the archives kept in the Temple of Ceres. In this manner the internal peace of the republic was restored, and the plebeians returned to their usual occupation."

The student of history lingers over this memorable rising of the people against their oppressors. Its results were such as are seldom brought about by such means. The establishment of the office of the tribune was a great event in the history of the world, not to limit reflections on it to Rome ; it was one of the potent controllers of all

history. It opened an outlet for heroic struggle and self-sacrifice, which was eagerly taken advantage of by a race of noble citizens, whose lives, if they could be told, would intensify our sense of the cost at which communities are regenerated. There are always thousands of men equal to great deeds when the grand occasion claims; and in no circumstances of the world's history, is this truism more finely illustrated than in the conduct of those ancient Roman heroes, of whom the Gracchi were and still are regarded as popular models. The secession to that mount, which on leaving the plebeians consecrated to Jupiter, and left it a name among mountains—*Mons Sacer*, the Sacred Mount—was one of the historical mutinies which ended in a signal triumph for the mutineers.

The story of Virginius tells of another withdrawal of the plebs, in a spirit of self-defending rebellion, nearly fifty years later. A father who preferred to snatch a knife from a butcher's stall, and plunge it in the breast of his daughter Virginia, a lovely and modest maiden, to seeing her a toy to gratify the lust of Appius Claudius, offers a strong temptation to dwell upon his sorrows, and the appalling slaughter of his child, which ranks Virginia with Jephthah's daughter and Iphigenia. But a halt must be called to this enumeration of mutinies in an introduction. History is full of them. The Roman empire gradually became the victim of mutinous praetorians. In modern times the conduct of the Turkish janizaries is an attractive study to one whose attention has been turned to the aspect of the restlessness and resistance of men under restraint and oppression. Their annihilation may be looked upon as a reverse mutiny. The plot so effectually carried out by the Sultan Mahmood for their total destruction, was one of the sternest retributions in history. Mahmood took years to mature his plan; and when the time came, he mowed down the janizaries, who were cooped up in the narrow streets of Constantinople.

Grape-shot, muskets, and fire destroyed above 20,000 seditious soldiers in the month of June 1825. But the readers of this volume will have to look elsewhere for the details of the wonderful Turkish story, or rather history, of the janizaries.

There is on record a naval mutiny, which occurred in a British fleet more than sixty years before the first passing of the Mutiny Act. Hume tells the interesting story of it in his own lucid style. "When," he says, "James [I.] deserted the Spanish alliance, and courted that of France, he promised to furnish Lewis [XIII.], who was entirely destitute of naval force, with one ship of war, together with seven armed vessels hired from the merchants. These the French court pretended they would employ against the Genoese, who being firm and useful allies to the Spanish monarchy, were naturally regarded with an evil eye, both by the king of France and of England. When these vessels, by Charles's [I.] orders, arrived at Dieppe, there arose a strong suspicion that they were to serve against Rochelle. The sailors were inflamed. That race of men, who are at present both careless and ignorant in all matters of religion, were at that time only ignorant. They drew up a remonstrance to Pennington, their commander, and signing all their names in a circle, lest he should discover the ringleaders, they laid it under his prayer-book. Pennington declared that he would rather be hanged in England for disobedience, than fight against his brother Protestants in France. The whole squadron sailed immediately to the Downs. There they received new orders from Buckingham, lord admiral, to return to Dieppe. As the Duke knew that authority alone could not suffice, he employed much art and many subtilties to engage them to obedience; and a rumour that was spread, that peace had been concluded between the French king and the Huguenots, assisted him in his purpose. When

they arrived at Dieppe, they found that they had been deceived. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded one of the vessels, broke through and returned to England. All the officers and sailors of all the other ships, notwithstanding great offers made them by the French, immediately deserted. One gunner alone preferred duty towards his king to the cause of religion; and he was afterwards killed in charging a cannon before Rochelle." We are not told that any attempt was made to punish these mutineers. Indeed, we may infer that they escaped scot free; for Hume adds: "The care which historians have taken to record this frivolous event, proves with what pleasure the news was received by the nation. The House of Commons when informed of these transactions, showed the same attachment with the sailors for the Protestant religion." This took place in the year 1625 and the Mutiny Act was first passed in 1689. It was one of the results of a mutiny, of which some details are given in this volume. Before that year there did not exist in Great Britain any power to try soldiers by court-martial, and offenders against military discipline used to be handed over to civil judges. A law was, however, then passed conferring on regimental authorities the power to hold courts-martial for the trial of mutiny, desertion, and other offences of a military kind, and also for the punishment of proved offenders. This extreme law, not easily understood in our days, suspended the civil rights of a citizen, and was therefore ordained to endure for only six months, with a very probable expectation that it would not require renewal. But six months mean less than a moment in the history of a great country. At the end of the prescribed time there was more need of the law than ever; it was accordingly re-enacted, and has been, session of Parliament after session, kept faithfully in action. There has been a deeply interesting succession of mutiny bills and many a ministry they have endangered.

By the authority they confer, a degree of discipline has been maintained in the army, without which every regiment might have been dissolved into a rabble; and the Houses of Parliament have been enabled to exert a continual control over the military forces of the empire. This has been effected by means of the annual appropriation of money to warlike purposes. Many a tough fight has there been in Parliament over the Mutiny Bill; but, as it stands, the provisions are such as keep a great body of what might seem uncontrollable men in tolerable order. Standing armies are not ancient institutions. The paid soldier of our day is quite a modern invention, which it is difficult to imagine back into the feudal or any other phase of earlier civilisation. The plebs of old Rome, who made up the rank and file of the omnipotent armies of that peculiarly merciless agglomeration of cities and states, were something very unlike the hired soldiers of our time. Indeed, when one tries to compare or contrast the action of a body of ancient Romans retiring to the *Mons Sacer*, and a modern Highland regiment marching in mutiny up to Arthur's Seat, and to take into account the respective results, he feels how almost impossible it is to realise to the imagination the difference between an army in the olden time and the gaudily-coated body of kindly men, hired to kill according to law, that he sees and meets in this age of ours. To read the Mutiny Act, the control of which is regarded by the British House of Commons as one of its special and peculiar privileges, is to become aware of more subjections to death than powder and balls can effect, to which our fellow-citizens are exposed when they enlist as soldiers. It is against law to raise or keep a standing army within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of Parliament. With that consent, the law becomes a very stern affair, as may be inferred from the following list of crimes punish-

able with death which are enumerated in section 15 of the Act as passed for 1872. The section referred to says : " If any person subject to this Act shall at any time during the continuance of this Act begin, excite, cause, or join in any mutiny or sedition in any forces belonging to her Majesty's army, or her Majesty's royal marines, or shall not use his utmost endeavours to suppress the same ; or shall conspire with any other person to cause a mutiny, or shall not, without delay, give information thereof to his commanding officer ; or shall hold correspondence with or give advice or intelligence to any rebel or enemy of her Majesty, either by letters, messages, signs, or tokens, in any manner or way whatsoever ; or shall treat or enter into any terms with such rebel or enemy without her Majesty's licence, or licence of the general or chief commander ; or shall misbehave himself before the enemy ; or shall shamefully abandon or deliver up any garrison, fortress, post, or guard committed to his charge, or which he shall have been commanded to defend ; or shall compel the governor or commanding officer of any garrison, fortress, or post, to deliver up to the enemy or to abandon the same ; or shall speak words, or use any other means to induce such governor or commanding officer, or others, to misbehave before the enemy, or shamefully to abandon or deliver up any garrison, fortress, post, or guard committed to their respective charge, or which he or they shall be commanded to defend ; or shall desert her Majesty's service ; or shall leave his post before being regularly relieved ; or shall sleep on his post ; or shall strike, or shall use or offer any violence against his superior officer, being in the execution of his office, or shall disobey any lawful command of his superior officer ; or who being confined in a military prison shall offer any violence against a visitor or other his superior military officer, being in the execution of his office ; all and every person and persons so offending in any of the



matters before mentioned, whether such offence be committed within this realm or in any other of her Majesty's dominions, or in foreign parts, upon land or upon the sea, shall suffer death, or penal servitude, or such other punishment as by a court-martial shall be awarded: Provided always, that any non-commissioned officer or soldier attested for or in pay in any regiment or corps, who shall, without having first obtained a regular discharge therefrom, enlist himself in her Majesty's army, may be deemed to have deserted her Majesty's service, and shall be liable to be punished accordingly." The details given in this volume will be an excellent commentary on the Mutiny Act.

# THE GOOD SHIP BOUNTY AND HER MUTINEERS.

## CHAPTER I.

### OFF TO OTAHEITE.

**THIS** is one of the saddest and most eventful stories of mercantile enterprise. It resulted from an attempt to find cheap food for slaves in the days when good King George III. was a leading controller of the destinies of Great Britain. How much it will tell to the advantage of that golden, olden time, is an inference which must be left to the discernment of the readers of it. We cannot now greatly admire a good many of the doings of those times.

In the year of grace 1787, seventeen years after Captain Cook returned from his first voyage, the London merchants and planters "interested in the West Indian possessions," as Sir John Barrow writes, or, as people in our day would say, the slaveholders in the capital of England, represented to George III. that the bread-fruit tree of Otaheite was an article which would constitute cheap enough and

good enough food for their human property in the West Indies. His Majesty, after hearing what they had to say, thought so too, and graciously ordered means to be taken for the procuring of this benefit, supposed to be essential for the good of the inhabitants of those islands. A vessel was purchased and put into ship-shape for this benevolent object at Deptford, a royal dockyard about a mile west of Greenwich, which had been established by Henry VIII. in the fourth year of his reign. Sir Joseph Banks, renowned for his ignorance of Greek and his great learning in botany—"Here is Banks," said some of his fellow-students at Oxford, "but he knows nothing of Greek"—made all the arrangements for the procuring and transshipment of the economical plants. Mr Banks had been one of the naturalists who sailed under Captain Cook from Plymouth

Sound in August 1768. An account of his life, a most instructive one, must be looked for elsewhere, but he may be mentioned here as one of those students who learn to look out of themselves, a most desirable accomplishment, not taught by Oxford tutors in those days, nor by very many tutors of any name in these days of ours. But Mr Banks had taught himself a singularly useful lesson, which one of the wishes of the compiler of this book is to teach his readers -- many of them, he trusts, youthful, beginning to learn the lessons of life. Banks took to a subject, and he worked it out. This kind of undertaking keeps men well and wisely employed. In literary life, as in all other kinds of life, a speciality is the thing to be desired and attained. A man who can do all things can, as a rule, do little or nothing worth being remembered. The following quotation from the "Penny Cyclopædia," one of the best books of the kind ever published, but, like all books of its sort, apt to get a good deal out of date, is full of the instructions a great many people of the thinking and talking order need. The quotation is: "Sir Everard Home, in the Hunterian Oration delivered in the theatre of the College of Surgeons, February 14, 1822, informs us that the first part of young Banks's education was under a private tutor; at nine years of age he was sent to Harrow School, and was removed when thirteen to

Eton. He is described, in a letter from his tutor, as being well-disposed and good-tempered, but so immoderately fond of play that his attention could not be fixed to study. When fourteen his tutor had, for the first time, the satisfaction of finding him reading during his hours of leisure. This sudden turn he, at a later time, explained to Sir Everard Home. One fine summer evening he had bathed in the river as usual, with other boys, but having stayed a long time in the water, he found when he came to dress himself that all his companions were gone: he was walking leisurely along a lane, the sides of which were richly enamelled with flowers; he stopped, and looking round, involuntarily exclaimed, 'How beautiful!' After some reflection, he said to himself, 'It is surely more natural that I should be taught to know all these productions of Nature, in preference to Greek and Latin; but the latter is my father's command, and it is my duty to obey him. I will, however, make myself acquainted with all these different plants for my own pleasure and gratification.' He began immediately to teach himself botany; and, for want of more able tutors, submitted to be instructed by the women employed in culling simples, as it is termed, to supply the druggists' and apothecaries' shops, paying sixpence for every material piece of information. While at home for the ensuing holidays,

he found in his mother's dressing-room, to his inexpressible delight, a book in which all the plants he had met with were not only described, but represented by engravings. This, which proved to be 'Gerard's Herbal,' although one of the boards was lost and several of the leaves torn out, he carried with him to school. He left Eton School in his eighteenth year, and was entered a gentleman-commoner at Christ Church (Oxford) in December 1760, just before he was eighteen. His love of botany, which commenced at school, increased at the University, and then his mind warmly embraced all the other branches of natural history. His ardour for the acquirement of botanical knowledge was so great that, finding no lectures were given on that subject, he applied to Dr Sibthorpe, the botanical professor, for permission to procure a proper person, whose remuneration was to fall entirely upon the students who formed his class. This arrangement was acceded to, and a sufficient number of students having set down their names, he went to Cambridge and brought back with him Mr Israel Lyons, a botanist and astronomer. This gentleman, many years after, procured, through Mr Banks's interest, the appointment of astronomer to the voyage towards the North Pole, under Captain Phipps, afterwards Lord Mulgrave. Mr Banks soon made himself known in the University,

by his superior knowledge in natural history. 'He once told me in conversation,' says Sir Everard Home, 'that when he first went to Oxford, if he happened to come in on any party of students in which they were discussing questions respecting Greek authors, some of them would call out (a manifestation of the wisdom of such students already referred to), 'Here is Banks, but he knows nothing of Greek.' To this rebuke he made no reply, but said to himself, 'I will very soon excel you all in another kind of knowledge, in my mind of infinitely greater importance;' and not long after, when any of them wanted to clear up a point of natural history, they said, 'We must go to Banks.'"

Now this bit of Cyclopædia writing is a very good picture in its way, and sets us on in our story of the Mutiny of the Bounty with a vivid enough sense of the man who made the arrangements necessary for supplying the holders of slaves in the West Indian islands with cheap food for their slaves, above a hundred years ago. The ship was named "The Bounty" by him; and he recommended to the command of her Lieutenant Bligh, a Cornishman, who had sailed with Captain Cook. She was of burden about 250 tons, and the following was the establishment of men she sailed with under Lieutenant Bligh: James Fryer, master; Thomas Ledward, acting surgeon; David

Nelson, botanist; William Peckover, gunner; William Cole, boatswain; William Purcell, carpenter; William Elphinstone, master's mate; Thomas Hayward, John Hallet, midshipmen; John Norton, Peter Lenkletter, quarter-masters; Lawrence Lebogue, sailmaker; John Smith, Thomas Hall, cooks; George Simpson, quarter-master's mate; Robert Tinkler, a boy; Robert Lamb, butcher; Mr Samuel, clerk; Fletcher Christian, master's mate; Peter Heywood, Edward Young, George Stewart, midshipmen; Charles Churchill, master-at-arms; John Mills, gunner's mate; James Morrison, boatswain's mate; Thomas Burkitt, Matthew Quintal, John Sumner, John Millward, William M'Koy, Henry Hillbrant, Michael Byrne, William Musprat, Alexander Smith, John Williams, Thomas Ellison, Isaac Martin, Richard Skinner, Matthew Thompson, able seamen; William Brown, gardener; Joseph Coleman, armourer; Charles Norman, carpenter's mate; Thomas M'Intosh, carpenter's crew. David Nelson, who had served as botanist in Captain Cook's last expedition, and William Brown, his assistant, were recommended by Sir Joseph Banks as skilful and careful men, who could be safely trusted with the management of the bread-fruit plants which were to be carried to the West Indies, and others which were to be brought to England for his Majesty's garden at Kew. A de-

scription of the bread-fruit plant given by that doughty old commander, William Dampier, towards the close of the seventeenth century, may be repeated here. He describes it thus: "The bread-fruit, as we call it, grows on a large tree, as big and high as our largest apple-trees; it hath a spreading head, full of branches and dark leaves. The fruit grows on the boughs like apples; it is as big as a penny loaf, when wheat is at five shillings the bushel; it is of a round shape, and hath a thick, tough rind. When the fruit is ripe, it is yellow and soft, and the taste is sweet and pleasant. The natives of Guam use it for bread. They gather it, when full grown, while it is green and hard; then they bake it in an oven, which scorseth the rind and makes it black; but they scrape off the outside black crust, and there remains a tender, thin crust; and the inside is soft, tender, and white, like the crumb of a penny loaf. There is neither seed nor stone in the inside, but all is of a pure substance like bread. It must be eaten new; for if it is kept above twenty-four hours, it grows harsh and choaky, but is very pleasant before it is too stale. This fruit lasts in season eight months in the year, during which the natives eat no other sort of food of bread kind. I did never see of this fruit anywhere but here. The natives told us that there is plenty of this fruit growing on the rest of the Ladrone Islands;

and I did never hear of it anywhere else." This tropical tree can be kept alive by artificial heat in England, but with difficulty. The natives of the Molucca Islands use its leaves as tablecloths. It is valuable for many other purposes,—good cloths, for example, being manufactured from its inner bark.\*

It was, then, to secure for other climes, in which it could not grow, such a plant of renown that an event occurred which interested the British public deeply at the time it took place, and which has human interest abundantly sufficient to render a narrative of it still attractive.

The *Bounty* cleared out from Spithead in dull December. It was on the 23d day of that month, in the year 1787. Three days after it sailed, a gale began to blow from the east, which continued three days, and which greatly damaged the ship. The square-yards, it was reported, and spars out of the starboard main chains, were broken by one sea. Another stove all the boats. Casks of beer which had been lashed on the deck, were washed overboard; and great was the toil to secure the boats from being all of them swept into the sea. A great deal of the bread on board was so damaged as to be rendered uneatable. The sea

stove in the stern of the *Bounty*, and filled her cabin with brine. She had to touch at some available place, and Bligh put in at Teneriffe on the 5th of January, thirteen days after he had sailed. It is a dreary kind of work this weathering and finding one's way out of a merciless storm at sea, but it has to be done. The cold, the care, and the doubt, the firm sternly possessed look of the captain and his subordinates, as well as the willing, weary labour of the hands under them, are not easily forgotten by any grateful human being who has ever felt his life, fortune, and the prospects of his family dependent on their knowledge and nerve. At Teneriffe, the *Bounty* was put to rights, "refitted and refreshed," as Sir John Barrow says, and she sailed again, after five days' detention.

"I now," says Captain Bligh, in that interesting narrative of his, which all who tell the wonderful tale of the adventures of him, and the mutineers he failed to control, simply repeat, with slight attempts at variation,— "I now divided the people into three watches, and gave the charge of the third watch to Mr Fletcher Christian, one of the mates. I have always considered this a desirable regulation when circumstances will admit of it, and I am persuaded that unbroken rest not only contributes much towards the health of the ship's company, but enables them more readily to exert themselves in cases of sudden

\* For a full scientific account of the bread-fruit tree, see *Botanical Magazine*, vol. lv., pp. 2869-2871. It is from the able pen of Sir W. Hooker, and is illustrated with three plates.

emergency." It is not easy, by sea or land, for people who have to toil to get "unbroken rest;" and Captain Bligh was in very needful self-defence telling his own story, but we must proceed along with him. He was eager to sail away to Otaheite with as little delay as wind and weather would allow; but the late storm had seriously diminished his supply of provisions. So all hands were put under a deduction of a third of the bread they had bargained for. As a precaution for their health in the circumstances, Captain Bligh resolved to purify the water they drank, through filtering stones he had procured at Teneriffe. "I now," says he, "made the ship's company acquainted with the object of the voyage, and gave assurances of the certainty of promotion to every one whose endeavours should merit it." "Nothing indeed," Sir John Barrow remarks, "seemed to be neglected on the part of the commander to make his officers and men comfortable and happy. He was himself a thorough-bred sailor, and availed himself of every possible means of preserving the health of his crew. Continued rain and a close atmosphere had covered everything in the ship with mildew. She was therefore aired below with fires, and frequently sprinkled with vinegar, and every interval of dry weather was taken advantage of to open all the hatchways, and clean the ship, and to have all the people's wet

things washed and dried. With these precautions to secure health, they passed the hazy and sultry atmosphere of the low latitudes without a single complaint."

On Sunday, the 2d of March, Captain Bligh observes: "After seeing that every person was clean, divine service was performed, according to my usual custom. On this day I gave to Mr Fletcher Christian, whom I had before desired to take charge of the third watch, a written order to act as lieutenant."

Having reached as far as the latitude of 36° south, on the 9th of March, "the change of temperature," he reports, "began now to be sensibly felt, there being a variation in the thermometer since yesterday of eight degrees. That the people might not suffer from their own negligence, I gave orders for their light tropical clothing to be put by, and made them dress in a manner more suited to a cold climate. I had provided for this before I left England, by giving directions for such clothes to be purchased as would be found necessary. On this day, on a complaint of the master, I found it necessary to punish Matthew Quintal, one of the seamen, with two dozen lashes, for insolence and mutinous behaviour. Before this I had not had occasion to punish any person on board." Bligh did not yield to the temptation which New Year's Harbour, in Staten Island, near Cape Horn,

offered a sea-worn captain to seek temporary rest from his tossings. His men were in good health, and he determined to defer delay until he reached Otaheite, in a rough way about a hundred degrees farther west, and nearly forty degrees north—a considerable distance to think of in laying aside all thoughts of refreshment. But the risk was safe under a commander like Captain Bligh. In defence of the memory of others, there will be occasion to criticise his conduct before the story of this mutiny is all told; but thus far he had taken such care of the health of his ship's company as to render any stay in a cold, inhospitable region near Tierra del Fuego undesirable. They encountered terrible weather off Cape Horn. A constant fire on board day and night was found necessary to mollify the benumbing influence of the wind, hail, and sleet; and one of the watch had constantly to keep drying the wet clothes of the men who could get a chance of undressing. This state of things in the Southern Ocean lasted for nine days. The ship began to exhibit the natural results of such tearing, wearing, stormy weather. It required constant pumping. The decks became leaky; and Captain Bligh allotted the great cabin to those who had wet berths. There they hung their hammocks in circumstances very discouraging for either keeping awake or going to sleep. They were being driven back by the

storm every day; and to persist in attempting a passage by this route, the route which had been prescribed by government, began to seem hopeless. At that season of the year, and in such weather the Society Islands were difficult to reach with the means of navigation Captain Bligh, or any other captain, had at command in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. After struggling for thirty days in a tempestuous ocean, the plucky, proud, and, it is to be feared, overbearing commander of the *Bounty*, resolved to turn right round about, and bear away eastward towards the Cape of Good Hope, daringly and almost despairingly, in a reverse direction, across the South Atlantic. When the helm was put thus a-weather, the captain tells us, every person on board rejoiced.

They arrived at the Cape on the 23d of May, and, having remained there thirty-eight days to refit the ship, replenish provisions, and refresh the crew, they sailed again on the 1st of July, and anchored in Adventure Bay, in Van Diemen's Land (the island now called Tasmania), on the 20th August. Here, we are told, they remained, taking in wood and water, till the 4th September, and on the evening of the 25th October they saw Otaheite, and the next day came to anchor in Matavai Bay, after a distance which the ship had run over, by the log, since leaving England, of 27,086



miles, being on an average 108 miles each twenty-four hours.

The people inquired after Captain Cook, Sir Joseph Banks, and others of their former friends. "There appeared," says Bligh, "among the natives in general, great goodwill towards us, and they seemed to be much rejoiced at our arrival. The whole day we experienced no instance of dishonesty; and we were so much crowded that I could not undertake to remove to a more proper station, without danger of disobliging our visitors by desiring them to leave the ship."

Otoo, the chief of the district, on hearing of the arrival of the *Bounty*, sent a small pig and a young plantain tree as tokens of friendship, worth noticing as characteristic of the country and the times. Provisions were now plenteous—not all made up of the small pig and the young plantain tree—but, however supplied, every man on board had "as much as he could consume"—a great deal too much, as would seem to less accomplished writers. Captain Bligh went on shore with the chief, Poeno, and passed through a shady walk, the shadows being thrown by bread-fruit trees. Poeno's wife and sister were busy dyeing a bit of cloth red. They requested, with Otaheitan politeness, the captain to sit down on a mat, and offered him refreshments. Some neighbours called to congratulate him on the fact of his

arrival at their island, and, as is duly reported, behaved with great decorum and attention. On taking leave, says Bligh, "the ladies (for they deserve to be called such from their natural and unaffected manners, and elegance of deportment) got up, and taking some of their finest cloth and a mat, clothed me in the Otaheitan fashion, and then said, 'We will go with you to your boat;' and, each taking me by the hand, amidst a great crowd, led me to the water side, and then took their leave." In this day's walk, he had the satisfaction of seeing that the island had been benefited by the former visits of Captain Cook. Two shaddocks were brought to him, a fruit which they had not till Cook introduced it; and among the articles which they brought off to the ship and offered for sale, were capsicums, pumpkins, and two young goats.

David Nelson, the botanist, and William Brown, his assistant, were sent out to look for young bread-fruit plants. They found them in abundance, and the natives made no objection to their gathering as many as they liked. Nelson found two fine shaddock trees which he had planted in 1777; they were loaded with fruit, which was not quite ripe. Presents were given to Otoo, the chief of Matavai, who had, since Cook's visit, changed his name to Tinah. He was complimented on his former kindness to the great

voyager. King George III. had sent out these valuable gifts to him; and "Will you not, Tinah," said King George's emissary, "send something to King George in return?" "Yes," said Tinah, "I will send him anything I have"—a promise he would have been sure to break, if it had been exacted to the full. He mentioned the bread-fruit tree as one of the things he possessed. This was just what Bligh was trying to lead the chief up to mention; and he remarked that King George would like the bread-fruit tree very much. So it was promised that a great many plants of it should be put on board the *Bounty*.

Hitherto the theftuous Otaheitan had behaved with reasonable honesty during their visits to the ship, which they constantly came to in crowds. But one day the gudgeon of the rudder belonging to the large cutter was drawn out and stolen, an event which the man stationed to take care of her should have been wide enough awake to have prevented. This and some other petty thefts, owing mainly to the man's negligence, tended rather to interrupt the good terms on which Captain Bligh stood with the chiefs. "I thought," he says, "it would have a good effect to punish the boat-keeper in their presence; and accordingly I ordered him a dozen lashes. All who attended the punishment interceded very earnestly to get

it mitigated. The women showed great sympathy, and that degree of feeling," writes the gallant captain, "which characterises the amiable part of their sex." The longer they remained on the island, our bread-fruit seekers liked the islanders and their conduct the better.

#### *An Otaheitan Dido.*

A very interesting picture of Otaheitan society as it was experienced by the first English voyagers to the island, is furnished by the following narrative, by Sir John Barrow, who, though himself not a sailor, was yet one of the best writers on seafaring subjects. It is about one of King George III.'s renowned navigators, Samuel Wallis, a painstaking, sensible, and veracious seaman, who was the first to bring down the fabulous stature of the Patagonians to its veritable height; and was the first English commander who visited Otaheite. It was he who recommended Otaheite as the station for observing the transit of Venus, in 1769. The first communication (writes our authority), which Wallis had with these people was unfortunately of a hostile nature. Having approached with his ship close to the shore, the usual symbol of peace and friendship, a branch of the plantain tree, was held up by a native in one of the numerous canoes that surrounded the ship. Great numbers, on being invited, crowded on board the stranger ship; but one of them

being butted on the haunches by a goat, and turning hastily round, perceiving it rearing on its hind legs ready to repeat the blow, was so terrified at the appearance of this strange animal, so different from any he had ever seen, that, in the moment of terror, he jumped overboard, and all the rest followed his example with the utmost precipitation.

This little incident, however, produced no mischief; but as the boats were sounding in the bay, and several canoes crowding round them, Wallis suspected the islanders had a design to attack them; and on this mere suspicion, ordered the boats by signal to come on board, "and at the same time," he says, "to intimidate the Indians, I fired a nine-pounder over their heads." This, as might have been imagined, startled the islanders, but did not prevent them from attempting immediately to cut off the cutter, as she was standing towards the ship. Several stones were thrown into this boat, on which the commanding officer fired a musket loaded with buck-shot, at the man who threw the first stone, and wounded him on the shoulder.

Finding no good anchorage at this place, the ship proceeded to another part of the island, where, on one of the boats being assailed by the Indians in two or three canoes, with their clubs and paddles in their hands, "Our people," says the commander, "being much pressed, were ob-

liged to fire, by which one of the assailants was killed, and another much wounded." This unlucky rencontre did not, however, prevent, as soon as the ship was moored, a great number of canoes from coming off the next morning, with hogs, fowls, and fruit. A brisk traffic soon commenced, our people exchanging knives, nails, and trinkets, for more substantial articles of food, of which they were in want. Among the canoes that came out last were some double ones of very large size, with twelve or fifteen stout men in each; and it was observed that they had little on board, except a quantity of round pebble stones. Other canoes came off along with them, having only women on board; and while these females were assiduously practising their allurements, by attitudes that could not be misunderstood, with the view, as it would seem, to distract the attention of the crew, the large double canoes closed round the ship; and as these advanced, some of the men began singing, some blowing conches, and others playing on flutes. One of them with a person sitting under a canopy, approached the ship so close, as to allow this person to hand up a bunch of red and yellow feathers, making signs it was for the captain. He then put off to a little distance, and, on holding up the branch of a cocoa-nut tree, there was a universal shout from all the canoes,

which at the same moment moved towards the ship, and a shower of stones was poured into her on every side. The guard was now ordered to fire, and two of the quarter-deck guns, loaded with small shot, were fired among them at the same time, which created great terror and confusion, and caused them to retreat to a short distance. In a few minutes, however, they renewed the attack. The great guns were now ordered to be discharged among them, and also into a mass of canoes that were putting off from the shore. It is stated that, at this time, there could not be less than three hundred canoes about the ship, having on board at least two thousand men. Again they dispersed; but, having soon collected into something like order, they hoisted white streamers, and pulled towards the ship's stern, when they again began to throw stones with great force and dexterity, by the help of slings, each of the stones weighing about two pounds; and many of them wounded the people on board. At length a shot hit the canoe that apparently had the chief on board, and cut it asunder. This was no sooner observed by the rest, than they all dispersed in such haste, that in half-an-hour there was not a single canoe to be seen; and all the people who had crowded the shore fled over the hills with the utmost precipitation. What was to happen on the

following day was matter of conjecture; but this point was soon decided.

"The white man landed—need the rest be told?"

The new world stretch'd its dusk  
    land to the old."

Lieutenant Furneaux, on the next morning, landed, without opposition, close to a fine river that fell into the bay, stuck up a staff on which was hoisted a pendant, turned a turf, and by this process took possession of the island in the name of his Majesty, and called it *King George the Third's Island*. Just as he was embarking, an old man, to whom the lieutenant had given a few trifles, brought some green boughs, which he threw down at the foot of the staff, then, retiring, brought about a dozen of his countrymen, who approached the staff in a supplicating posture, then retired and brought two live hogs, which they laid down at the foot of the staff, and then began to dance. After this ceremony, the hogs were put into a canoe, and the old man carried them on board, handing up several green plantain leaves, and uttering a sentence on the delivery of each. Some presents were offered him in return; but he would accept of none.

Concluding that peace was now established, and that no further attack would be made, the boats were sent on shore the following day to get water. While the casks were filling, several natives were perceived

coming from behind the hills and through the woods, and at the same time a multitude of canoes from behind a projecting point of the bay. As these were discovered to be laden with stones, and were making towards the ship, it was concluded their intention was to try their fortune in a second grand attack. "As to shorten the contest would certainly lessen the mischief, I determined," says Captain Wallis, "to make this action decisive, and put an end to hostilities at once." Accordingly a tremendous fire was opened at once on all the groups of canoes, which had the effect of immediately dispersing them. The fire was then directed into the wood, to drive out the islanders who had assembled in large numbers, on which they all fled to the hill, where the women and children had seated themselves. Here they collected to the amount of several thousands, imagining themselves at that distance to be perfectly safe. The captain, however, ordered four shot to be fired over them, but two of the balls having fallen close to a tree where a number of them were sitting, they were so struck with terror and consternation, that in less than two minutes, not a creature was to be seen. The coast being cleared, the boats were manned and armed, and all the carpenters with their axes were sent on shore, with directions to destroy every canoe they could find; and we are

told this service was effectually performed, and that more than fifty canoes, many of which were sixty feet long and three broad, and lashed together, were cut to pieces.

This act of severity must have been cruelly felt by these poor people, who without iron or any kind of tools, but such as stones, shells, teeth, and bones supplied to them, must have spent months, and probably years, in the construction of one of these extraordinary double boats.

Such was the inauspicious commencement of our acquaintance with the natives of Otaheite. Their determined hostility and perseverance in an unequal combat could only have arisen from one of two motives,—either from an opinion that a ship of such magnitude as they had never before beheld, could only be come to their coast to take their country from them; or an irresistible temptation to endeavour, at all hazards, to possess themselves of so valuable a prize. Be that as it may, the dread inspired by the effects of the cannon, and perhaps a conviction of the truth of what had been explained to them, that the "strangers wanted only provisions and water," had the effect of allaying all jealousy; for from the day of the last action, the most friendly and uninterrupted intercourse was established, and continued to the day of the Dolphin's departure; and provisions of all kinds—hogs, dogs, fruit, and

vegetables—were supplied in the greatest abundance, in exchange for pieces of iron, nails, and trinkets.

As a proof of the readiness of these simple people to forgive injuries, a poor woman, accompanied by a young man bearing a branch of the plantain tree, and another man with two hogs, approached the gunner, whom Captain Wallis had appointed to regulate the market, and, looking round on the strangers with great attention, fixing her eyes sometimes on one and sometimes on another, at length burst into tears. It appeared that her husband and three of her sons had been killed in the attack on the ship. Whilst this was under explanation, the poor creature was so affected, as to require the support of the two young men, who, from their weeping, were probably two more of her sons. When somewhat composed, she ordered the two hogs to be delivered to the gunner, and gave him her hand in token of friendship, but would accept nothing in return.

Captain Wallis was now so well satisfied that there was nothing further to apprehend from the hostility of the natives, that he sent a party up the country to cut wood, who were treated with great kindness and hospitality by all they met; and the ship was visited by persons of both sexes, who, by their dress and behaviour, appeared to be of a superior rank. Among others was a tall lady about five-

and-forty years of age, of a pleasing countenance and majestic deportment. She was under no restraint, either from diffidence or fear, and conducted herself with that easy freedom which generally distinguishes conscious superiority and habitual command. She accepted some small present which the captain gave her with a good grace and much pleasure; and having observed that he was weak and suffering from ill health, she pointed to the shore, which he understood to be an invitation, and made signs that he would go thither the next morning. His visit to this lady displays so much character and good feeling, that it will best be described in the captain's own words:

“The next morning I went on shore for the first time, and my princess (or rather queen, for such by her authority she appeared to be) soon after came to me, followed by many of her attendants. As she perceived that my disorder had left me very weak, she ordered her people to take me in their arms, and carry me not only over the river, but all the way to her house; and observing that some of the people who were with me, particularly the first lieutenant and purser, had also been sick, she caused them also to be carried in the same manner, and a guard, which I had ordered out upon the occasion, followed. In our way, a vast multitude crowded about us; but upon

her waving her hand, without speaking a word, they withdrew, and left us a free passage. When we approached near her house, a great number of both sexes came out to meet her. These she presented to me, after having intimated by signs that they were her relations; and, taking hold of my hand, she made them kiss it.

"We then entered the house, which covered a piece of ground 327 feet long, and 42 feet broad. It consisted of a roof thatched with palm leaves, and raised upon thirty-nine pillars on each side, and fourteen in the middle. The ridge of the thatch, on the inside, was thirty feet high, and the sides of the house, to the edge of the roof, were twelve feet high; all below the roof being open. As soon as we entered the house, she made us sit down, and then, calling four young girls, she assisted them to take off my shoes, draw down my stockings, and pull off my coat; and then directed them to smooth down the skin, and gently chafe it with their hands. The same operation was also performed on the first lieutenant and the purser, but upon none of those who appeared to be in health. While this was doing, our surgeon, who had walked till he was very warm, took off his wig to cool and refresh himself. A sudden exclamation of one of the Indians who saw it, drew the attention of the rest; and in a moment every eye was fixed upon the prodigy, and

every operation was suspended.

The whole assembly stood some time motionless in silent astonishment, which could not have been more strongly expressed if they had discovered that our friend's limbs had been screwed on to the trunk. In a short time, however, the young women who were chafing us resumed their employment; and having continued about half-an-hour, they dressed us again; but in this they were, as may easily be imagined, very awkward. I found great benefit, however, from the chafing, and so did the lieutenant and the purser.

"After a little time our generous benefactress ordered some bales of Indian cloth to be brought out, with which she clothed me, and all that were with me, according to the fashion of the country. At first I declined the acceptance of this favour; but being unwilling not to seem pleased with what was intended to please me, I acquiesced. When we went away, she ordered a very large sow, big with young, to be taken down to the boat, and accompanied us thither herself. She had given directions to her people to carry me, as they had done when I came; but as I chose rather to walk, she took me by the arm, and whenever we came to a splash of water or dirt, she lifted me over with as little trouble as it would have cost me to have lifted over a child, if I had been well."

The following morning Cap-

tain Wallis sent her a present by the gunner, who found her in the midst of an entertainment given to at least a thousand people. The messes were put into shells of cocoa-nuts, and the shells into wooden trays, like those used by our butchers, and she distributed them with her own hands to the guests, who were seated in rows in the open air, round the great house. When this was done, she sat down herself upon a place somewhat elevated above the rest, and two women, placing themselves one on each side of her, fed her, she opening her mouth as they brought their hands up with the food. From this time provisions were sent to market in the greatest abundance. The queen frequently visited the captain on board, and always with a present; but she never condescended to barter, nor would she accept of any return.

One day, after visiting her at her house, the captain at parting made her comprehend by signs that he intended to quit the island in seven days: she immediately understood his meaning, and by similar signs expressed her wish that he should stay twenty days; that he should go with her a couple of days' journey into the country, stay there a few days, return with plenty of hogs and poultry, and then go away; but on persisting in his first intention she burst into tears, and it was not without great difficulty that she could be pacified. The next

time that she went on board, Captain Wallis ordered a good dinner for her entertainment, and those chiefs who were of her party; but the queen would neither eat nor drink. As she was going over the ship's side, she asked, by signs, whether he still persisted in leaving the island at the time he had fixed, and on receiving an answer in the affirmative, she expressed her regret by a flood of tears; and as soon as her passion subsided, she told the captain that she would come on board again the following day.

Accordingly, the next day she again visited the ship twice, bringing each time large presents of hogs, fowls, and fruits. The captain, after expressing his sense of her kindness and bounty, announced his intention of sailing the following morning. This, as usual, threw her into tears, and, after recovering herself, she made anxious inquiry when he should return; he said, in fifty days, with which she seemed to be satisfied. "She stayed on board," says Captain Wallis, "till night, and it was then with the greatest difficulty that she could be prevailed upon to go on shore. When she was told that the boat was ready, she threw herself down upon the arm-chest, and wept a long time, with an excess of passion that could not be pacified; at last, however, with the greatest reluctance, she was prevailed upon to go into the boat, and was followed by her attendants."



The next day, while the ship was unmooring, the whole beach was covered with the inhabitants. The queen came down, and, having ordered a double canoe to be launched, was rowed off by her own people, followed by fifteen or sixteen other canoes. She soon made her appearance on board; but, not being able to speak, she sat down and gave vent to her passion by weeping. Shortly after, a breeze springing up, the ship made sail; and finding it now necessary to return into her canoe, "she embraced us all," says Captain Wallis, "in the most affectionate manner, and with many tears; all her attendants also expressed great sorrow at our departure. In a few minutes she came into the bow of her canoe, where she sat weeping with inconsolable sorrow. I gave her many things which I thought would be of great use to her, and some for ornament: she silently accepted of all, but took little notice of anything. About ten o'clock we had got without the reef, and a fresh breeze springing up, our Indian friends, and particularly the queen, once more bade us farewell, with such tenderness of affection and grief, as filled both my heart and my eyes."

This Otaheitan lady did not sink under her sorrows. Far fewer ladies do than romancers have made the wide world to believe. Virgil's account of the conduct of *Miserrima Dido* is, like his hits at that wonderful

old infidel, Mezentius—*contemptor deum*—a good way off from the kind of male and female human beings we have to meet in these last days, a people who are neither Otaheitans nor Romans. Let the readers of this story find out all about our *Miserrima Dido*, and not believe in her burning herself. Let them rather believe that, as Sir John Barrow tells us, while "the tender passion had certainly caught hold of one or both of these worthies, and if her majesty's language had been as well understood by Captain Wallis, as that of Dido was by *Aineas*, when pressing him to stay with her, there is no doubt it would have been found not less pathetic:

"Nec te noster amor, nec te data  
dextera quondam,  
Nec moritura tenet crudeli funere  
Dido?"

This lady did not sink, like the "miserrima Dido," under her griefs; on the contrary, we find her in full activity and animation, and equally generous to Captain Cook and his party, under the name of Oberea, who, it now appeared, was no queen, but whose husband they discovered was uncle to the young king, then a minor, but from whom she was separated. She soon evinced a partiality for Mr Banks, though not quite so strong as that for Wallis; but it appears to have been mutual, until an unlucky discovery took place, that she had, at her command, a stout, strong-boned

*valiereservente*; added to which, a theft, rather of an amusing nature, contributed for a time to create a coolness, and somewhat to disturb the good understanding that had subsisted between them. It happened that a party, consisting of Cook, Banks, Solander, and three or four others, were benighted at a distance from the anchorage. Mr Banks, says Captain Cook, thought himself fortunate in being offered a place by Oberea, in her own canoe, and wishing his friends a good-night, took his leave. He went to rest early, according to the custom of the country; and taking off his clothes, as was his constant practice, the nights being hot, Oberea kindly insisted upon taking them into her own custody, for otherwise, she said, they would certainly be stolen. Mr Banks having, as he thought, so good a safeguard, resigned himself to sleep with all imaginable tranquillity; but awakening about eleven o'clock, and wanting to get up, he searched for his clothes where he had seen them carefully deposited by Oberea when he lay down to sleep, and perceived, to his sorrow and surprise, that they were missing. He immediately awakened Oberea, who, starting up and hearing his complaint, ordered lights, and prepared in great haste to recover what had been lost. Tootahah (the regent) slept in the next canoe, and, being soon alarmed, he came to them, and set out with Oberea in search

of the thief. Mr Banks was not in a condition to go with them, as of his apparel scarcely anything was left him but his breeches. In about half-an-hour, his two noble friends returned, but without having obtained any intelligence of his clothes, or of the thief. Where Cook and Solander had disposed of themselves, he did not know; but hearing music, which was sure to bring a crowd together, in which there was a chance of his associates being found, he rose, and made the best of his way towards it, and joined his party, as Cook says, "more than half naked, and told us his melancholy story."

It was some consolation to find that his friends were fellow-sufferers, Cook having lost his stockings, which had been stolen from under his head, though he had never been asleep, and his associates their jackets. At daybreak Oberea brought to Mr Banks some of the native clothes; "so that when he came to us," says Cook, "he made a most motley appearance, half Indian and half English." Such an adventure must have been highly amusing to him who was the object of it, when the inconvenience had been removed, as every one will admit who knew the late venerable President of the Royal Society. He never doubted, however, that Oberea was privy to the theft; and there was strong suspicion of her having some of the articles in her custody. Being aware that this

feeling existed, she absented herself for some time; and when she again appeared, she said a favourite of hers had taken them away, whom she had beaten and dismissed; "but she seemed conscious," says Cook, "that she had no right to be believed; she discovered the strongest signs of fear, yet she surmounted it with astonishing resolution, and was very pressing to be allowed to sleep with her attendants in Mr Banks's tent: in this, however, she was not gratified." Sir Joseph might have thought that, if he complied with her request, the other articles of his dress might be in danger of following what was already stolen.

This may do for an account of the upper society of the folk, with whom those young men had to do. Let us, however, get on with our story. The natives did not make themselves disagreeable. Every house offered a kind reception. The Otaheitan proved themselves free equally from forwardness and from formality, and there was a candour and sincerity about them, which was quite delightful. When they offered refreshments, if these were not accepted, the simple natives did not offer them a second time. They had not the least idea of any ceremonious refusal. Would they not have suited J. J. Rousseau! "Having one day," says the self-defending Bligh, "exposed myself too much in the sun, I was taken ill, on which all the powerful people, both men

and women, collected round me, offering their assistance. For this short illness I was made ample amends by the pleasure I received from the attention and appearance of affection in these kind people."

On the 9th December, the surgeon of the *Bounty* died from the effects of intemperance and indolence. This unfortunate man is represented to have been in a constant state of intoxication, and was so averse from any kind of exercise, that he never could be prevailed on to take half-a-dozen turns upon the deck at a time in the whole course of the voyage. Captain Bligh had obtained permission to bury him on shore; and on going with the chief Tinah to the spot intended for his burial-place, "I found," says he, "the natives had already begun to dig his grave." Tinah asked if they were doing it right? "There," says he, "the sun rises, and there it sets." Whether the idea of making the grave east and west is their own, or whether they learnt it from the Spaniards, who buried the captain of their ship on the island in 1774, there was no means of ascertaining; but it was certain they had no intimation of that kind from anybody belonging to the *Bounty*. When the funeral took place, the chiefs and many of the natives attended the ceremony, and showed great attention during the service. Many of the principal natives attended divine service on Sundays, and behaved

with great decency. Some of the women at one time betrayed an inclination to laugh at the general responses; but the captain says, on looking at them, they appeared much ashamed.

The delightful border of low land, of the breadth of about three miles, between the sea-coast and the foot of the hills, which consisted of a country well covered with bread-fruit and cocoa trees, was strewed with houses in which were swarms of children playing about. "It is delightful," Bligh observes, "to see the swarms of little children that are everywhere to be seen employed at their several amusements; some flying kites, some swinging in ropes suspended from the boughs of trees, others walking on stilts, some wrestling, and others playing all manner of antic tricks, such as are common to boys in England. The little girls have also their amusements, consisting generally of *hivahs* or dances." On an evening, just before sunset, the whole beach abreast the ship is described as being like a parade, crowded with men, women, and children, who go

on with their sports and amusements till nearly dark, when every one peaceably returns to his home. At such times, we are told, from three to four hundred people are assembled together, and all happily diverted, good-humoured, and affectionate to one another, without a single quarrel having ever happened to disturb the harmony that existed among these amiable people. Both boys and girls are said to be handsome and very sprightly.

It did not appear that much pains were taken in their plantations, except those of the *ava* and the cloth-plant; many of the latter are fenced with stone, and surrounded with a ditch. In fact, Nature had done so much for them, that they have no great occasion to use exertion in obtaining a sufficient supply of either food or raiment. Yet when Bligh commenced taking up the bread-fruit plants, he derived much assistance from the natives in collecting and pruning them, which they understood perfectly well. The behaviour of these people on all occasions was highly deserving of praise.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE MUTINY OF THE BOUNTY.

ONE morning, at the relief of the watch, the small cutter was missing. The ship's company were immediately mustered, when it appeared that three men were absent. They had taken with

them eight stand of arms and ammunition; but what their plan was, or which way they had gone, no one on board seemed to have the least knowledge. Information being given of the route they had taken, the master was despatched to search for the cutter, and one of the chiefs went with him; but before they had got half-way, they met the boat with five of the natives, who were bringing her back to the ship. For this service they were handsomely rewarded. The chiefs promised to use every possible means to detect and bring back the deserters, which, in a few days, some of the islanders had so far accomplished as to seize and bind them, but let them loose again on a promise that they would return to their ship, which they did not exactly fulfil, but gave themselves up soon after on a search being made for them.

A few days after this, a much more serious occurrence happened, that was calculated to give to the commander great concern. The wind had blown fresh in the night, and at daylight it was discovered that the cable, by which the ship rode, had been cut near the water's edge, in such a manner that only one strand remained whole. While they were securing the ship, *Tinah* came on board; and though there was no reason whatever to suppose otherwise than that he was perfectly innocent of the transaction, nevertheless, says the commander,

"I spoke to him in a very peremptory manner, and insisted upon his discovering and bringing to me the offender. He promised to use his utmost endeavours to discover the guilty person. The next morning he and his wife came to me, and assured me that they had made the strictest inquiries without success. This was not at all satisfactory, and I behaved towards them with great coolness, at which they were very much distressed; and the lady at length gave vent to her sorrow by tears. I could no longer keep up the appearance of mistrusting them; but I earnestly recommended to them, as they valued the King of England's friendship, that they would exert their utmost endeavours to find out the offenders, which they faithfully promised to do."

Bligh seems from this time to have begun to suspect the loyalty of his men. He set up in his own mind the theory that their purpose was to remain in *Otaheite*, among its pleasant society—at least, he wrote so in his defence. He writes, however, that he did not entertain any thought of the kind, nor did the possibility of it enter into his ideas. This in consideration of all that happened afterwards, looks very much like an after-thought.

The *Bounty* arrived October 26th, 1788, and remained till the 4th of April 1789—a length of time which would require to be economically accounted for in days like ours. Bligh says

On March 31st, "To-day, all the plants were on board, being in seven hundred and seventy-four pots, thirty-nine tubs, and twenty-four boxes. The number of bread-fruit plants was one thousand and fifteen, besides which we had collected a number of other plants: the *Ara*, which is one of the finest flavoured fruits in the world; the *Ayyah*, which is not so rich, but of a fine flavour and very refreshing; the *Rattah*, not much unlike a chestnut, which grows on a large tree in great quantities; they are singly in large pods, from one to two inches broad, and may be eaten raw or boiled in the same manner as Windsor beans, and so dressed are equally good; the *Orai-ab*, which is a very superior kind of plantain. All these I was particularly recommended to collect by my worthy friend, Sir Joseph Banks."

Sir John Barrow goes on to relate another incident, to show the grief these poor people exhibited when losing a friend. He says that while these active preparations for departure were going on, the good chief Tinah, on bringing a present for King George, could not refrain from shedding tears. During the remainder of their stay, there appeared among the natives an evident degree of sorrow that they were soon to leave them, which they showed by a more than usual degree of kindness and attention. The above-mentioned excellent chief, with

his wife, brothers, and sister, requested to remain on board for the night previous to the sailing of the *Bounty*. The ship was crowded with the natives, and she was loaded with presents of cocoa-nuts, plantains, bread-fruits, hogs, and goats. Contrary to what had been the usual practice, there was this evening no dancing or mirth on the beach, such as they had long been accustomed to; but all was silent.

At sunset, the boat returned from landing Tinah and his wife, and the ship made sail, bidding farewell to Otaheite, where, Bligh observes, "for twenty-three weeks we had been treated with the utmost affection and regard, which seemed to increase in proportion to our stay. That we were not insensible to their kindness, the events that followed more than sufficiently prove; for to the friendly and endearing behaviour of these people may be ascribed the motives for that event which effected the ruin of an expedition that there was every reason to hope would have been completed in the most fortunate manner."

The morning after their departure, they got sight of Huahine, and a double canoe soon coming alongside, containing ten natives; among them was a young man who recollected Captain Bligh, and called him by name, having known him when there in the year 1780, with Captain Cook in the *Re-*

solution. Several other canoes arrived with hogs, yams, and other provisions, which they purchased. This person confirmed the account that had already been received of Omai, and said, that of all the animals which had been left with Omai, the mare only remained alive ; that the seeds and plants had been all destroyed, except one tree, but of what kind that was he could not satisfactorily explain. A few days after sailing from this island, the weather became squally, and a thick body of black clouds collected in the east. A water-spout was in a short time seen at no great distance from the ship, which appeared to great advantage from the darkness of the clouds behind it. The upper part is described as being about two feet in diameter, and the lower about eight inches. It advanced rapidly towards the ship, when it was deemed expedient to alter the course, and to take in all the sails, except the foresail ; soon after which it passed within ten yards of the stern, making a rustling noise, but without their feeling the least effect from its being so near. The rate at which it travelled was judged to be about ten miles per hour, going towards the west, in the direction of the wind ; and in a quarter of an hour after passing the ship it dispersed. As they passed several low islands, the natives of one of them came out in their canoes, and it was observed that they all spoke the

language of Otaheite. Presents of iron, beads, and a looking-glass, were given to them ; but it was observed that the chief, on leaving the ship, took possession of everything that had been distributed. One of them showed some signs of dissatisfaction, but after a little altercation, they joined noses and were reconciled.

The Bounty anchored at Anamooka on the 23d April ; and an old lame man, named Tapa, whom Bligh had known here in 1777, and immediately recollected, came on board along with others from different islands in the vicinity. This man having formerly been accustomed to the English manner of speaking their language, the commander found he could converse with him tolerably well. He told him that the cattle which had been left at Tongataboo had all bred, and that the old ones were yet living. Being desirous of seeing the ship, he and his companions were taken below, and the bread-fruit and other plants were shown to them, on seeing which they were greatly surprised.

"I landed," says Bligh, "in order to procure some bread-fruit plants to supply the place of one that was dead, and two or three others that were a little sickly. I walked to the west part of the bay, where some plants and seeds had been sown by Captain Cook ; and had the satisfaction to see, in a plantation close by, about twenty fine

pine-apple plants, but no fruit, this not being the proper season. They told me that they had eaten many of them, that they were very fine and large, and that at Tongataboo there were great numbers."

Numerous were the marks of mourning with which these people disfigured themselves; such as bloody temples, their heads deprived of most of their hair; and, what was worse, almost all of them with the loss of some of their fingers. Several fine boys, not above six years of age, had lost both their little fingers; and some of the men had parted with the middle finger of the right hand.

A brisk trade soon began to be carried on for yams. Some plantains and bread-fruit were likewise brought on board, but no hogs. Some of the sailing canoes which arrived in the course of the day, were large enough to contain not less than ninety passengers. From these the officers and crew purchased hogs, dogs, fowls, and shaddocks; yams very fine and large—one of them actually weighed above forty-five pounds. The crowd of natives had become so great the next day, Sunday 26th, that it became impossible to do anything. The watering party were therefore ordered to go on board, and it was determined to sail. The ship was accordingly unmoored and got under way. A grapnel, however, had been stolen; and Bligh informed the chiefs that were

still on board, that unless it was returned, they must remain in the ship; at which they were surprised and not a little alarmed. "I detained them," he says, "till sunset, when their uneasiness increased to such a degree that they began to beat themselves about the face and eyes, and some of them cried bitterly. As this distress was more than the grapnel was worth, I could not think of detaining them longer, and called their canoes alongside. I told them that they were at liberty to go, and made each of them a present of a hatchet, a saw, with some knives, gimlets, and nails. This unexpected present, and the sudden change in their situation, affected them not less with joy than they had before been with apprehension. They were unbounded in their acknowledgments; and I have little doubt but that we parted better friends than if the affair had never happened."

From this island the ship stood to the northward all night, with light winds; and on the next day, the 27th, at noon, they were between the islands Tofoa and Kotoo.

"Thus far," says Bligh, "the voyage had advanced in a course of uninterrupted prosperity, and had been attended with many circumstances equally pleasing and satisfactory. A very different scene was now to be experienced. A conspiracy had been formed, which was to render all our past labour produc-



tive only of extreme misery and distress. The means had been concerted and prepared with so much secrecy and circumspection, that no one circumstance appeared to occasion the smallest suspicion of the impending calamity, the result of an act of piracy the most consummate and atrocious that was probably ever committed."

How far Bligh was justified in ascribing the calamity to a conspiracy, will be seen hereafter. We now proceed to give in detail the facts of the mutinous proceedings, as stated by Captain Bligh in his narrative.

"In the morning of the 28th April," he reports, "the north-westmost of the Friendly Islands, called Tofoa, bearing north-east, I was steering to the westward with a ship in the most perfect order, all my plants in the most perfect condition, all my men and officers in good health; and, in short, everything to flatter and ensure my most sanguine expectations. On leaving the deck, I gave directions for the course to be steered during the night. The master had the first watch; the gunner the middle watch; and Mr Christian the morning watch. This was the turn of duty for the night.

"Just before sun-rising, on Tuesday the 28th, while I was yet asleep, Mr Christian, officer of the watch, Charles Churchill, ship's corporal, John Mills, gunner's mate, and Thomas Burkitt, seaman, came into my cabin, and seizing me, tied my

hands with a cord behind my back, threatening me with instant death if I spoke or made the least noise. I called, however, as loud as I could, in hopes of assistance; but they had already secured the officers who were not of their party, by placing sentinels at their doors. There were three men at my cabin door besides the four within. Christian had only a cutlass in his hand, the others had muskets and bayonets. I was hauled out of bed, and forced on deck in my shirt, suffering great pain from the tightness with which they had tied my hands. I demanded the reason of such violence, but received no other answer than abuse for not holding my tongue. The master, the gunner, Mr Elphinstone, the master's mate, and Nelson, were kept confined below; and the fore-hatchway was guarded by sentinels. The boatswain and carpenter, and also Mr Samuel, the clerk, were allowed to come upon deck, where they saw me standing abaft the mizzen-mast, with my hands tied behind my back, under a guard with Christian at their head. The boatswain was ordered to hoist the launch out, with a threat, if he did not do it instantly, to take care of himself. When the boat was out, Mr Hayward, and Mr Hallet, two of the midshipmen, and Mr Samuel were ordered into it. I demanded what their intention was in giving this order, and endeavoured to persuade the

people near me not to persist in such acts of violence ; but it was to no effect—‘Hold your tongue, sir, or you are dead this instant,’ was constantly repeated to me.”

The master by this time had sent to request that he might come on deck, which was permitted ; but he was soon ordered back again to his cabin.

“I continued my endeavours to turn the tide of affairs, when Christian changed the cutlass which he had in his hand, for a bayonet that was brought to him, and, holding me with a strong gripe by the cord that tied my hands, he threatened, with many oaths, to kill me immediately, if I would not be quiet.

“The boatswain and seamen who were to go in the boat, were allowed to collect twine, canvas, lines, sails, cordage, an eight-and-twenty gallon cask of water : and Mr Samuel got one hundred and fifty pounds of bread, with a small quantity of rum and wine, also a quadrant and compass ; but he was forbidden, on pain of death, to touch either map, ephemeris, book of astronomical observations, sextant, time-keeper, or any of my surveys or drawings.

“The mutineers having forced those of the seamen whom they meant to get rid of into the boat, Christian directed a dram to be served to each of his own crew. I then unhappily saw that nothing could be done to effect the recovery of the ship : there was no one to assist me, and every endeavour on my

part was answered with threats of death.

“The officers were next called upon deck, and forced over the side into the boat, while I was kept apart from every one, abaft the mizzer-mast ; Christian, armed with a bayonet, holding me by the bandage that secured my hands. The guard round me had their pieces cocked ; but on my daring the ungrateful wretches to fire, they uncocked them.

“Isaac Martin, one of the guard over me, I saw, had an inclination to assist me, and, as he fed me with shaddock, my lips being quite parched, we explained our wishes to each other by our looks ; but this being observed, Martin was removed from me. He then attempted to leave the ship, for which purpose he got into the boat ; but with many threats they obliged him to return.

“The armourer, Joseph Coleman, and two of the carpenters, M’Intosh and Norman, were also kept contrary to their inclination ; and they begged of me, after I was astern in the boat, to remember that they declared they had no hand in the transaction. Michael Byrne, I am told, likewise wanted to leave the ship.

“To Mr Samuel, the clerk, I am indebted for securing my journals and commission, with some material ship papers. This he did with great resolution, though guarded and strictly watched. He attempted to save the time-

keeper, and a box with my surveys, drawings, and remarks for fifteen years past, which were numerous, when he was hurried away.

"It appeared to me that Christian was some time in doubt whether he should keep the carpenter or his mates. At length he determined on the latter, and the carpenter was ordered into the boat. He was permitted, but not without some opposition, to take his tool-chest.

"Much altercation took place among the mutinous crew during the whole business: some swore, others laughed at the helpless condition of the boat, being very deep, and so little room for those that were in her. As for Christian, he seemed as if meditating destruction on himself and every one else.

"I asked for arms, but they laughed at me; four cutlasses, however, were thrown into the boat after we were veered astern. I was forced over the side when they untied my hands. A few pieces of junk were thrown at us, and some clothes. We were at length cast adrift in the open ocean.

"Christian, the chief of the mutineers, is," says Captain Bligh, "of a respectable family in the north of England. This was the third voyage he had made with me; and as I found it necessary to keep my ship's company at three watches, I had given him an order to take charge of the third, his abilities

being thoroughly equal to the task; and by this means the master and gunner were not at watch and watch.

"Heywood is also of a respectable family in the north of England,\* and a young man of abilities as well as Christian. These two had been objects of my particular regard and attention, and I had taken great pains to instruct them, having entertained hopes that, as professional men, they would have become a credit to their country.

"Young was well recommended, and had the look of an able, stout seaman; he, however, fell short of what his appearance promised.

"Stewart was a young man of creditable parents in the Orkneys; at which place, on the return of the Resolution from the South Seas, in 1780, we received so many civilities, that, on that account only, I should gladly have taken him with me: but, independent of this recommendation, he was a seaman, and had always borne a good character.

"Notwithstanding the roughness with which I was treated, the remembrance of past kindnesses produced some signs of remorse in Christian. When they were forcing me out of the ship, I asked him if this treatment was a proper return for the many instances he had received of my friendship? He

\* He was born in the Isle of Man, his father being Deemster of Man, and seneschal to the Duke of Athol.

appeared disturbed at my question, and answered with much emotion, 'That—Captain Bligh—that is the thing; I am in hell,—I am in hell!'

"It will very naturally be asked, what could be the reason for such a revolt? In answer to which I can only conjecture that the mutineers had flattered themselves with the hopes of a more happy life among the Otaheitan than they could possibly enjoy in England; and this, joined to some female connections, most probably occasioned the whole transaction. The ship, indeed, while within our sight, steered to the W.N.W., but I considered this only as a feint; for when we were sent away, 'Huzza for Otaheite!' was frequently heard among the mutineers.

"The women of Otaheite are handsome, mild and cheerful in their manners and conversation, possessed of great sensibility, and have sufficient delicacy to make them admired and beloved. The chiefs were so much attached to our people, that they rather encouraged their stay among them than otherwise, and even made them promises of large possessions. Under these and many other attendant circumstances, equally desirable, it is now perhaps not so much to be wondered at, though scarcely possible to have been foreseen, that a set of sailors, most of them void of connections, should be led away; especially when, in addition to

such powerful inducements, they imagined it in their power to fix themselves in the midst of plenty, on one of the finest islands in the world, where they need not labour, and where the allurements of dissipation are beyond anything that can be conceived.

"Desertions have happened, more or less, from most of the ships that have been at the Society Islands; but it has always been in the commander's power to make their chiefs return their people: the knowledge, therefore, that it was unsafe to desert, perhaps first led mine to consider with what ease so small a ship might be surprised, and that so favourable an opportunity would never offer to them again.

"The secrecy of this mutiny is beyond all conception. Thirteen of the party, who were with me, had always lived forward among the seamen; yet neither they, nor the messmates of Christian, Stewart, Heywood, and Young, had ever observed any circumstance that made them in the least suspect what was going on. To such a close-planned act of villany, my mind being entirely free from any suspicion, it is not wonderful that I felt a sacrifice. Perhaps, if there had been marines on board, a sentinel at my cabin door might have prevented it; for I slept with the door always open, that the officers of the watch might have access to me on all occasions, the possibility of such a conspiracy

being ever the furthest from my thoughts. Had the mutiny been occasioned by any grievances, either real or imaginary, I must have discovered symptoms of their discontent, which would have put me on my guard; but the case was far otherwise. Christian, in particular, I was on the most friendly terms with: that very day he was engaged to have dined with me; and the preceding night he excused himself from supping with me, on pretence of being unwell, for which I felt concerned, having no suspicions of his integrity and honour."

This is the story Captain Bligh told when he returned, the observed of all observers, from one of the most perilous and distressing voyages over nearly four thousand miles of wide, wild ocean, in an open boat. The London slaveholders would have their eye on him; and this, at that time, was a motive for another effort, bordering, in point of determined energy, upon that one by which he overtook the four thousand miles. Whether he himself wrote his narrative or not, is one of those questions which no man need ever attempt to put, much less to answer; but certain it is that the story is skilfully told as against the miserable mutineers. In again telling their story now, we have a deep sympathy with them. More sinned against than sinning, young Christian seems to have been; and the results, as we

shall find, were not those which could have issued from the instincts of persons liberally described by Captain Bligh as wretches and scoundrels.

Captain Bligh's story, however, obtained implicit credit in those wise old days in which slaveholders in London and elsewhere made large fortunes. He never had been a man renowned for suavity of manners or mildness of temper, but was always considered, and justly too, an excellent seaman. "We all know," it was said in the *United Service Journal* for April 1831, "that mutiny can arise but from one of these two sources—excessive folly or excessive tyranny; therefore, as it is admitted that Bligh was no idiot, the inference is obvious."

"Not only," continues the writer, "was the *narrative* which he published proved to be false in many material bearings, by evidence before a court-martial, but every act of his public life after this event—from his successive command of the *Director*, the *Glatton*, and the *Warrior*, to his disgraceful expulsion from New South Wales—was stamped with an insolence, an inhumanity, and coarseness, which fully developed his character."

There is no intention, in narrating this eventful history (writes Sir John Barrow), to accuse or defend either the character or the conduct of the late Admiral Bligh; it is well known his temper was irritable in the ex-

treme ; but the circumstance of his having been the friend of Captain Cook, with whom he sailed as his master,—of his ever afterwards being patronised by Sir Joseph Banks—of the Admiralty promoting him to the rank of commander, appointing him immediately to the Providence, to proceed on the same expedition to Otaheite, and of his returning in a very short time to England with complete success, and recommending all his officers for promotion on account of their exemplary conduct,—of his holding several subsequent employments in the service, of his having commanded ships of the line in the battles of Copenhagen and Camperdown, and risen to the rank of a flag-officer ;—these may perhaps be considered to speak something in his favour, and be allowed to stand as some proof that, with all his failings, he had his merits. That he was a man of coarse habits, and entertained very mistaken notions with regard to discipline, is quite true ; yet he had many redeeming qualities.

The same writer further says, “We know that the officers fared in every way worse than the men, and that even young Heywood was kept at the mast-head no less than eight hours at one spell, in the worst weather which they encountered off Cape Horn.”

Young Heywood in his defence, said, “Captain Bligh, in his narrative, acknowledges that

he had left some friends on board the Bounty, and no part of my conduct could have induced him to believe that I ought not to be reckoned of the number. Indeed, from his attention to, *and very kind treatment of me, personally*, I should have been a monster of depravity to have betrayed him. The idea alone is sufficient to disturb a mind where humanity and gratitude have, I hope, ever been noticed as its characteristic features.” Bligh, too, declared in a letter to Heywood’s uncle, after accusing him of ingratitude, that “he never once had an angry word from me during the whole course of the voyage, as his conduct always gave me much pleasure and satisfaction.”

A manuscript journal, kept by Morrison, the boatswain’s mate, who was tried and convicted as one of the mutineers, but received the king’s pardon, shows the conduct of Bligh in a very unfavourable point of view. This Morrison was a person from talent and education far above the situation he held in the Bounty ; he had previously served in the navy as midshipman, and after his pardon, was appointed gunner of the Blenheim, in which he perished with Sir Thomas Trowbridge. In comparing this journal with other documents, the dates and transactions appear to be correctly stated.

The seeds of discord in the Bounty seem to have been sown at a very early period of

the voyage. The duties of commander and purser were united in the person of Bligh ; and it would seem that this proved the cause of very serious discontent among the officers and crew ; of the mischief arising out of this union, the following statement of Morrison may serve as a specimen. At Teneriffe, Bligh ordered the cheese to be hoisted up and exposed to the air ; which was no sooner done, than he pretended to miss a certain quantity, and declared that it had been stolen. The cooper, Henry Hillbrant, informed him that the cask in question had been opened by the orders of Mr Samuel, who acted also as steward, and the cheese sent on shore to his own house, previous to the *Bounty* leaving the river on her way to Portsmouth. Bligh, without making any further inquiry, immediately ordered the allowance of that article to be stopped, both from *officers* and *men*, until the deficiency should be made good, and told the cooper, he would give him a good flogging, if he said another word on the subject. Again, on approaching the equator, some decayed pumpkins, purchased at Teneriffe, were ordered to be issued to the crew, at the rate of *one* pound of pumpkin to *two* pounds of biscuit. The reluctance of the men to accept the proposed substitute, *on such terms*, being reported, Bligh flew upon deck in a violent rage, turned the

hands up, and ordered the first man on the list of each mess to be called by name, at the same time saying, " I'll see who will dare to refuse the pumpkin, or anything else I may order to be served out ;" to which he added, " I'll make you eat grass, or anything you can catch, before I have done with you." When a representation was made to him in a quiet and orderly manner, he called the crew aft, told them that everything relative to the provisions was transacted by his orders ; that it was therefore needless for them to complain, as they would get no redress, he being the fittest judge of what was right or wrong, and that he would flog the first man who should dare attempt to make any complaint in future. To this imperious menace they bowed in silence, and not another murmur was heard from them during the remainder of the voyage to Otaheite, it being their determination to seek legal redress on the *Bounty's* return to England.

On arriving at Matavai Bay, in Otaheite, Bligh is accused of taking the officers' hogs and bread-fruit, and serving them to the ship's company ; and when the master remonstrated with him on the subject, he replied that he would convince him that everything became *his* as soon as it was brought on board ; that " he would take nine-tenths of every man's property, and let him see who dared to say anything to the contrary."

Morrison then says, "The object of our visit to the Society Islands being at length accomplished, we weighed on the 4th April 1789. Every one seemed in high spirits, and began to talk of home, as though they had just left Jamaica instead of Otaheite, so far onward did their flattering fancies waft them. On the 23d we anchored off Annamooka, the inhabitants of which island were very rude, and attempted to take the casks and axes from the parties sent to fill water and cut wood. A musket pointed at them produced no other effect than a return of the compliment, by poisoning their clubs or spears with menacing looks; and as it was Bligh's orders that no person should affront them on any occasion, they were emboldened by meeting with no check to their insolence. They at length became so troublesome, that Mr Christian who commanded the watering party, found it difficult to carry on his duty; but on acquainting Lieutenant Bligh with their behaviour, he received a volley of abuse. To this he replied in a respectful manner, 'The arms are of no effect, sir, while your orders prohibit their use.'" This happened but three days before the mutiny.

That sad catastrophe, if the writer of the journal be correct, was hastened, if not brought about, by the following circumstances, of which Bligh takes no notice. "In the afternoon of the 27th, Captain Bligh came

upon deck, and missing some of the cocoa-nuts which had been piled up between the guns, said they had been stolen, and could not have been taken away without the knowledge of the officers, all of whom were sent for and questioned on the subject. On their declaring that they had not seen any of the people touch them, he exclaimed, 'Then you must have taken them yourselves;' and he proceeded to inquire of them separately how many they had purchased. On coming to Mr Christian, that gentleman answered, 'I do not know, sir; but I hope you do not think me so mean as to be guilty of stealing yours.' Mr Bligh replied, 'I'll sweat you for it; I'll make you jump overboard before you get through Endeavour Straits.'

It is difficult to believe, says Sir John Barrow, that an officer could condescend to make use of such language; it is to be feared, however, that there is sufficient ground for the truth of these statements. Mr Fryer being asked, "What do you suppose to be Mr Christian's meaning when he said he had been in hell for a fortnight?" answered, "From the frequent quarrels they had had, and the abuse he had received from Mr Bligh." "Had there been any very recent quarrel?" "The day before, Mr Bligh challenged all the young gentlemen and people with stealing his cocoa-nuts." It was on the evening of this day that Captain Bligh,



according to his printed narrative, says, Christian was to have supped with him, but excused himself on account of being unwell; and that he was invited to dine with him on the day of the mutiny.

Every one of these circumstances, and many others which might be stated from Mr Morrison's journal, are omitted in Bligh's published narrative.

In so early a part of the voyage as their arrival in Adventure Bay, Bligh found fault with his officers, and put the carpenter into confinement. Again, at Matavai Bay, on the 5th December, he says, "I ordered the carpenter to cut a large stone that was brought off by one of the natives, requesting me to get it made fit for them to grind their hatchets on; but to my astonishment he refused, in direct terms, to comply, saying, 'I will not cut the stone, for it will spoil my chisel; and though there may be law to take away my clothes, there is none to take away my tools.' This man having before shown his mutinous and insolent behaviour, I was under the necessity of confining him to his cabin."

On the 5th January three men deserted in the cutter, on which occasion Bligh says, "Had the mate of the watch been awake, no trouble of this kind would have happened. I have therefore disrated and ~~turned~~ him before the mast; such neglectful and worthless

petty-officers, I believe, never were in a ship as are in this. No orders for a few hours together are obeyed by them, and their conduct in general is so bad, that no confidence or trust can be reposed in them; in short, they have driven me to everything but corporal punishment, and that must follow if they do not improve."

By Morrison's journal it would appear that "corporal punishment" was not long delayed; for, on the very day, he says, the midshipman was put in irons, and confined from the 5th January to the 23d March—eleven weeks!

On the 17th January, orders being given to clear out the sail-room and air the sails, many of them were found much mildewed and rotten in many places; on which he observes "If I had any officers to supersede the master and boatswain or was capable of doing without them, considering them common seamen, they should no longer occupy their respective stations; scarcely any neglect of duty can equal the criminality of this."

On the 24th January the three deserters were brought back and flogged, then put in irons for further punishment. "As this affair," he says, "was solely caused by the neglect of the officers who had the watch, I was induced to give them all a lecture on the occasion, and endeavour to show them that, however exempt they were at

present from the like punishment, yet they were equally subject, by the articles of war, to a condign one."

On the 7th March, a native Otaheitan, whom Bligh had confined in irons, contrived to break the lock of the bilbo-bolt and make his escape. "I had given," says Bligh, "a written order, that the mate of the watch was to be answerable for the prisoners, and to visit and see that they were safe in his watch; but I have such a neglectful set about me, that I believe nothing but condign punishment can alter their conduct. Verbal orders, in the course of a month, were so forgotten, that they would impudently assert no such thing or directions were given; and I have been at last under the necessity to trouble myself with writing what, by decent young officers, would be complied with as the common rules of the service. Mr Stewart was the mate of the watch."

These extracts show the terms on which Bligh was with his officers. That Christian was the sole author of the mutiny appears still more strongly from the following passage in Morrison's journal: "When Mr Bligh found he must go into the boat, he begged of Mr Christian to desist, saying, 'I'll pawn my honour, I'll give my bond, Mr. Christian, never to think of this, if you'll desist,' and urged his wife and family; to which Mr Christian replied, 'No, Cap-

tain Bligh, if you had any honour, things had not come to this; and if you had any regard for your wife and family, you should have thought on them before, and not behaved so much like a villain.' The boatswain also tried to pacify Mr Christian, to whom he replied, 'It is too late; I have been in hell for this fortnight past, and am determined to bear it no longer; and you know, Mr Cole, that I have been used like a dog all the voyage.'"

It is pretty evident, therefore, that the mutiny was not, as Bligh in his narrative states it to have been, the result of a conspiracy. To those who care to read the minutes of the court-martial, it will be seen that the affair was planned and executed between four and eight o'clock, on the morning of the 28th April, when Christian had the watch upon deck; that Christian, unable longer to bear abusive and insulting language, had meditated his own escape from the ship the day before, choosing to trust himself to fate, rather than submit to the constant upbraiding to which he had been subject.

Bligh invited Christian to sup with him the same evening, evidently wishing to renew their friendly intercourse; and happy would it have been for all parties had he accepted the invitation. While on this lovely night Bligh and his master were congratulating themselves on the pleasing prospect of fine weather and a full moon, to light them

through Endeavour's dangerous Straits, Christian was, in all probability, brooding over his wrongs, and meditating on the daring act he was to perpetrate the following morning.

By the journal of Morrison, the following is an account of the transaction, as given by Christian himself.

He said: "Finding himself much hurt by the treatment he had received from Lieutenant Bligh, he had determined to quit the ship the preceding evening, and had informed the boatswain, carpenter, and two midshipmen (Stewart and *Hayward*) of his intention to do so; that by them he was supplied with part of a roasted pig, some nails, beads, and other articles of trade, which he put into a bag that was given him by the last-named gentleman; that he put this bag into the clue of Robert Tinkler's hammock, where it was discovered by that young gentleman when going to bed at night; but the business was smothered, and passed off without any further notice. He said he had fastened some staves to a stout plank, with which he intended to make his escape; but finding he could not effect it during the first and middle watches, as the ship had no way through the water, and the people were all moving about, he laid down to rest about half-past three in the morning; that when Mr Stewart called him to relieve the deck at four o'clock, he had but just fallen asleep, and was much out

of order; upon observing which, Mr Stewart strenuously advised him to abandon his intention; that as soon as he had taken charge of the deck, he saw Mr Hayward, the mate of his watch, lie down on the arm-chest to take a nap; and finding that Mr Hallet, the other midshipman, did not make his appearance, he suddenly formed the resolution of seizing the ship. Disclosing his intention to Matthew Quintal and Isaac Martin, both of whom had been flogged by Lieutenant Bligh, they called up Charles Churchill, who had also tasted the cat, and Matthew Thompson, both of whom readily joined in the plot. That Alexander Smith (*alias* John Adams), John Williams, and William M'Koy, evinced equal willingness, and went with Churchill to the armourer, of whom they obtained the keys of the arm-chest, under pretence of wanting a musket to fire at a shark, then alongside; that finding Mr Hallet asleep on an arm-chest in the main-hatchway, they roused and sent him on deck. Charles Norman, unconscious of their proceedings, had, in the meantime, awaked Mr *Hayward*, and directed his attention to the shark, whose movements he was watching at the moment that Mr Christian and his confederates came up the fore-hatchway, after having placed arms in the hands of several men who were not aware of their design. One man, Matthew Thompson, was left in charge

of the chest, and he served out arms to Thomas Burkitt and Robert Lamb. Mr Christian said he then proceeded to secure Lieutenant Bligh, the master, gunner, and botanist."

"When Mr Christian," observes Morrison, in his journal, "related the above circumstances, I recollected having seen him fasten some staves to a plank lying on the larboard gangway, as also having heard the boatswain say to the carpenter, 'It will not do to-night.' I likewise remember that Mr Christian had visited the fore-cockpit several times that evening, although he had very seldom, if ever, frequented the warrant-officers' cabins before."

If this be a correct statement, it removes every doubt of Christian being the sole instigator of the mutiny, and establishes the conclusion that it was suddenly conceived by a hot-headed young man, in a state of great excitement of mind, caused by the frequent abusing and insulting language of his commanding officer. Waking out of a short half-hour's disturbed sleep, finding the two mates of the watch, Hayward and Hallet, asleep, the opportunity tempting, and the ship completely in his power, he darted down the fore-hatchway, got possession of the keys of the arm-chest, and made the hazardous experiment of arming such of the men as he thought he could trust, and effected his purpose.

There is a passage in Captain Beechey's account of Pitcairn

Island, which, if correct, would cast a stain on the memory of the unfortunate Stewart—he who, if there was one innocent man in the ship (says Sir John Barrow), was that man. Captain Beechey says (speaking of Christian), "His plan, strange as it must appear for a young officer to adopt who was fairly advanced to an honourable profession, was to set himself adrift upon a raft, and make his way to the island (Tofoa) then in sight. As quick in the execution as in the design, the raft was soon constructed, various useful articles were got together, and he was on the point of launching it, when a young officer, who afterwards perished in the Pandora, to whom Christian communicated his intention, recommended him, rather than risk his life on so hazardous an expedition, to endeavour to take possession of the ship, which he thought would not be very difficult, as many of the ship's company were not well-disposed towards the commander, and would all be very glad to return to Otaheite, and reside among their friends in that island. This daring proposition is even more extraordinary than the premeditated scheme of his companion."

Captain Beechey, desirous of being correct in his statement, sent his chapter on Pitcairn Island for any observations the subsequent Captain Heywood might have to make on what was said therein regarding the mutiny. Captain Heywood returned the following reply :

"5th April 1830.

"Dear Sir,—I have perused the account you received from Adams of the mutiny in the *Bounty*, which does indeed differ very materially from a foot-note in Marshall's '*Naval Biography*,' by the editor, to whom I verbally detailed the facts, which are strictly true.

"That Christian informed the boatswain and the carpenter, Messrs Hayward and Stewart, of his determination to leave the ship upon a raft, on the night preceding the mutiny, is certain; but that any one of them (Stewart in particular) should have 'recommended, rather than risk his life on so hazardous an expedition, that he should try the expedient of taking the ship from the captain,' etc., is entirely at variance with the whole character and conduct of the latter, both before and after the mutiny; as well as with the assurance of Christian himself, the very night he quitted Taheité, that the idea of attempting to take the ship had never entered his distracted mind until the moment he relieved the deck, and found his mate and midshipman asleep.

"At that last interview with Christian, he also communicated to me, for the satisfaction of his relations, other circumstances connected with that unfortunate disaster, which, after their deaths, may or may not be laid before the public. And although they can implicate none but himself, either living or dead, they may

extenuate but will contain not a word of his in defence of the crime he committed against the laws of his country.—I am, etc.

"P. HEYWOOD."

Captain Beechey stated only what he had heard from old Adams, who was not always correct in the information he gave to the visitors of his island; but this part of his statement gave great pain to Heywood, who adverted to it on his death-bed, wishing, out of regard for Stewart's memory and his surviving friends, that it should be publicly contradicted. The temptations, therefore, which it was supposed Otaheite held out to the deluded men of the *Bounty* had no more share in the transaction, than the supposed conspiracy. Bligh is the only person who has said it was so.

If, however, the recollection of the "sunny isle" and its "smiling women" had really tempted the men to mutiny, Bligh would himself not have been very free from blame, for having allowed them to remain for six whole months among this voluptuous and fascinating people. The service was carried on in those days in a very different spirit from that which regulates its movements now, otherwise the *Bounty* would never have passed six whole months at one island stowing away the fruit. As far as the mutiny of his people was concerned, we must wholly discard the idea thrown

out by Bligh that the seductions of Otaheite had any share in producing it. It could not have escaped a person of Christian's sagacity, that certain interrogatories would unquestionably be put by the natives of Otaheite, on finding the ship return so soon, without her commander, without the bread-fruit plants, and with only about half her crew. At subsequent periods, he twice visited that island. His object was to find a place of concealment, where he might pass the remainder of his days, unheard of and unknown—one of the many strange sort of wishes which will happen to men who mean what they are doing.

Christian had intended to send away Bligh and his associates in the cutter, and ordered that it should be hoisted out for that purpose, which was done—a small boat, that could hold but eight or ten men at the most. But the remonstrances of the master, boatswain, and carpenter prevailed on him to allow them the launch, into which nineteen persons were thrust, whose weight, together with that of a few articles they were permitted to take, brought down the boat so near to the water as to endanger her sinking with but a moderate swell of the sea.

The first consideration of Bligh and his eighteen unfortunate companions, on being cast adrift in their open boat, was their resources. The quan-

tity of provisions thrown at them was—one hundred and fifty pounds of bread, sixteen pieces of pork, each weighing two pounds; six quarts of rum, six bottles of wine, with twenty-eight gallons of water, and four empty barricoes. Being so near to the island of Tofoa, they resolved to seek a supply of bread-fruit and water there, so as to preserve, if possible, that poor stock entire; but after rowing along the coast, they discovered only some cocoa-nut trees on the top of high precipices, from which, with much danger, they succeeded in obtaining about twenty nuts. The second day they made excursions into the island, but without success. They met a few natives, who came down with them to the cove where the boat was lying. They made inquiries after the ship, and Bligh said the ship had overset and sunk, and that they only were saved. The story was certainly indiscreet, as putting the people in possession of their defenceless situation; however, they brought in small quantities of bread-fruit, plantains, and cocoa-nuts, but little or no water could be procured. These supplies, scanty as they were, served to keep up the spirits of the men, and they all determined to do their best.

The numbers of the natives having so much increased as to line the whole beach, they began knocking stones together, which was known to be the preparatory signal for an attack.

With some difficulty, on account of the surf, Bligh's men succeeded in getting the things that were on shore into the boat. John Norton, quartermaster, was casting off the stern-fast, and the natives immediately rushed upon this poor man, and actually stoned him to death. A volley of stones was also discharged at the boat, and every one in it was more or less hurt. This induced the unfortunate fugitives to push out to sea with all the speed they were able to give to the launch; but several canoes, filled with stones, followed close after them and renewed the attack; against which the only return the men in the boat could make, was with the stones of the assailants that lodged in her. The only expedient left was to tempt the enemy to desist from the pursuit, by throwing overboard some clothes, which induced the canoes to stop and pick them up; and, night coming on, the natives returned to the shore.

The men now entreated Bligh to take a homeward route; and on being told that no hope of relief could be entertained till they reached Timor, a distance of full twelve hundred leagues, they all readily agreed to be content with an allowance, which, on a calculation of their resources, he informed them would not exceed one ounce of bread and a quarter of a pint of water per day. It was about eight o'clock at night on the

2d May, when they bore away under a reefed lug-foresail; and having divided the people into watches, "and got the boat into a little order," says that brave commander, "we returned thanks to God for our miraculous preservation; and, in full confidence of His gracious support, I found my mind more at ease than it had been for some time past."

At daybreak on the 3d, the forlorn and almost hopeless navigators saw with alarm the sun to rise fiery and red—a sure indication of a severe gale of wind; and, accordingly, at eight o'clock it blew a violent storm, and the sea ran so high that the sail was becalmed when between seas, and too much to have set when on the top of the sea; yet they could not venture to take it in, as they were in imminent danger, the sea curling over the stern, and obliging them to bale with all their might.

The bread being in bags, was in danger of being spoiled by the wet. It was determined, therefore, that all superfluous clothes, with some rope and spare sails, should be thrown overboard. The carpenter's tool-chest was cleared, and the tools stowed in the bottom of the boat, and the bread was secured in the chest. A teaspoonful of rum was served out to each person, with a quarter of a bread-fruit for dinner, Bligh having determined to make their small stock of provisions last

eight weeks, let the daily proportion be ever so small.

The sea continuing to run higher, the fatigue of baling became very great. The men were constantly wet, the night very cold, and at daylight their limbs were so benumbed, that they could scarcely find the use of them. At this time a tea-spoonful of rum served out to each person was found of great benefit to all. Five small cocoanuts were distributed for dinner, and in the evening a few broken pieces of bread-fruit were served for supper, after which prayers were performed.

On the night of the 4th and morning of the 5th, the gale had abated; the first step to be taken was to examine the state of the bread, a great part of which was found to be damaged and rotten. The boat was now running among islands, but, after their reception at Tofoa, they did not venture to land. On the 6th, they still continued to see islands at a distance; and this day, for the first time, they hooked a fish, to their great joy; "but," says Bligh, "we were miserably disappointed by its being lost in trying to get it into the boat." In the evening, each person had an ounce of the damaged bread, and a quarter of a pint of water for supper.

Captain Bligh observes, "It will readily be supposed our lodgings were very miserable and confined for want of room;" but he endeavoured to remedy

the latter defect by putting themselves at watch and watch; so that one-half always sat up, while the other lay down on the boat's bottom, or upon a chest, but with nothing to cover them except the heavens. Their limbs, he says, were dreadfully cramped, for they could not stretch them out; and the nights were so cold, and they were so constantly wet, that, after a few hours' sleep, they were scarcely able to move. At dawn of day on the 7th, being very wet and cold, he says, "I served a spoonful of rum and a morsel of bread for breakfast."

On the 8th, the allowance issued was an ounce and a half of pork, a tea-spoonful of rum, half a pint of cocoa-nut milk, and an ounce of bread. The rum was of the greatest service. "Hitherto," the commander says, "I had issued the allowance by guess; but I now made a pair of scales with two cocoa-nut shells; and having accidentally some pistol-balls in the boat, twenty-five of which weighed one pound or sixteen ounces, I adopted one of these balls as the proportion of weight that each person should receive of bread at the times I served it. I also amused all hands with describing the situations of New Guinea and New Holland, and gave them every information in my power, that in case any accident should happen to me, those who survived might have some idea of what they were about, and be able to find



their way to Timor, which at present they knew nothing of more than the name, and some not even that. At night I served a quarter of a pint of water and half an ounce of bread for supper."

On the morning of the 9th, a quarter of a pint of cocoa-nut milk and some of the decayed bread were served for breakfast; and for dinner, the kernels of four cocoa-nuts, with the remainder of the rotten bread, which, he says, was eatable only by such distressed people as themselves. A storm of thunder and lightning gave them about twenty gallons of water. "Being miserably wet and cold, I served to the people a tea-spoonful of rum each, to enable them to bear with their distressing situation."

The following day (the 10th) brought no relief, except that of its light. The allowance now served regularly to each person was one twenty-fifth part of a pound of bread and a quarter of a pint of water, at eight in the morning, at noon, and at sunset. To-day was added about half an ounce of pork for dinner, which, though any moderate person would have considered only as a mouthful, was divided into three or four.

The morning of the 11th did not improve. "At daybreak I served to every person a tea-spoonful of rum, our limbs being so much cramped that we could scarcely move them." In the evening of the 12th, it still

rained hard, and we again experienced a dreadful night. At length the day came, and showed a miserable set of beings, full of wants, without anything to relieve them. Some complained of great pain in their bowels, and every one of having almost lost the use of his limbs. The little sleep we got was in no way refreshing, as we were constantly covered with the sea and rain. The shipping of seas and constant baling continued; and the men were shivering with wet and cold, yet the commander says he was under the necessity of informing them that he could no longer afford them the comfort they had derived from the tea-spoonful of rum.

On the 13th and 14th the stormy weather and heavy sea continued unabated; and on these days they saw distant land, and passed several islands. The sight of these islands served only to increase the misery of their situation.

The whole day and night of the 15th were still rainy; the latter was dark, not a star to be seen by which the steerage could be directed, and the sea was continually breaking over the boat. On the next day there was issued for dinner an ounce of salt pork, in addition to their miserable allowance of one twenty-fifth part of a pound of bread. The night was again truly horrible, with storms of thunder, lightning, and rain; not a star visible, so that the steerage was quite uncertain.

On the morning of the 17th, at dawn of day, "I found," says the commander, "every person complaining, and some of them solicited extra allowance, which I positively refused. Our situation was miserable; always wet, and suffering extreme cold in the night, without the least shelter from the weather. The little rum we had was of the greatest service: when our nights were particularly distressing, I generally served a tea-spoonful or two to each person, and it was always joyful tidings when they heard of my intentions. The night was again a dark and dismal one, the sea constantly breaking over us, and nothing but the wind and waves to direct our steerage. It was my intention, if possible, to make the coast of New Holland to the southward of Endeavour Straits, being sensible that it was necessary to preserve such a situation as would make a southerly wind a fair one."

On the 18th the rain abated, when the men all stripped, and wrung their clothes through the sea-water, from which, the commander says, they derived much warmth and refreshment; but every one complained of violent pains in their bones. At night the heavy rain recommenced, with severe lightning, which obliged them to keep baling without intermission. The same weather continued through the 19th and 20th.

"During the whole of the afternoon of the 21st we were,"

he reported, "so covered with rain and salt water, that we could scarcely see. We suffered extreme cold, and every one dreaded the approach of night. Sleep, though we longed for it, afforded no comfort; for my own part, I almost lived without it. On the 22d, our situation was extremely calamitous. We were obliged to take the course of the sea, running right before it, and watching with the utmost care, as the least error in the helm would in a moment have been our destruction.

"On the evening of the 24th, the wind moderated, and the weather looked much better, which rejoiced all hands, so that they ate their scanty allowance with satisfaction. The night also was fair, but being always wet with the sea, we suffered much from the cold. I had the pleasure to see a fine morning produce some cheerful countenances; and for the first time during the last fifteen days, we experienced comfort from the warmth of the sun. We stripped and hung up our clothes to dry, which were by this time become so threadbare, that they could not keep out either wet or cold. In the afternoon we had many birds about us which are never seen far from land, such as boobies and noddies."

On the 25th about noon, some noddies came so near to the boat, that one of them was caught by the hand. This bird was about the size of a small pigeon. "I divided it," says

Bligh, "with its entrails, into eighteen portions, and by a well known method at sea, of '*Who shall have this?*' it was distributed with the allowance of bread and water for dinner, and eaten up, bones and all, with salt water for sauce. In the evening, several boobies flying very near to us, we had the good fortune to catch one of them. This bird is as large as a duck. They are the most presumptive proof of being near land of any sea-fowl we are acquainted with. I directed the bird to be killed for supper, and the blood to be given to three of the people who were the most distressed for want of food.

"On the next day," he says, "the 26th, we caught another booby. The people were overjoyed at this addition to their dinner, which was distributed in the same manner as on the preceding evening; giving the blood to those who were the most in want of food. To make the bread a little savoury, most of the men frequently dipped it in salt water; but I generally broke mine into small pieces, and ate it in my allowance of water, out of a cocoa-nut shell."

The weather was now serene, which, nevertheless, was not without its inconveniences; for, it appears, they began to feel distress of a different kind from that which they had hitherto been accustomed to suffer. The heat of the sun was so power-

ful, that several of the people were seized with languor and faintness. But the little circumstance of catching two boobies in the evening, trifling as it may appear, had the effect of raising their spirits. The stomachs of these birds contained several flying-fish and small cuttle-fish, all of which were carefully saved to be divided for dinner the next day; which were accordingly divided, with their entrails and the contents of their maws, into eighteen portions; and, as the prize was a very valuable one, it was distributed as before by calling out, "*Who shall have this?*"

At one in the morning of the 28th, the person at the helm heard the sound of breakers. It was the "barrier reef" which runs along the eastern coast of New Holland, through which it now became the anxious object to discover a passage: Bligh says this was now become absolutely necessary, without a moment's loss of time. The sea broke furiously over the reef in every part; within, the water was so smooth and calm, that every man already anticipated the heartfelt satisfaction he was about to receive, as soon as he should have passed the barrier. At length a break in the reef was discovered, a quarter of a mile in width; and through this the boat rapidly passed with a strong stream running to the westward, and came immediately into smooth water, and all the past hard-

ships seemed at once to be forgotten.

They now returned thanks to God for His generous protection, and took their miserable allowance of the twenty-fifth part of a pound of bread, and a quarter of a pint of water, for dinner.

The coast now began to show itself very distinctly, and in the evening they landed on the sandy point of an island, when it was soon discovered there were oysters on the rocks, it being low water. The party sent out to reconnoitre returned highly rejoiced at having found plenty of oysters and fresh water. By help of a small magnifying-glass, a fire was made; and among the things that had been thrown into the boat was a tinder-box and a piece of brimstone, so that in future they had the ready means of making a fire. One of the men, too, had been so provident as to bring away with him from the ship a copper pot; and thus, with a mixture of oysters, bread, and pork, a stew was made, of which each person received a full pint.

"This day (29th May) being," says Bligh, "the anniversary of the restoration of King Charles II., and the name not being inapplicable to our present situation (for we were restored to fresh life and strength), I named this 'Restoration Island,' for I thought it probable that Captain Cook might not have taken notice of it."

With oysters and palm-tops

stewed together, the people now made excellent meals, without consuming any of their bread. In the morning of the 30th, he says he saw a visible alteration in the men for the better, and sent them away to gather oysters, in order to carry a stock of them to sea; for he determined to put off again that evening. They also procured fresh water, and filled all their vessels, to the amount of nearly sixty gallons. On examining the bread, it was found there still remained about thirty-eight days' allowance. They now proceeded to the northward, having the continent on their left, and several islands and reefs on their right.

On the 31st they landed on one of these islands, to which was given the name of "Sunday." "I sent out two parties," says Bligh, "one to the northward and the other to the southward, to seek for supplies, and others I ordered to stay by the boat. On this occasion fatigue and weakness so far got the better of their sense of duty, that some of the people expressed their discontent at having worked harder than their companions, and declared that they would rather be without their dinner than go in search of it. One person, in particular, went so far as to tell me, with a mutinous look, that he was as good a man as myself. It was not possible for one to judge where this might have an end, if not stopped in time; to pre-

vent, therefore, such disputes in future, I determined either to preserve my command or die in the attempt; and, seizing a cutlass, I ordered him to lay hold of another and defend himself; on which he called out that I was going to kill him, and immediately made concessions. I did not allow this to interfere further with the harmony of the boat's crew, and everything soon became quiet."

On this island they obtained oysters, and clams, and dogfish; also a small bean, which Nelson, the botanist, pronounced to be a species of *dolichos*. On the 1st of June they stopped in the midst of some sandy islands, such as are known by the name of *keys*, where they procured a few clams and beans. Here Nelson was taken very ill with a violent heat in his bowels, a loss of sight, great thirst, and an inability to walk. A little wine, which had carefully been saved, with some pieces of bread soaked in it, was given to him in small quantities, and he soon began to recover. The boatswain and carpenter were also ill, and complained of headache and sickness of the stomach. In fact, there were few without complaints.

A party was sent out by night to catch birds; they returned with only twelve noddies, but it is stated that had it not been for the folly and obstinacy of one of the party, who separated from the others and disturbed the birds, a great many more

might have been taken. The offender was Robert Lamb, who acknowledged, when he got to Java, that he had that night eaten *nine* raw birds after he separated from his two companions.

On the 3d of June, after passing several keys and islands, and doubling Cape York, the northeasternmost point of New Holland, at eight in the evening, the little boat and her brave crew once more launched into the open ocean.

On the 5th a booby was caught by the hand, the blood of which was divided between three of the men who were weakest, and the bird kept for next day's dinner; and on the evening of the 6th the allowance for supper was recommenced, according to a promise made when it had been discontinued. On the 7th, after a miserably wet and cold night, nothing more could be afforded than the usual allowance for breakfast; but at dinner each person had the luxury of an ounce of dried clams, which consumed all that remained. Mr Ledward, the surgeon, and Lawrence Lebogue, an old hardy seaman, appeared to be giving way very fast. No other assistance could be given to them than a tea-spoonful or two of wine, and that had to be carefully saved for such a melancholy occasion.

On the 8th the weather was more moderate, and a small dolphin was caught, which gave about two ounces to each man.

The surgeon and Lebogue still continued very ill, and the only relief that could be afforded them was a small quantity of wine, and encouraging them with the hope that a very few days more, at the rate they were then sailing, would bring them to Timor.

"In the morning of the 10th, there was a visible alteration for the worse," says Bligh, "in many of the people, which gave me great apprehensions. An extreme weakness, swelled legs, hollow and ghastly countenances, a more than common inclination to sleep, with an apparent debility of understanding, seemed to me the melancholy presages of an approaching dissolution. The surgeon and Lebogue, in particular, were most miserable objects: I occasionally gave them a few tea-spoonfuls of wine out of the little that remained, which greatly assisted them."

On the 11th Bligh announced to his wretched companions that he had no doubt they had now passed the meridian of the eastern part of Timor, a piece of intelligence that diffused universal joy and satisfaction. At three in the morning of the following day, Timor was discovered at the distance only of two leagues from the shore.

On Sunday the 14th they came safely to anchor in Coupang Bay, where they were received with every mark of kindness, hospitality, and humanity. The houses of the principal people were thrown open for

their reception. The poor sufferers when landed were scarcely able to walk: their condition was deplorable.

Having recruited their strength by a residence of two months among the friendly inhabitants of Coupang, they proceeded to the westward on the 20th August in a small schooner, which was purchased and armed for the purpose, and arrived on the 1st October in Batavia Road, where Captain Bligh embarked in a Dutch packet, and was landed on the Isle of Wight on the 14th March 1790. The rest of the people had passages provided for them in ships of the Dutch East India Company, then about to sail for Europe. All of them, however, did not survive to reach England. Nelson, the botanist, died at Coupang; Elphinstone, master's mate, Peter Linkletter and Thomas Hall, seamen, died at Batavia; Robert Lamb, seaman, died on the passage; and Ledward, the surgeon, was left behind, and not afterwards heard of. These six, with John Norton, who was stoned to death, left twelve of the nineteen, forced by the mutineers into the launch, to survive the difficulties and dangers of this unparalleled voyage, and to revisit their native country.

Bligh says, "Thus happily ended, through the assistance of Divine Providence, without accident, a voyage of the most extraordinary nature that ever happened in the world, let it be taken either in its extent, dura-

tion, or the want of any necessary of life."

Sir John Barrow adds, "It is impossible to read this extraordinary and unparalleled voyage, without bestowing the meed of unqualified praise on the able and judicious conduct of its commander, who is in every respect, as far as this extraordinary enterprise is concerned, fully entitled to rank with Parry, Franklin, and Richardson. Few men, indeed, were ever placed for so long a period in a more trying, distressing, and perilous situation than he was, and it may safely be pronounced that through his discreet management of the men and their scanty resources, and his ability as a thorough seaman, eighteen souls were saved from imminent and otherwise inevitable destruction, It was not alone the dangers of the sea, in an open boat crowded with people, that he had to combat, though they required the most consummate nautical skill to be enabled to contend successfully against them; but the unfortunate situation to which the party were exposed, rendered him subject to the almost daily murmuring and caprice of people less conscious than himself of their real danger. From the experience they had acquired at Tofoa of the savage disposition of the people against the defenceless boat's crew, a lesson was learned how little was to be trusted, even to the mildest of uncivilised people, when a conscious superiority was in their

hands. A striking proof of this was experienced in the unprovoked attack made by those amiable people, the Otaheitans, on Captain Wallis's ship, of whose power they had formed no just conception; but having once experienced the full force of it, on no future occasion was any attempt made to repeat the attack. Captain Bligh, fully aware of his own weakness, deemed it expedient, therefore, to resist all desires and temptations to land at any of those islands among which they passed in the course of the voyage, well knowing how little could be trusted to the forbearance of savages, unarmed and wholly defenceless as his party were.

But the circumstance of being tantalised with the appearance of land, clothed with perennial verdure, whose approach was forbidden to men chilled with wet and cold, and nearly perishing with hunger, was by no means the most difficult against which the commander had to struggle. "It was not the least of my distresses," he observes, "to be constantly assailed with the melancholy demands of my people for an increase of allowance, which it grieved me to refuse." He well knew that to reason with men reduced to the last stage of famine, yet denied the use of provisions within their reach, and with the power to seize upon them in their own hands, would be to no purpose. Something more must be done to ensure even the possibility of

saving them from the effect of their own imprudence. The first thing he set about, therefore, was to ascertain the exact state of their provisions, which were found to amount to the ordinary consumption of five days, but which were to be spun out so as to last fifty days. This was at once distinctly stated to the men, and an agreement entered into, and a solemn promise made by all, that the settled allowance should never be deviated from, as they were made clearly to understand that on the strict observance of this agreement rested the only hope of their safety; and this was explained and made so evident to every man, at the time it was concluded, that they unanimously agreed to it; and by reminding them of this compact, whenever they became clamorous for more, and showing a firm determination not to swerve from it, Captain Bligh succeeded in resisting all their solicitations.

This rigid adherence to the compact in doling out their miserable pittance, the constant exposure to wet, the imminent peril of being swallowed up by the ocean, their cramped and confined position, and the unceasing reflection on their miserable and melancholy situation—all these difficulties and sufferings make it not less than miraculous that this voyage, itself a miracle, should have been completed, not only without the loss of a man from sickness, but

with so little loss of health. "With respect to the preservation of our health," says the commander, "during the course of sixteen days of heavy and almost continual rain, I would recommend to every one in a similar situation the method we practised of dipping their clothes in salt-water, and to wring them out as often as they become soaked with rain: it was the only resource we had, and I believe was of the greatest service to us, for it felt more like a change of dry clothes than could well be imagined. We had occasion to do this so often, that at length all our clothes were wrung to pieces."

But the great art of all was to divert their attention from the almost hopeless situation in which they were placed, and to prevent despondency from taking possession of their minds; and in order to assist in effecting this, some employment was devised for them: among other things, a log-line—an object of interest to all—was measured and marked; and the men were practised in counting seconds correctly, that the distance run on each day might be ascertained with a nearer approach to accuracy than by mere guessing. These little operations afforded them a temporary amusement; and the log being daily and hourly hove, gave them also some employment, and diverted their thoughts for the moment from their melancholy situation. Then, every



noon, when the sun was out, or at other times before or after noon, and also at night when the stars appeared, Captain Bligh never neglected to take observations for the latitude, and to work the day's work for ascertaining the boat's place. The anxiety of the people to hear how they had proceeded, what progress had been made, and whereabouts they were on the wide ocean, also contributed for the time to drive away gloomy thoughts that but too frequently would intrude themselves. These observations were rigidly attended to, and sometimes made under the most difficult circumstances—the sea breaking over the observer, and the boat pitching and rolling so much, that he was obliged to be “propped up” while taking them. In this way, with now and then a little interrupted sleep, about a thousand long and anxious hours were consumed in pain and peril, and a space of sea passed over equal to four thousand five hundred miles, being at the rate of four and one-fifth miles an hour, or one hundred miles a day. Bligh mentions, in his printed narrative, the mutinous conduct of a person to whom he gave a cutlass to defend himself. This affair, as stated in his original manuscript journal, wears a far more serious aspect. “The carpenter (Purcell) began to be insolent to a high degree, and at last told me, with a mutinous aspect, he was as

good a man as I was. I did not just now see where this was to end: I therefore determined to strike a final blow at it, and either to preserve my command or die in the attempt; and, taking hold of a cutlass, I ordered the rascal to take hold of another and defend himself, when he called out that I was going to kill him, and began to make concessions. I was now only assisted by Mr Nelson; and the master (Fryer) very deliberately called out to the boatswain to put me under an arrest, and was stirring up a great disturbance, when I declared, if he interfered when I was in the execution of my duty to preserve order and regularity, and that in consequence any tumult arose, I would certainly put him to death the first man. This had a proper effect on this man, and he now assured me that, on the contrary, I might rely on him to support my orders and directions for the future. This is the outline of a tumult that lasted about a quarter of an hour;” and he adds, “I was told that the master and carpenter, at the last place, were endeavouring to procure alterations, and were the principal cause of their murmuring there.” This carpenter he brought to a court-martial on their arrival in England, on various charges, of which he was found guilty in part, and reprimanded. Purcell was said to be afterwards in a mad-house.

On another occasion, when a stew of oysters was distributed among the people, Bligh observes (in the MS. journal), "In the distribution of it, the voraciousness of some and the moderation of others were very discernible. The master began to be dissatisfied the first, because it was not made into a larger quantity by the addition of water, and showed a turbulent disposition, until I laid my commands on him to be silent." Again, on his refusing bread to the men, because they were collecting oysters, he says, "This occasioned some murmuring with the master and carpenter, the former of whom endeavoured to prove the propriety of such an expenditure, and was troublesome ignorant, tending to create disorder among those, if any were weak enough to listen to him."

This conduct of the master and the carpenter, if we accept the commander's account of it as accurate, and not unduly biassed, was enough to provoke a less irritable person. He mentions, both in the narrative and the original journal, other instances of like provocation. But what makes one chary at repeating the story with accessories which aroused the British Lion at the time of Bligh's return, and set it raging and roaring after the mutineers, is that gentleman's treatment of the conduct, character, and good name of Midshipman Heywood, who lived through it all, and a

sentence of death besides, to be subsequently honoured and respected as Captain Peter Heywood. "To the kindness of Mrs Heywood," says Sir John Barrow in his preface, "the relict of the late Captain Peter Heywood, the editor is indebted for those beautiful and affectionate letters, written by a beloved sister to an unfortunate brother, while a prisoner under sentence of death. . . . Those letters also from the brother to his deeply afflicted family, will be read with peculiar interest." We now, as a sort of crucial test of Bligh's conduct towards his officers, and of the accuracy of his statements when he returned, resume the story as it affects him and Heywood, presenting a variety of correspondence. Bligh speaks in his narrative of Heywood only as one of those left in the ship; he does not charge him with taking any active part in the mutiny; there is every reason, indeed, to believe that Bligh did not, and indeed could not, see him on the deck on that occasion: in point of fact, he never was within thirty feet of Captain Bligh, and the booms were between them. About the end of March 1790, two months subsequent to the death of a most beloved and lamented husband, Mrs Heywood received the afflicting information, but by report only, of a mutiny having taken place on board the *Bounty*. In that ship Mrs Heywood's son had been serving as midship-

man, who, when he left his home, in August 1787, was under fifteen years of age, a boy deservedly admired and beloved by all who knew him, and to his own family almost an object of adoration, for his superior understanding and the amiable qualities of his disposition. In a state of mind little short of distraction, on hearing this fatal intelligence, which was at the same time aggravated by every circumstance of guilt, his mother addressed a letter to Captain Bligh, strongly expressive of the misery she must necessarily feel on such an occasion. The following is Bligh's reply :

"*London, April 2, 1790.*

"MADAM,—I received your letter this day, and feel for you very much, being perfectly sensible of the extreme distress you must suffer from the conduct of your son Peter. *His baseness is beyond all description;* but I hope you will endeavour to prevent the loss of him, heavy as the misfortune is, from afflicting you too severely. I imagine he is, with the rest of the mutineers, returned to Otaheite.

"I am, Madam,  
"(Signed) WM. BLIGH."

Colonel Holwell, the uncle of young Heywood, had previously addressed Bligh on the same subject, to whom he returned the following answer :

"*26th March 1790.*

"SIR,—I have just this in-

stant received your letter. With much concern I inform you that your nephew, Peter Heywood, is among the mutineers. *His ingratitude to me is of the blackest dye,* for I was a father to him in every respect, and he never once had an angry word from me through the whole course of the voyage, as his conduct always gave me much pleasure and satisfaction. I very much regret *that so much baseness formed the character of a young man* I had a real regard for, and it will give me much pleasure to hear that his friends *can bear the loss of him without much concern.*

"I am, Sir, etc.,  
"(Signed) WM. BLIGH."

The only way of accounting for this ferocity of sentiment (says Sir John Barrow) towards a youth, who had in point of fact no concern in the mutiny, is by a reference to certain points of evidence given by Hayward, Hallet, and Purcell, on the court-martial, each point wholly unsupported. Those in the boat would, no doubt, during their long passage, often discuss the conduct of their messmates left in the Bounty, and the unsupported evidence given by these three was well calculated to create in Bligh's mind a prejudice against young Heywood; yet, if so, it affords but a poor excuse for harrowing up the feelings of near and dear relatives.

As a contrast to these ungracious letters, it is a great

relief to peruse the correspondence that took place between this unfortunate young officer and his dreadfully afflicted family. The letters of his sister, Nessy Heywood, exhibit so lively and ardent affection for her beloved brother, and are so nobly answered by the suffering youth, that no apology seems to be required for their introduction. After a state of long suspense, this young lady thus addresses her brother :

*"Isle of Man, 2d June 1792.*

"In a situation of mind only rendered supportable by the long and painful state of misery and suspense we have suffered on his account, how shall I address my dear, my fondly-beloved brother?—how describe the anguish we have felt at the idea of this long and painful separation, rendered still more distressing by the terrible circumstances attending it? Oh! my ever dearest boy, when I look back to that dreadful moment which brought us the fatal intelligence that you had remained in the *Bounty* after Mr Bligh had quitted her, and were looked upon by him as a *mutineer*!—when I contrast that day of horror with my present hopes of again beholding you, such as my most sanguine wishes could expect, I know not which is the most predominant sensation—pity, compassion, and terror for your sufferings, or joy and satisfaction at the prospect of their being near

a termination, and of once more embracing the dearest object of our affections.

"I will not ask you, my beloved brother, whether you are innocent of the dreadful crime of mutiny, if the transactions of that day were as Mr Bligh has represented them; such is my conviction of your worth and honour, that I will, without hesitation, stake my life on your innocence. If, on the contrary, you were concerned in such a conspiracy against your commander, I shall be as firmly persuaded his conduct was the occasion of it; but, alas! could any occasion justify so atrocious an attempt to destroy a number of our fellow-creatures? No, my ever dearest brother, nothing but conviction from your own mouth can possibly persuade me, that you would commit an action in the smallest degree inconsistent with honour and duty; and the circumstance of your having swam off to the *Pandora* on her arrival at Otaheite (which filled us with joy to which no words can do justice), is sufficient to convince all who know you, that you certainly stayed behind either by force or from views of preservation.

"How strange does it seem to me that I am now engaged in the delightful task of writing to you! Alas! my beloved brother, two years ago I never expected again to enjoy such a felicity, and even yet I am in the most painful uncertainty

whether you are alive. Gracious God, grant that we may be at length blessed by your return! but, alas! the Pandora's people have been long expected, and are not even yet arrived. Should any accident have happened, after all the miseries you have already suffered, the poor gleam of hope with which we have been lately indulged, will render our situation ten thousand times more insupportable than if time had inured us to your loss. I send this to the care of Mr Hayward of Hackney, father to the young gentleman you so often mention in your letters when you were on board the *Bounty*, and who went out as third lieutenant in the *Pandora*—a circumstance which gave us infinite satisfaction, as you would, on entering the *Pandora*, meet your old friend. On discovering old Mr Hayward's residence, I wrote to him, as I hoped he would give me some information respecting the time of your arrival, and in return he sent me a most friendly letter, and has promised this shall be given you when you reach England, as I well know how great your anxiety must be to hear of us, and how much satisfaction it will give you to have a letter immediately on your return. Let me conjure you, my dearest Peter, to write to us the very first moment—do not lose a post—'tis of no consequence how short your letter may be, if it only informs us you are well. I need not tell you that

you are the first and dearest object of our affections. Think, then, my adored boy, of the anxiety we must feel on your account: for my own part, I can know no real joy or happiness independent of you; and if any misfortune should now deprive us of you, my hopes of felicity are fled for ever.

"We are at present making all possible interest with every friend and connection we have, to ensure you a sufficient support and protection at your approaching trial; for a trial you must unavoidably undergo, in order to convince the world of that innocence, which those who know you will not for a moment doubt; but, alas! while circumstances are against you, the generality of mankind will judge severely. Bligh's representations to the Admiralty, are, I am told, very unfavourable, and hitherto the tide of public opinion has been greatly in his favour. My mamma is at present well, considering the distress she has suffered since you left us; for, my dearest brother, we have experienced a complicated scene of misery from a variety of causes, which, however, when compared with the sorrow we felt on your account, was trifling and insignificant; *that* misfortune made all others light; and to see you once more returned, and safely restored to us, will be the summit of all earthly happiness.

"Farewell, my most beloved brother! God grant this may

soon be put into your hands ! Perhaps at this moment you are arrived in England, and I may soon have the dear delight of again beholding you. My mamma, brothers, and sisters, join with me in every sentiment of love and tenderness. Write to us immediately, my ever-loved Peter, and may the Almighty preserve you until you bless with your presence your fondly affectionate family, and particularly your unalterably faithful friend and sister.

“NESSY HEYWOOD.”

The gleam of joy which this unhappy family derived from the circumstance, which had been related to them, of young Heywood's swimming off to the Pandora, was dissipated by a letter from himself to his mother, soon after his arrival in England, in which he says : “The question, my dear mother, in one of your letters, concerning my swimming off to the Pandora, is one falsity among the too many, in which I have often thought of undeceiving you, and as frequently forgot. The story was this : On the morning she arrived, accompanied by two of my friends (natives), I was going up the mountains, and having got about a hundred yards from my own house, another of my friends (for I was a universal favourite among those Indians, and perfectly conversant in their language) came running after me, and informed me there was a ship coming. I

immediately ascended a rising ground, and saw, with indescribable joy, a ship lying to off Hapiano ; it was just after daylight, and thinking Coleman might not be awake, and therefore ignorant of this pleasing news, I sent one of my servants to inform him of it, upon which he immediately went off in a single canoe. There was a fresh breeze, and the ship working into the bay ; he no sooner got alongside than the rippling capsized the canoe, and he being obliged to let go the tow-rope to get her righted, went astern, and was picked up the next tack, and taken on board the Pandora, he being the first person. I, along with my mess-mate Stewart, was then standing upon the beach with a double canoe, manned with twelve paddles ready for launching ; and just as she made her last tack into her berth (for we did not think it requisite to go off sooner), we put off and got alongside just as they streamed the buoy ; and being dressed in the country manner, tanned as brown as themselves, and I *tattooed* like them in the most curious manner, I do not in the least wonder at their taking us for natives. I was tattooed, not to gratify my own desire, but theirs ; for it was my constant endeavour to acquiesce in any little custom which I thought would be agreeable to them, though painful in the process, provided I gained by it their friendship and esteem, which

you may suppose is no considerable object in an island where the natives are so numerous. The more a man or woman there is tattooed, the more they are respected ; and a person having none of these marks is looked upon as bearing an unworthy badge of disgrace, and considered as a mere outcast of society."

Among the many anxious friends and family connections of the Heywoods was Commodore Pasley, to whom this affectionate young lady addressed herself on the melancholy occasion ; and the following is the reply she received from this officer :

*"Sheerness, June 8, 1792.*

"Would to God, my dearest Nussy, that I could rejoice with you on the early prospect of your brother's arrival in England. One division of the Pandora's people has arrived, and now on board the Vengeance (my ship). Captain Edwards, with the remainder, and all the prisoners late of the Bounty, in number ten (four having been drowned on the loss of that ship), are daily expected. They have been most rigorously and closely confined since taken, and will continue so, no doubt, till Bligh's arrival. You have no chance of seeing him, for no bail can be offered. Your intelligence of his swimming off on the Pandora's arrival is not founded ; a man of the name of Coleman swam off ere she an-

chored—your brother and Mr Stewart the next day. This last youth, when the Pandora was lost, refused to allow his irons to be taken off to save his life.

"I cannot conceal it from you, my dearest Nussy, neither is it proper I should, your brother appears by all accounts to be the greatest culprit of all, Christian alone excepted. Every exertion, you may rest assured, I shall use to save his life ; but on trial I have no hope of his not being condemned. Three of the ten who are expected are mentioned in Bligh's narrative as men detained against their inclination. Would to God your brother had been one of that number ! I will not distress you more by enlarging on this subject ; as intelligence arises on their arrival, you shall be made acquainted. Adieu ! my dearest Nussy. Present my affectionate remembrances to your mother and sisters, and believe me always, with the warmest affection, your uncle, THOS. PASLEY."

How unlike is this from the letter of Bligh ! While it frankly apprises this amiable lady of the real truth of the case, without disguise, as it was then understood to be from Bligh's representations, it assures her of his best exertions to save her brother's life. Every reader of sensibility will sympathise in the feeling displayed in her reply :

*"Isle of Man,*

*"22d June 1792.*

"Harassed by the most tor-

turing suspense, and miserably wretched as I have been, my dearest uncle, since the receipt of your ~~last~~, conceive, if it is possible, the heartfelt joy and satisfaction we experienced yesterday morning, when, on the arrival of the packet, the delightful letter from our beloved Peter (a copy of which I send you enclosed) was brought to us. Surely, my excellent friend, you will agree with me in thinking there could not be a stronger proof of his innocence and worth, and that it must prejudice every person who reads it most powerfully in his favour. Such a letter in less distressful circumstances than those in which he writes, would, I am persuaded, reflect honour on the pen of a person much older than my poor brother. But when we consider his extreme youth, (only sixteen at the time of the mutiny, and now but nineteen), his fortitude, patience, and manly resignation, under the pressure of sufferings and misfortunes almost unheard of and scarcely to be supported at any age, without the assistance of that which seems to be my dear brother's greatest comfort—a quiet conscience, and a thorough conviction of his own innocence;—when I add, at the same time, with real pleasure and satisfaction, that his relation corresponds in many particulars with the accounts we have hitherto heard of the fatal mutiny; and when I also add, with inconceivable pride and delight,

that my beloved Peter was never known to breathe a syllable inconsistent with truth and honour;—when these circumstances, my dear uncle, are all united, what man on earth can doubt of the innocence which could dictate such a letter? In short, let it speak for him: the perusal of his artless and pathetic story will, I am persuaded, be a stronger recommendation in his favour than anything I can urge.\*

"I need not tire your patience, my ever-loved uncle, by dwelling longer on this subject (the dearest and most interesting on earth to my heart); let me conjure you only, my kind friend, to read it, and consider the innocence and defenceless situation of its unfortunate author, which calls for, and I am sure deserves, all the pity and assistance his friends can afford him, and which, I am sure also, the goodness and benevolence of your heart, will prompt you to exert in his behalf. It is perfectly unnecessary for me to add, after the anxiety I feel, and cannot but express, that no benefit conferred upon myself, will be acknowledged with half the gratitude I must ever feel, for the smallest instance of kindness shown to my beloved Peter. Farewell, my dearest uncle. With the firmest reliance on your kind and generous promises, I am, ever with the

\* This interesting letter is given in the following chapter, to which it appropriately belongs.



truest gratitude and sincerity,  
your most affectionate niece,  
"NESSY HEYWOOD."

This correspondence is not quoted with the view of making a vain appeal to the proofs it gives of kindly affections, as evidence against such criminality as was shown by taking an active part in the mutiny of the *Bounty*. Kindly affections and the greatest criminality of any kind, are quite compatible in the same person. The letters, however, awaken our sympathies towards the memory of young Heywood; they show

clearly that he was not the ungrateful wretch his captain represented him as being; and they argue that out of such materials, Bligh might have succeeded in producing something better than a mutiny—in a word, that a great proportion of the blame of the whole dark affair, must be laid to his account, and to that of the system of naval command, from which captains took their tone, and trained their tempers in those days. The next chapter introduces us to another specimen of a naval captain of the period.

### CHAPTER III.

#### IN PURSUIT OF THE MUTINEERS.

BLIGH was the hero of the hour in England, after his sufferings and his bravery and daring in the open boat became known. There was a cry of indignation against Fletcher Christian and his associates. Bligh was promoted by the Admiralty to the rank of Commander, and sent out a second time to secure the bread-fruit tree as cheap food for the slaves in the West Indies, and he secured and transported all the plants he was sent for.

Government resolved to bring condign punishment down upon every one of the mutineers. Preparatory to this—for it was

desirable to catch them first—the frigate *Pandora*, of twenty-four guns, and one hundred and sixty men, was despatched under the command of Captain Edward Edwards, with orders to proceed direct to Otaheite, and secure the mutineers, if they were there; if not, to visit the different groups of the Society and Friendly Islands, and others in the neighbouring regions of the Pacific, and use his best endeavours to seize as many of the delinquents as he could discover, and bring them home in chains. The captain succeeded so far as to take

fourteen of the mutineers, ten of whom he brought to England, the other four being drowned when the Pandora was wrecked.

Mr George Hamilton, the surgeon, published an account of this voyage, in a small rather unreadable volume, and rather void of information. Captain Edwards' report to the Admiralty is a very unsatisfactory production—as vague as it is unsatisfactory in all other respects. A journal kept by James Morrison, formerly boatswain's mate in the Bounty, and a circumstantial letter written by Peter Heywood to his mother, are our most reliable sources of information.

The Pandora anchored in Matavai Bay on the 23d March 1791. Captain Edwards, in his narrative, states that Joseph Coleman, the armourer of the Bounty, attempted to come on board before the Pandora had anchored; that on reaching the ship, he began to make inquiries of him after the Bounty and her people, and that he seemed to be ready to give him any information that was required; that the next who came on board, just after the ship had anchored, were Mr Peter Heywood and Mr Stewart, before any boat had been sent on shore; that they were brought down to his cabin, when, after some conversation, Heywood asked if Mr Hayward (midshipman of the Bounty, but now lieutenant of the Pandora) was on board, as he had heard that he was; that Lieutenant

Hayward, whom he sent for, treated Heywood with a sort of contemptuous look, and began to enter into conversation with him respecting the Bounty; but Edwards ordered him to desist, and called in the sentinel to take the prisoners into safe custody, and to put them in irons; that other four mutineers soon made their appearance; and that from them and some of the natives, he learned that the rest of the Bounty's people had built a schooner, with which they had sailed the day before from Matavai Bay to the N.W. part of the island. He despatched two lieutenants with the pinnace and launch to intercept her, but they failed. The schooner subsequently returned to Paparré, where the same two lieutenants, Corner and Hayward, found her, but the mutineers had fled to the mountains. In two days, however, they came down again, and Captain Edwards drew up his men to receive them, called on them to lay down their arms and to go on one side, with which summons the mutineers complying, they were seized and brought prisoners to the ship.

The following are the names of the prisoners on board the Pandora: Peter Heywood and George Stewart, midshipmen; James Morrison, boatswain's mate; Charles Norman, carpenter's mate; Thomas M'Intosh, of the carpenter's crew; Joseph Coleman, armourer; Richard Skinner, Thomas Ellison, Henry Hillbrant, Thomas Burkitt, John

Millward, John Sumner, William Muspratt, Richard Bryan, seamen,—in all, fourteen. Captain Edwards had a round-house built on the after-part of the quarterdeck for the mutineers, whom he calls pirates. While the Pandora lay to, the prisoners' wives visited her daily, and brought their children, who were allowed to be carried to their unhappy fathers. The wives brought their husbands also ample supplies of every delicacy the country afforded. What a parting! These poor women and children, what became of them afterwards? Of their fidelity and attachment an instance is afforded in the touching story which is told in the first Missionary Voyage of the Duff, of the poor wife of George Stewart. It is this:

"The history of Peggy Stewart marks a tenderness of heart that never will be heard without emotion. She was daughter of a chief, and taken for his wife by Mr Stewart, one of the unhappy mutineers. They had lived with the old chief in the most tender state of endearment; a beautiful little girl had been the fruit of their union, and was at the breast when the Pandora arrived, seized the criminals, and secured them in irons on board the ship. Frantic with grief, the unhappy Peggy (for so he had named her) flew with her infant in a canoe to the arms of her husband. The interview was so affecting and afflicting, that the officers on board were overwhelmed with anguish; and

Stewart himself, unable to bear the heart-rending scene, begged she might not be admitted again on board. She was separated from him by violence, and conveyed on shore in a state of despair and grief too big for utterance. Withheld from him, and forbidden to come any more on board, she sunk into the deepest dejection; it preyed on her vitals; she lost all relish for food and life, rejoiced no more, pined under a rapid decay of two months, and fell a victim to her feelings, dying literally of a broken heart. Her child is yet alive, and the tender object of our care, having been brought up by a sister, who nursed it as her own, and has discharged all the duties of an affectionate mother to the orphan infant."

It does not appear that Heywood formed any matrimonial engagement in Otaheite.

All the mutineers in the island having been secured, the Pandora proceeded to search for those who had left in the Bounty. It should be mentioned that Churchill and Thompson, two of the mutineers, had met violent deaths before the arrival of Captain Edwards. Thompson shot Churchill, for which the natives stoned him to death. His skull was brought on board the Pandora.

Captain Edwards had no clue to guide him as to the route taken by the Bounty; but he learned from different people and from journals kept on board that ship, which were found in

the chests of the mutineers at Otaheite, the proceedings of Christian and his associates, after Bligh and his companions had been turned adrift in the launch. From these it appears that the pirates proceeded in the first instance to the island of Toobouai, in lat.  $20^{\circ} 13' S.$ , long.  $149^{\circ} 35' W.$ , where they anchored on the 25th May 1789. At this island it seems they intended to form a settlement; but the opposition of the natives, the want of many necessary materials, and quarrels among themselves, determined them to go to Otaheite to procure what might be required to effect their purpose, provided they should agree to prosecute their original intention. They accordingly sailed from Toobouai about the latter end of the month, and arrived at Otaheite on the 6th June. The Otoo, or reigning sovereign, and other principal natives, were very inquisitive and anxious to know what had become of Captain Bligh and the rest of the crew, and also what had been done with the bread-fruit plants. They were told they had most unexpectedly fallen in with Captain Cook at an island he had just discovered, called Whytootakec, where he intended to form a settlement and where the plants had been landed; and that Captain Bligh and the others were stopping there to assist Captain Cook; that he had appointed Mr Christian commander of the *Bounty*, and

that he had been sent for a supply of hogs, goats, fowls, bread-fruit, and other articles. This story imposed on the islanders. The things wanted were speedily supplied, as well as eight men, nine women, and seven boys besides whom they took with them. They left Otaheite on the 19th of June, and arrived a second time at Toobouai on the 26th. They could not agree among themselves about settling here, and they sailed from Toobouai on the 15th, and arrived once more at Matavai Bay on the 20th September 1789. Here the sixteen mutineers already accounted for were put on shore at their own request, the remaining nine resolving to abide by the *Bounty*, which sailed finally from Otaheite on the night of the 21st September. They took with them seven Otaheite men and twelve women. On the 8th of May 1791, the *Pandora* left Otaheite. She called at numerous islands, but met with none of the men she was in search of. After a fruitless cruise of three months, the *Pandora* arrived, on the 29th August, at the coast of New Holland, and came close to that dangerous reef of coral rocks, called the "Barrier Reef," which runs along the greater part of the eastern coast, at a considerable distance from it. The boat had been sent out to look for an opening which was not difficult to find, but during the night the *Pandora* drifted past it. Next day she struck

upon the reef. The leak increased so fast that all hands were turned to the pumps, and to bale at the hatchways. In little more than an hour and a half after she struck, there were eight feet and a half of water in the hold. During the night two of the pumps were rendered useless; one of them, however, was repaired, and kept wearily baling and pumping in the vain hope of keeping the ship afloat. Seeing that their efforts were hopeless, the captain and officers resolved to take to the four boats, which, with careful hands in them, were kept astern of the ship.

About half-past six in the morning the hold was full, and the water was between decks, and it also washed in at the upper-deck ports, and there were strong indications that the ship was on the very point of sinking; they began to leap overboard and take to the boats, and, before everybody could get out of her, she actually sunk.

On subsequently mustering the people that were saved, it was found that eighty-nine of the ship's company, and ten of the mutineer prisoners answered their names; but thirty-one of the ship's company and four mutineers were lost with the ship. The mutineers had a sorry time of it during the preliminaries of this shipwreck. Three of them, Coleman, Norman, and M'Intosh, were let out of irons, and sent to work at the pumps. The others

begged to be allowed a chance of helping to save their own lives as well as the lives of their fellow voyagers. The answer to their prayer was two additional sentinels placed over them, with orders to shoot any who should attempt to get free from their chains. "Seeing no prospect of escape," Lieutenant Corner tells us, "they betook themselves to prayer, and prepared to meet their fate, everyone expecting that the ship would soon go to pieces." When the ship was actually sinking, and every effort was being made for the preservation of the crew, no notice was taken of the prisoners, although Captain Edwards was entreated by Mr Heywood to have mercy upon them, when he passed over their prison, to make his own escape, the ship then lying on her broadside, with the larboard bow completely under water. Fortunately the master-at-arms, either by accident or design, when slipping from the roof of the round-house in which they were imprisoned into the sea, let the keys of the irons fall through the scuttle or entrance, which he had just before opened, and thus enabled them to commence their own liberation, in which they were generously assisted, at the imminent risk of his own life, by William Moulter, a boatswain's mate, who clung to the coamings, and pulled the long bars through the shackles, saying he would set them free, or go to the bottom

with them. Scarcely was this effected, when the ship went down, leaving nothing visible but the top-mast cross-trees. The master-at-arms and all the sentinels sunk to rise no more. The cries of them and the other drowning men were awful in the extreme ; and more than half an hour had elapsed before the survivors could be taken up by the boats. Among the former were Mr Stewart, John Sumner, Richard Skinner, and Henry Hillbrant, the whole of whom perished with their hands still in manacles.

On this melancholy occasion, Mr Heywood was the last person but three who escaped from the prison, into which the water had already found its way through the bulk-head scuttles. Jumping overboard, he seized a plank, and was swimming towards a small sandy key, about three miles distant, when a boat picked him up, and conveyed him thither in a state of nudity. James Morrison followed his young companion's example ; and, although handcuffed, he managed to keep afloat until a boat came to his assistance.

The conduct of Captain Edwards on this occasion does not argue much for his humanity.

On the sandy key which fortunately presented itself, they hauled up the boats, to repair those that were damaged, and to stretch canvas round the gunwales, the better to prevent the sea from breaking into them. The heat of the sun and the

reflection from the sand tortured the wretches who had just escaped from a grave in the sea ; and the salt water they had taken in while swimming, created an excruciating thirst. One of the seamen, Connell, went mad from the salt water he drank.

The crew and the prisoners were distributed among the four boats, which sailed away among the islands and near the shore, where they now and then stopped to pick up a few oysters, and procure a little fresh water. On the 2d September, they passed the N.W. point of New Holland, and launched into the Indian Ocean, with a voyage of about a thousand miles before them. Captain Edwards had four boats ; poor Bligh had only one, when he sailed in circumstances somewhat similar, and even a great deal worse.

On the 13th, they saw the island of Timor, and the next morning landed and got some water, and a few small fish from the natives ; and, on the night of the 15th, anchored opposite the fort of Coupang. Nothing could exceed the kindness and hospitality of the governor and other Dutch officers of this settlement, in affording every possible assistance and relief in their distressed condition. Having remained here three weeks, they embarked, on the 6th October, on board the Rembang Dutch Indiaman, and on the 30th anchored at Samarang, where they were agreeably sur-

prised to find their little tender, which they had so long given up for lost. On the 7th November they arrived at Batavia, where Captain Edwards agreed with the Dutch East India Company, to divide the whole of the ship's company and prisoners among four of their ships proceeding to Europe. The latter the captain took with him in the Vreedenburgh; but, finding his Majesty's ship Gorgon at the Cape, he transhipped himself and prisoners, and proceeded in her to Spithead, where he arrived on the 19th June 1792.

Captain Edwards, in his narrative, never mentions the prisoners from the day he leaves them bound in chains in that "Pandora's Box," which he built for them. He does not seem to have been a man of much sympathetic feeling; and he was subsequently pronounced by public opinion to have exercised an undue degree of severity towards the prisoners, most of whom, it is to be remembered, had surrendered themselves, thus giving him the least possible amount of trouble to capture them. The following letter from Peter Heywood to his mother will be read with very deep interest at this stage of the story of "The Bounty and Her Mutineers."

*"Batavia,*

*"November 25, 1791.*

"My ever-honoured and dearest mother,—At length the time has arrived when you are

once more to hear from your ill-fated son, whose conduct at the capture of that ship, in which it was my fortune to embark, has, I fear, from what has since happened to me, been grossly misrepresented to you by Lieutenant Bligh, who, by not knowing the real cause of my remaining on board, naturally suspected me, unhappily for me, to be a coadjutor in the mutiny; but I never, to my knowledge, whilst under his command, behaved myself in a manner unbecoming the station I occupied, nor so much as even entertained a thought derogatory to his honour, so as to give him the least grounds for entertaining an opinion of me so ungenerous and undeserved; for I flatter myself he cannot give a character of my conduct, whilst I was under his tuition, that could merit the slightest scrutiny. Oh! my dearest mother, I hope you have not so easily credited such an account of me: do but let me vindicate my conduct, and declare to you the true cause of my remaining in the ship, and you will then see how little I deserve censure, and how I have been injured by so gross an aspersion. I shall then give you a short and cursory account of what has happened to me since; but I am afraid to say a hundredth part of what I have got in store, for I am not allowed the use of writing materials, if known; so that this is done by stealth; but if it should ever come to your hands, it will, I

hope, have the desired effect of removing your uneasiness on my account, when I assure you, before the face of God, of my innocence of what is laid to my charge. How I came to remain on board was thus :

"The morning the ship was taken, it being my watch below, happening to awake just after daylight, and looking out of my hammock, I saw a man sitting upon the arm-chest in the main hatch-way, with a drawn cutlass in his hand, the reason of which I could not divine ; so I got out of bed, and inquired of him what was the cause of it. He told me that Mr Christian, assisted by some of the ship's company, had seized the captain and put him in confinement ; had taken the command of the ship, and meant to carry Bligh home a prisoner, in order to try him by court-martial, for his long tyrannical and oppressive conduct to his people. I was quite thunderstruck ; and hurrying into my berth again, told one of my messmates, whom I awakened out of his sleep, what had happened. Then, dressing myself, I went up the fore-hatch-way, and saw what he had told me was but too true ; and again I asked some of the people who were under arms, what was going to be done with the captain, who was then on the larboard side of the quarter-deck, with his hands tied behind his back, and Mr Christian alongside of him with a pistol and drawn bayonet. I now heard a very

different story, and that the captain was to be sent ashore to Tofoa in the launch, and that those who would not join Mr Christian, might either accompany the captain, or would be taken in arms to Otaheite and left there. The relation of two stories so different, left me unable to judge which could be the true one ; but seeing them hoisting the boats out, it seemed to prove the latter.

"In this trying situation, young and inexperienced as I was, and without an adviser (every person being as it were infatuated, and not knowing what to do), I remained for a while a silent spectator of what was going on ; and after revolving the matter in my mind, I determined to choose what I thought the lesser of two evils, and stay by the ship ; for I had no doubt that those who went on shore in the launch would be put to death by the savage natives, whereas the Otaheitans being a humane and generous race, one might have a hope of being kindly received, and remain there until the arrival of some ship, which seemed, to silly me, the most consistent with reason and rectitude.

"While this resolution possessed my mind, at the same time lending my assistance to hoist out the boats, the hurry and confusion affairs were in, and thinking my intentions just, I never thought of going to Mr Bligh for advice ; besides, what confirmed me in it was my seeing



two experienced officers, when ordered into the boat by Mr Christian, desire his permission to remain in the ship, one of whom (my own messmate, Mr Hayward), and I being assisting to clear the launch of yams, he asked me what I intended to do? I told him, to remain in the ship. Now this answer, I imagine, he has told Mr Bligh I made to him; from which, together with my not speaking to him that morning, his suspicions of me have arisen, construing my conduct into what is foreign to my nature.

"Thus, my dearest mother, it was all owing to my youth and unadvised inexperience, but has been interpreted into villainy and disregard of my country's laws, the ill effects of which I at present, and still am to, labour under for some months longer. And now, after what I have asserted, I may still once more retrieve my injured reputation, be again reinstated in the affection and favour of the most tender of mothers, and be still considered as her ever dutiful son.

"I was not undeceived in my erroneous decision until too late, which was after the captain was in the launch; for, while I was talking to the master-at-arms, one of the ringleaders in the affair, my other messmate whom I had left in his hammock in the berth, Mr Stewart, came up to me, and asked me if I was not going in the launch? I replied, No—upon which he

told me not to think of such a thing as remaining behind, but take his advice, and go down below with him to get a few necessary things, and make haste to go with him into the launch; adding that, by remaining in the ship, I should incur an equal share of guilt with the mutineers themselves. I reluctantly followed his advice—I say *reluctantly*, because I knew no better, and was foolish; and the boat swimming very deep in the water—the land being very far distant—the thoughts of being sacrificed by the natives—and the self-consciousness of my first intention being just; all these considerations almost staggered my resolution. However, I preferred my companion's judgment to my own, and we both jumped down the main-hatchway to prepare ourselves for the boat; but no sooner were we in the berth, than the master-at-arms ordered the sentry to keep us both in the berth till he should receive orders to release us. We desired the master-at-arms to acquaint Mr Bligh of our intention, which we had reason to think he never did, nor were we permitted to come on deck until the launch was a long way astern. I now, when too late, saw my error.

"At the latter end of May, we got to an island to the southward of Taheité, called Tooboui, where they intended to make a settlement; but, finding no stock there of any kind, they agreed to go to Taheité, and,

after procuring hogs and fowls, to return to Tooboui and remain. So, on the 6th June, we arrived at Taheité, where I was in hopes I might find an opportunity of running away, and remaining on shore ; but I could not effect it, as there was always too good a look-out kept to prevent any such steps being taken. And, besides, they had all sworn that, should any one make his escape, they would force the natives to restore him, and would then shoot him as an example to the rest ; well knowing, that any one, by remaining there, might be the means (should a ship arrive) of discovering their intended place of abode. Finding it therefore impracticable, I saw no other alternative but to rest as content as possible, and return to Tooboui, and there wait till the masts of the *Bounty* should be taken out, and then take the boat which might carry me to Taheité, and disable those remaining from pursuit. But Providence so ordered it, that we had no occasion to try our fortune at such a hazard ; for, upon returning there and remaining till the latter end of August, at which time a fort was almost built, but nothing could be effected ; and as the natives could not be brought to friendly terms, and with whom we had many skirmishes, and narrow escapes from being cut off by them, and, what was still worse, internal broils and discontent—these things determin-

ed part of the people to leave the island, and go to Taheité, which was carried by a majority of votes.

“ This being carried into execution on the 22d September, and having anchored in Matavai Bay, the next morning my messmate, Mr Stewart, and I went on shore to the house of an old landed proprietor, our former friend ; and, being now set free from a lawless crew, determined to remain as much apart from them as possible, and wait patiently for the arrival of a ship. Fourteen more of the *Bounty*’s people came likewise on shore, and Mr Christian and eight men went away with the ship, but God knows whither. Whilst we remained here, we were treated by our kind and friendly natives with a generosity and humanity almost unparalleled, and such as we could hardly have expected from the most civilised people.

“ To be brief—having remained here till the latter end of March 1791, on the 26th of that month, His Majesty’s ship *Pandora* arrived, and had scarcely anchored, when my messmate and I went on board and made ourselves known ; and having learned from one of the natives who had been off in a canoe, that our former messmate, Mr Hayward, now promoted to the rank of lieutenant, was on board, we asked for him, supposing he might prove the assertion of our innocence. But he (like all worldlings when

raised a little in life) received us very coolly, and pretended ignorance of our affairs ; yet, formerly, he and I were bound in brotherly love and friendship. Appearances being so much against us, we were ordered to be put in irons, and looked upon—oh, infernal words!—as *piratical villains*. A rebuff so severe as this was to a person unused to troubles, would perhaps have been insupportable ; but to me, who had now been long inured to the frowns of fortune, and feeling myself supported by an inward consciousness of not deserving it, it was received with the greatest composure, and a full determination to bear it with patience.

“My sufferings, however, I have not power to describe ; but though they are great, yet I thank God for enabling me to bear them without repining. I endeavour to qualify my affliction with these three considerations : first, my innocence not deserving them ; secondly, that they cannot last long ; and, thirdly, that the change may be for the better. The first improves my hopes ; the second, my patience ; and the third, my courage. I am young in years, but old in what the world calls adversity ; and it has had such an effect, as to make me consider it the most beneficial incident that could have occurred at my age. It has made me acquainted with three things which are little known, and as little believed, by any but those

who have felt their effects : first, the villainy and censoriousness of mankind ; secondly, the futility of all human hopes ; and, thirdly, the happiness of being content in whatever station it may please Providence to place me. In short, it has made me more of a philosopher than many years of a life spent in ease and pleasure would have done.

“As they will no doubt proceed to the greatest lengths against me, I being the only surviving officer, and they most inclined to believe a prior story, all that can be said to confute it will probably be looked upon as mere falsity and invention. Should that be my unhappy case, and they resolved upon my destruction as an example to futurity, may God enable me to bear my fate with the fortitude of a man, conscious that misfortune, not any misconduct, is the cause, and that the Almighty can attest my innocence. Yet why should I despond ? I have, I hope, still a friend in that Providence which hath preserved me amid many greater dangers, and upon whom alone I now depend for safety. God will always protect those who deserve it. These are the sole considerations which have enabled me to make myself easy and content under my past misfortunes.

“Twelve more of the people who were at Otaheité having delivered themselves up, there was a sort of a prison built on

the after-part of the quarter-deck, into which we were all put in close confinement, with both legs and both hands in irons, and were treated with great rigour, not being allowed ever to get out of this den; and, being obliged to eat, drink, sleep, and obey the calls of nature here, you may form some idea of the disagreeable situation I must have been in, unable as I was to help myself (being deprived of the use of both my legs and hands), but by no means adequate to the reality.

"On the 9th May we left Otaheité, and proceeded to the Friendly Islands, and, about the beginning of August, got in among the reefs of New Holland, to endeavour to discover a passage through them: but it was not effected; for the Pandora, ever unlucky, and as if devoted by Heaven to destruction, was driven by a current upon the patch of a reef, and on which, there being a heavy surf, she was soon almost bulged to pieces; but having thrown all the guns on one side overboard, and the tide flowing at the same time, she beat over the reef into a bason, and brought up in fourteen or fifteen fathoms; but she was so much damaged while on the reef, that, imagining she would go to pieces every moment, we had contrived to wrench ourselves out of our irons, and applied to the captain to have mercy on us, and suffer us to take our chance for the preserva-

tion of our lives; but it was all in vain—he was even so inhuman as to order us all to be put in irons again, though the ship was expected to go down every moment, being scarcely able to keep her under with all the pumps at work.

"In this miserable situation, with an expected death before our eyes, without the least hope of relief, and in the most trying state of suspense, we spent the night, the ship being by the hand of Providence kept up till the morning. The boats by this time had all been prepared; and as the captain and officers were coming upon the poop or roof of our prison, to abandon the ship, the water being then up to the combings of the hatchways, we again implored his mercy; upon which he sent the corporal and an armourer down to let some of us out of irons; but three only were suffered to go up, and the scuttle being then clapped on, and the master-at-arms upon it, the armourer had only time to let two persons out of irons, the rest, except three, letting themselves out: two of these three went down with them on their hands, and the third was picked up. She now began to heel over to port so very much, that, the master-at-arms sliding overboard, and leaving the scuttle vacant, we all tried to get up, and I was the last out but three. The water was then pouring in at the bulk-head scuttles; yet I succeeded in getting out, and

was scarcely in the sea when I could see nothing above it but the cross-trees, and nothing around me but a scene of the greatest distress. I took a plank (being stark naked) and swam towards an island about three miles off, but was picked up on my passage by one of the boats. When we got ashore to the small sandy key, we found there were thirty-four men drowned, four of whom were prisoners, and among these was my unfortunate messmate, Mr Stewart: ten of us, and eighty-nine of the Pandora's crew were saved.

"When a survey was made of what provisions had been saved, they were found to consist of two or three bags of bread, two or three beakers of water, and a little wine; so we subsisted three days upon two wine-glasses of water and two ounces of bread per day. On the 1st September we left the island, and on the 16th arrived at Coupang in the island of Timor, having been on short allowance eighteen days. We were put in confinement in the castle, where we remained till October, and on the 5th of that month were sent on board a Dutch ship bound for Batavia.

"Though I have been eight months in close confinement in a hot climate, I have kept my health in a most surprising manner, without the least indisposition, and am still perfectly well

in every respect, in mind as well as body; but without a friend, and only a shirt and a pair of trousers to put on, and carry me home. Yet, with all this, I have a contented mind, entirely resigned to the will of Providence, which conduct alone enables me to soar above the reach of unhappiness."

Even after they were taken ashore at Batavia, the treatment of these unfortunate prisoners was almost as bad as it had been on board the Pandora. They were imprisoned in the castle, closely confined in irons, and miserably fed. The hard ships they endured in their passage to England in a Dutch ship were very severe, sleeping, as they had to sleep, for seventeen months, on hard boards, or wet canvas, always on short allowance, and without any clothes but what charity supplied, and practical charity on board ship has, at all times, very limited scope; in those days and circumstances, its scope could not be but very limited. Heywood had, however, during his imprisonment in Batavia, learned to make straw hats; and, having finished some with both hands in fetters, he sold them for half-a-crown a-piece. With the money thus acquired, he procured a suit of coarse clothes, in which, apparently with a light and cheerful heart, he arrived at Portsmouth.

CHAPTER IV.

THE COURT-MARTIAL.

THE ten prisoners reached this country in June, but the court-martial did not meet to try them till 12th September 1792. The president was Vice-Admiral Lord Hood. The members of court were Captains Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, Bart., John Colpoys, Sir George Montagu, Sir Roger Curtis, John Bakely, Sir Andrew Snape Douglas, John Thomas Duckworth, John Nicholson Inglefield, John Knight, Albemarle Bertie, Richard Goodwin Reats. The trial took up six days. The witnesses examined were Fryer, the master of the *Bounty*; Peckover, the gunner; Purcell, the carpenter; Hayward and Hallet, now lieutenants; Captain Edwards, and Lieutenant Corner. The witnesses all except Hayward and Hallet seemed to give straightforward evidence with a kindly feeling towards the prisoners. It came out during cross-examination, that in the hurry and excitement of the moment when Bligh and his companions were being put in the open boat, an expectation arose that Fryer would make an attempt before leaving to recover the *Bounty* from Christian. He admitted if he had ventured on this trial of daring and pluck, Heywood and Morrison would have been the first he would have taken into counsel, and that he would have relied on them with confidence. Hayward does not come well out of the trial. It is never to be forgotten that at all trials—criminal trials and the trials of life—the witnesses are on their trial too. As they act truthfully and sympathetically, or the reverse, so are they judged of outside and afterwards by a wider or more limited public. Mr Hayward's evidence does not leave on the mind of one who has the patience to read it through, a desire to know any more about him. He seemed determined to do his best to secure a conviction, especially against his former bosom friend Heywood. This was of a piece with his conduct on board the *Pandora* in Matavai Bay, when Heywood gave himself up. Hallet again was the only one who saw Heywood laughing when Captain Bligh, with his hands tied behind him, made an earnest appeal to the latter. This was one of the points for which Heywood was condemned to death. Subsequently Hallet expressed deep regret for almost putting the neck of an old friend into the noose. He became convinced either that he did not see anybody laughing, or that it must have been somebody other than Heywood. This young gentleman read an eloquent defence, and

cross-examined the witnesses with skill and to the point. His mother had retained Erskine, then at the height of his fame, as counsel for the defence, but Heywood requested her to drop this expensive engagement, as it really would be of no avail in a trial by court-martial. Mr Aaron Graham, who had been secretary to the different admirals on the Newfoundland stations for twelve years, and was subsequently highly respected as a public magistrate in London, rendered Heywood valuable assistance in the get-up and management of his case. Morrison also, and the others who could say anything for themselves, read defences and cross-examined the witnesses. Ellison, Millward, and Burkitt, who had been obtrusively active at every stage of the mutiny, had little to offer either in defence or in exculpation of the charge against them. On the sixth day, that is the 18th of September, sentence was given: "That the charges had been proved against the said Peter Heywood, James Morrison, Thomas Ellison, Thomas Burkitt, John Millward, and William Muspratt; and did adjudge them, and each of them, to suffer death, by being hanged by the neck, on board such of His Majesty's ship or ships of war, and at such time or times, and at such place or places, as the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland,

etc., or any three of them, for the time being, should, in writing, under their hands, direct; but the Court, in consideration of various circumstances, did humbly and most earnestly recommend the said Peter Heywood and James Morrison to His Majesty's mercy; and the Court further agreed, that the charges had not been proved against the said Charles Norman, Joseph Coleman, Thomas M'Intosh, and Michael Byrne, and did adjudge them, and each of them, to be acquitted."

A very common feeling prevailed that Heywood and Morrison had been hardly dealt with, in having the sentence of death passed upon them, tempered though it was with a recommendation to the king's mercy. The court, however, had no discretionary power. They were bound to record either a sentence of death or a full acquittal. The case was a mutiny aggravated by the piratical seizure of a king's ship.

The four points which told against Heywood were—(1.) That he assisted in hoisting out the launch; (2.) That he was seen by the carpenter resting his hand upon a cutlass; (3.) That on being called to by Lieutenant Bligh, he laughed; (4.) That he remained in the *Bounty*, instead of accompanying Bligh in the launch. On these material parts of the evidence against him he drew up a very clear and manly memorandum, and got it transmitted to the Earl of

Chatham, then First Lord of the Admiralty. Friends outside, especially Heywood's uncle, Commodore Pasley, and Mr Graham, were indefatigable in their exertions to procure a pardon for the two men recommended to mercy—especially for Heywood. The final result was, that on the 24th October, the king's warrant was despatched from the Admiralty, granting a full and free pardon to Heywood and Morrison, a respite for Muspratt, which was followed by a pardon; and for carrying the sentence of Ellison, Burkitt, and Millward into execution, which was done on the 29th, on board his Majesty's ship Brunswick, in Portsmouth harbour. On this melancholy occasion, Captain Hamond reports that "the criminals behaved with great penitence and decorum, acknowledged the justice of their sentence for the crime of which they had been found guilty, and exhorted their fellow-sailors to take warning by their untimely fate, and whatever might be their hardships, never to forget their obedience to their officers, as a duty they owed to their king and country." The captain adds, "A party from each ship in the harbour, and at Spithead, attended the execution, and, from the reports I have received, the example seems to have made a great impression upon the minds of all the ships' companies present."

When the king's full and free

pardon had been read to Heywood by Captain Montagu, with a suitable admonition and congratulation, he addressed that officer in the following terms: "Sir, when the sentence of the law was passed upon me, I received it, I trust, as became a man; and if it had been carried into execution, I should have met my fate, I hope, in a manner becoming a Christian. Your admonition cannot fail to make a lasting impression on my mind. I receive with gratitude my sovereign's mercy, for which my future life shall be faithfully devoted to his service." Heywood's future career was in no way prejudiced by the misfortunes of his early life. Lord Hood, who presided at the trial, earnestly recommended him to embark again as midshipman without delay, offering to take him into his own ship, the Victory. Commodore Pasley respectfully declined this offer on Heywood's behalf. He went first on board his uncle's ship, the Bellerophon. He was subsequently appointed lieutenant to La Nymph, and was actively employed in Lord Bridport's action off L'Orient, when three French ships were taken. As captain of the Leopard, Heywood made extensive surveys of the north-east and east coasts of Ceylon, and also of the coasts of India and the Eastern Islands. He was subsequently employed in important diplomatic services in South America. On his return, he served first in the North



Sea Fleet, and afterward in the Channel Squadron. His last appointment was to the Mediterranean Fleet under Viscount Exmouth. At the conclusion of the war, when the naval armaments were reduced, Captain Heywood retired into private life. The remaining years of his honourable life were spent in endeavours to further the interests of the navy, which kept him in constant communication with the hydrographical department of the Admiralty. "During his latter years," writes Lady Belcher, "Captain Heywood laboured under a fatal heart disease, which he bore with Christian calmness and thankfulness for the many blessings he had enjoyed, averring that, notwithstanding the sufferings and anxieties which had attended his early career, he would willingly pass through his life again, with all its trials and vicissitudes." He died on the 10th of February 1831.

After his release, Morrison served in several ships. When Admiral Sir Thomas Trowbridge was sent out in the *Blenheim* as commander-in-chief on the Indian station, he was appointed gunner on board the flag-ship.

A last word about Captain Bligh, in the language of Lady Belcher: "He was afterwards employed in active service, and on the occasion of the remarkable mutiny at the Nore, was ordered to negotiate among the seamen, with the view of bringing them to a sense of their

duty; on which occasion he acted with great intrepidity. In the two famous actions of Cape St Vincent and Camperdown, Captain Bligh commanded the *Glatton*, and also at the battle of Copenhagen. On the latter occasion, Lord Nelson sent for him, and thanked him for his admirable support during the action.

"In 1805, he was appointed governor of New South Wales, and there his oppressive, arbitrary conduct raised against him a host of enemies. He had been instructed by the home government to restrain within certain limits the importation of spirits into the colony; and many men might have introduced this unpalatable reform without creating such hostile and dangerous opposition. Bligh, however, had no tact, no spirit of conciliation, and, in consequence, he was the cause of a *military* mutiny. In January 1808, the New South Wales corps, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel G. Johnstone, deposed Governor Bligh, and placed him on board a ship proceeding to England. On his arrival, the public were not surprised to hear he had been sent away in so summary a manner; but the Government were, of course, compelled to order a court-martial on Colonel Johnstone, who came to England with several officers for his trial. It was held in Chelsea Hospital, and lasted thirteen days. Colonel Johnstone was convicted of mutiny, and cash-

iered, but allowed to return to the colony, and no executions took place.

"Captain Bligh then retired into private life, where he appears to have displayed more amiability of character than in any public capacity, as he was beloved by his family and friends. He attained the rank of vice-admiral of the blue, and died in London at the age of sixty-five."

There are mutineers and men

who have a faculty for provoking mutinies. Captain Bligh seems to have had the latter peculiarity in a large state of development. That such men do exist, and that their specialty finds ready scope when they are put in offices of trust and authority, is a fact which should never be overlooked when the circumstances of any riot, tumult, revolt, rebellion, or mutiny are being inquired into.

## CHAPTER V.

### PITCAIRN ISLAND.

TWENTY years had gone by, when a new interest was aroused in the matter of the *Bounty* and her mutineers, which has by various circumstances been kept fresh to the present day. Fletcher Christian and his fugitive associates had for that period ceased to occupy the general public mind. The subject had been dismissed on the assumption that the *Bounty* and those on board had gone to the bottom of the sea, or that the mutineers had met the retribution supposed to be justly due to their criminal conduct at the hands of one or other of the groups of savage islanders. An American trading vessel, however, made an accidental discovery, which was as interesting as it was wholly unexpected.

The first intimation of this extraordinary discovery was transmitted by Sir Sydney Smith from Rio de Janeiro, and was received at the Admiralty on May 14, 1809. It was conveyed to Sir Sidney Smith from Valparaiso by Lieutenant Fitzmaurice, and ran thus: "Captain Folger, of the American ship *Topaz*, of Boston, relates that on landing on Pitcairn Island, in lat. 25° 2' S., long. 130° W., he found there an Englishman, of the name of Alexander Smith, the only person remaining of nine that escaped in his Majesty's late ship *Bounty*, Captain W. Bligh. Smith relates that, after putting Captain Bligh in the boat, Christian, the leader of the mutiny, took command of the

ship and went to Otaheite, where great part of the crew left her, except Christian, Smith, and seven others, who each took wives, and six Otaheitan men-servants, and shortly after arrived at said island (Pitcairn), where they ran the ship on shore, and broke her up. This event took place in the year 1790.

"About four years after their arrival (a great jealousy existing), the Otaheitans secretly revolted, and killed every Englishman except himself, whom they severely wounded in the neck with a pistol-ball. The same night, the widows of the deceased Englishmen arose and put to death the whole of the Otaheitans, leaving Smith the only man alive upon the island, with eight or nine women and several small children. On his recovery he applied himself to tilling the ground, so that it now produces plenty of yams, cocoa-nuts, bananas, and plantains; hogs and poultry in abundance. There are now some grown-up men and women, children of the mutineers, on the island, the whole population amounting to about thirty-five, who acknowledge Smith as father and commander of them all: they all speak English, and have been educated by him (as Captain Folger represents) in a religious and moral way.

"The second mate of the *Topaz* asserts that Christian, the ringleader, became insane shortly after their arrival on the

island, and threw himself off the rocks into the sea; another died of a fever before the massacre of the remaining six took place. The island is badly supplied with water, sufficient only for the present inhabitants, and no anchorage.

"Smith gave to Captain Folger a chronometer made by Kendall, which was taken from him by the governor of Juan Fernandez.

"Extracted from the log-book of the *Topaz*, 29th Sept. 1808.

"(Signed) WM. FITZMAURICE,  
"Lieut.

"*Valparaiso*, Oct. 10, 1808."

This narrative stated two facts that established its general authenticity,—the name of Alexander Smith, who was one of the mutineers, and the name of the maker of the chronometer with which the *Bounty* was actually supplied. The war which was raging in Europe at that time, was too engrossing to leave the British government any time to take the measures which this well authenticated information would seem to have demanded. Nothing further was heard of Smith and his family till the latter part of 1814, when a letter was transmitted by Rear-Admiral Hotham, then cruising off the coast of America, from Mr Folger himself, to the same effect as the preceding extract from his log, but dated March 1813.

In 1814 the British government had two frigates cruising in the Pacific—the *Briton*, com-

manded by Sir Thomas Staines, and the Tagus, by Captain Pipon. The following letter from Sir Thomas Staines was received at the Admiralty early in the year 1815.

*"Briton, Valparaiso,  
"18th October 1814.*

"I have the honour to inform you that on my passage from the Marquesas Islands to this port, on the morning of the 17th of September, I fell in with an island where none is laid down in the Admiralty or other charts, according to the several chronometers of the Briton and the Tagus. I therefore hove to, until daylight, and then closed to ascertain whether it was inhabited, which I soon discovered it to be, and to my great astonishment, found that every individual on the island (forty in number) spoke very good English. They proved to be the descendants of the deluded crew of the Bounty, who, from Otaheite, proceeded to the above-mentioned island, where the ship was burned.

"Christian appeared to have been the leader and sole cause of the mutiny in that ship. A venerable old man, named John Adams, is the only surviving Englishman of those who last quitted Otaheite in her, and whose exemplary conduct, and fatherly care of the whole of the little colony, could not but command admiration. The pious manner in which all those born on the island have been reared,

the correct sense of religion which has been instilled into their young minds by this old man, has given him the pre-eminence over the whole of them, to whom they look up as the father of one and the whole family.

"A son of Christian was the first born on the island, now about twenty-five years of age, named Thursday October Christian: the elder Christian fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of an Otaheitan man, within three or four years after their arrival on the island. The mutineers were accompanied thither by six Otaheitan men and twelve women; the former were all swept away by desperate contentions between them and the Englishmen, and five of the latter died at different periods, leaving at present only one man (Adams) and seven women of the original settlers.

"The island must undoubtedly be that called Pitcairn, although erroneously laid down in the charts. We had the altitude of the meridian sun close to it, which gave us 25° 4' S. latitude, and 130° 25' W. longitude, by the chronometers of the Briton and Tagus.

"It produces in abundance yams, plantains, hogs, goats, and fowls; but the coast affords no shelter for a ship or vessel of any description; neither could a ship water there without great difficulty.

"I cannot, however, refrain from offering my opinion, that

it is well worthy the attention of our laudable religious societies, particularly that for propagating the Christian religion, the whole of the inhabitants speaking the Otaheitan tongue as well as English.

"During the whole time they have been on the island, only one ship has ever communicated with them, which took place about six years since; and this was the American ship *Topaz*, of Boston, Matthew Folger, master.

"The island is completely iron-bound with rocky shores, and the landing in boats must be at all times difficult, although the island may be safely approached within a small distance by a ship.

"(Signed) T. STAINES."

Such is the first account of this peculiar little colony, which may be regarded as official, being direct from an English officer who wrote from his own observation.

Captain Pipon writes, if the discovery of a new island, as they at first thought the *Pitcairn* was, awakened their curiosity, it was still more excited when they ran in for land the next morning, on perceiving a few huts, neatly built, amidst plantations laid out apparently with something like order and regularity; and these appearances confirmed them more than ever that it could not be *Pitcairn's Island*, because that was described by navigators to be un-

inhabited. Presently they observed a few natives coming down a steep descent with their canoes on their shoulders; and in a few minutes perceived one of those little vessels darting through a heavy surf, and paddling off towards the ships; but their astonishment was extreme when, on coming alongside, they were hailed in the English language with, "Won't you heave us a rope now?"

The first young man that sprung, with extraordinary alacrity, up the side, and stood before them on the deck, said, in reply to the question, "Who are you?"—that his name was Thursday October Christian, son of the late Fletcher Christian by an Otaheitan mother; that he was the first born on the island, and that he was so called because he was brought into the world on a Thursday in October. Singularly strange as all this was to Sir Thomas Staines and Captain Pipon, this youth soon satisfied them that he was no other than the person he represented himself to be, and that he was fully acquainted with the whole history of the *Bounty*; and, in short, that the island before them was the retreat of the mutineers of that ship. Young Christian was, at this time, about twenty-four years of age, a fine tall youth, full six feet high, with dark, almost black, hair, and a countenance open and extremely interesting. As he wore no clothes except a piece of cloth

round his loins, and a straw hat, ornamented with black cock's feathers, his fine figure and well-shaped muscular limbs were displayed to great advantage, and attracted general admiration. His body was much tanned by exposure to the weather, and his countenance had a brownish cast, unmixed, however, with that tinge of red so common among the natives of the Pacific islands.

"Added to a great share of good humour, we were glad to trace," says Captain Pison, "in his benevolent countenance, all the features of an honest English face." His manner of speaking English was exceedingly pleasing, and correct both in grammar and pronunciation. His companion was a handsome youth, seventeen or eighteen years of age, named George Young, the son of Young the midshipman. When Sir Thomas Staines took the youths below, and gave them something to eat, his surprise and interest were deeply excited when they both rose up, and one of them, placing his hands together in a posture of devotion, said grace in the words well known to an Englishman, "For what we are going to receive, the Lord make us truly thankful."

So many things new to them, the size of the ship and of the guns, indeed everything around them, seemed to astonish the youths. Observing a cow, they were at first somewhat alarmed, and expressed a doubt whether

it was a huge goat or a horned hog, these being the only two species of quadrupeds they had ever seen. A little dog amused them much. "Oh! what a pretty little thing it is!" exclaimed Young. "I know it is a dog, for I have heard of such an animal." These young men referred the two captains to an old man on shore, whose name, they said, was John Adams, the only surviving Englishman that came away in the *Bounty*, at which time he was called Alexander Smith. This information induced the two captains to go on shore. Old Adams, having ascertained that the two officers alone had landed, and without arms, concluded they had no intention to take him prisoner, and ventured to come down to the beach, from whence he conducted them to his house. He was accompanied by his wife, a very old woman, and nearly blind. It seems they were both at first considerably alarmed; the sight of the king's uniform, after so many years, having no doubt brought fresh to the recollection of Adams the conspicuous part he had acted in the mutiny of the *Bounty*. Sir Thomas Staines, however, set his mind at ease on this main score. Adams pretended that he had no great share in the mutiny, that he was sick in bed when it broke out, and that when he got on deck he was compelled to take hold of a musket. He expressed himself ready and seemed desirous to return to England in

one of the ships ; but the tears of the women, and apparent deep grief of the young men, put this altogether out of the question. The two captains learned from Adams, *alias* Smith, that Fletcher Christian, after landing on this island the hogs, goats, and poultry, which had been brought from Otaheite, ordered the Bounty to be set on fire, with a view, no doubt, of preventing any escape from the island ; and also, of removing an object which, if seen, might be the means of betraying his retreat. He seems to have lived a most miserable life for the short time he was spared in Pitcairn Island. Sullen and morose, he committed many acts of wanton oppression ; and this led to his fate—he was shot by an Otaheitan while digging in his field, about eleven months after they had settled on the island, and his death was only the commencement of feuds and assassinations, which ended in the total destruction of the whole party, except Adams and Young. By the account of the former, the settlers from this time became divided into two parties, and their grievances and quarrels proceeded to such a height, that each took every opportunity of putting the other to death. Old John Adams was himself shot through the neck ; but the ball having entered the fleshy part only, he was enabled to make his escape, and avoid the fury of his assailants. The immediate cause of Christian's

murder was his having forcibly seized on the wife of one of the Otaheitan men, which so exasperated the rest, that they not only sought the life of the offender, but of others also, who might, as they thought, be disposed to pursue the same course.

This interesting little colony was now found to contain about forty-six persons, mostly grown-up young people, with a few infants. The young men, all born on the island, were finely formed, athletic and handsome ; their countenances open and pleasing, indicating much benevolence and goodness of heart : but the young women particularly were objects of attraction, being tall, robust, and beautifully formed, their faces beaming with smiles, and indicating unruffled good humour : while their manners and demeanour exhibited a commendable degree of modesty and bashfulness. Their teeth were beautifully white, and perfectly regular, without a single exception ; and all of them had the marked expression of English features, minus the clear red and white skin, they being fine *brunettes*. Adams assured Sir Thomas Staines and Captain Pipon, that not one instance of debauchery or immoral conduct had occurred on the island. The principles of morality and religion he had taught them, had hitherto controlled their conduct. The young women, with great simplicity, told Captain Pipon that

they were not married, and that their father, as they called Adams, had told them it was right they should wait with patience, till they had acquired sufficient property to bring up a young family, before they thought of marrying; and that they always followed his advice, because they knew it to be good.

It appeared that, from the time when Adams was left alone on the island, the sole survivor of all the males that had landed from the *Bounty*, European and Otaheitan, the greatest harmony had prevailed in their little society; they all declared that no serious quarrels ever occurred among them, though a few hasty words might now and then be uttered, but, to make use of their own expression, they were only quarrels of the mouth. Adams assured his visitors that they were all strictly honest in all their dealings, lending or exchanging their various articles of live stock or produce with each other, in the most friendly manner; and if any little dispute occurred, he never found any difficulty to rectify the mistake or misunderstanding that might have caused it, to the satisfaction of both parties.

The young girls, although they had only the example of their Otaheitan mothers to follow in their dress, were modestly clothed, having generally a piece of cloth of their own manufacture, reaching from the waist to the knees, and a mantle, or

something of that nature, thrown loosely over the shoulders, and hanging sometimes as low as the ankles: this mantle, however, was frequently thrown aside, being used rather as a shelter for their bodies from the heat of the sun, or the severity of the weather, than for the sake of attaching any idea of immodesty to the upper part of the person being uncovered; and it is not possible, says Captain Pipon, to behold finer forms than are exhibited by this partial exposure. He observes, "It was pleasing to see the good taste and quickness with which they form little shades or parasols of green leaves, to place over the head or bonnets, to keep the sun from their eyes. A young girl made one of these in my presence, with such neatness and alacrity, as to satisfy me that a fashionable dressmaker of London would be delighted with the simplicity and elegant taste of these untaught females." The same young girl, he says, accompanied them to the boat, carrying on her shoulders, as a present, a large basket of yams, "over such roads and down such precipices, as were scarcely passable by any creatures except goats, and over which we could scarcely scramble with the help of our hands. Yet with this load on her shoulders, she skipped from rock to rock like a young roe."

Having supplied Adams and his family with some tools, kettles, and other articles, the



two officers took leave of them. Their interesting report of the infant colony, produced as little effect on the government as that of Folger; and nothing more was heard of it, for twelve years nearly, when in 1825, Captain Beechey, in the *Blossom*, bound on a voyage of discovery, paid a visit to Pitcairn Island. Some whale-fishing ship, however, had touched there in the meantime, and left on the island a person of the name of John Buffet. In this man, they very fortunately found an able and willing schoolmaster: he had belonged to a ship which visited the island, and was so attracted by the behaviour of the people, being himself naturally of a devout and serious turn of mind, that he resolved to remain among them; and, in addition to the instruction of the children, took upon himself the duty of clergyman, and became the oracle of the community.

On the approach of the *Blossom* towards the island, a boat was observed, under all sail, hastening towards the ship, which they considered to be the boat of some whaler, but were soon agreeably undeceived by the singular appearance of her crew, which consisted of old Adams and many of the young men belonging to the island. They did not venture at once to lay hold of the ship till they had first inquired if they might come on board; and on permission being granted, they sprung up the side, and shook every

officer by the hand with undisguised feelings of gratification. The activity of the young men, ten in number, outstripped that of old Adams, who was in his sixty-fifth year, and somewhat corpulent. He was dressed in a sailor's shirt and trousers, and a low-crowned hat, which he held in his hand until desired to put it on. He still retained his sailor's manners, doffing his hat and smoothing down his bald forehead whenever he was addressed by the officers of the *Blossom*. The young men were tall, robust, and healthy, with good-natured countenances and a simplicity of manner, and a fear of doing something that might be wrong, which at once prevented the possibility of giving offence. Their dresses were whimsical enough; some had long coats without trousers, and others trousers without coats, and others again waistcoats without either. None of them had either shoes or stockings, and there were only two hats among them, "neither of which," Captain Beechey says, "seemed likely to hang long together."

Captain Beechey procured from Adams a great many details regarding the broils and disputes which led to the destruction and death of all his guilty companions of the *Bounty*; but space need not be taken up here with many of them. One of the mutineers, M'Koy, it appears, had formerly been employed in a Scotch distillery, and, being much addicted to

ardent spirits, set about making experiments on the *tee-root*, (*Dracæna terminalis*), and at length unfortunately succeeded in producing an intoxicating liquor. This success induced his companion Quintal to turn his kettle into a still. The consequence was, that these two men were in a constant state of drunkenness, particularly M'Koy, on whom, it seems, it had the effect of producing fits of delirium; and in one of these he threw himself from a cliff, and was killed on the spot. Captain Beechey says, "The melancholy fate of this man created so forcible an impression on the remaining few, that they resolved never again to touch spirits; and Adams has, I believe, to this day kept his vow."

After many bloody scenes, Adams and Young were left the sole survivors out of the fifteen males that had landed upon the island. Young was a man of some education, and of a serious turn of mind; and it would have been wonderful, after the many dreadful scenes at which they had assisted, if the solitude and tranquillity that ensued had not disposed them to repentance. They had a Bible and a Prayer-Book, which were found in the *Bounty*, and they read the Church Service regularly every Sunday. They now resolved to have morning and evening family prayers, and to instruct the children, who amounted to nineteen, many of them between the ages of seven

and nine years. Young, however, was not long suffered to survive his repentance. An asthmatic complaint terminated his existence.

Another peculiarity in Adams' account of the ultimate fate of the mutineers on this occasion, is worthy of notice. Like his account of where he was on the morning of the mutiny, it does not impress one with a conviction of the infallible accuracy of the statements of this patriarch. His sincere repentance, and subsequent excellent conduct, however, renders one indisposed to take further notice of his inaccuracies, than is necessary to give a fair sense of what he said. He told two different stories with regard to the conduct of Christian. To Sir Thomas Staines and Captain Pipon, he represented this ill-fated young man as never happy, after the rash and criminal step he had taken, and that he was always sullen and morose, and committed so many acts of cruelty, as to incur the hatred and detestation of his associates in crime. Whereas he told Captain Beechey, that Christian was always cheerful; that his example was of the greatest service in exciting his companions to labour; that he was naturally of a happy, ingenuous disposition, and won the good opinion and respect of all who served under him, which cannot be better exemplified, he says, than by his maintaining, under circumstances of great perplexity,

the respect and regard of all who were associated with him up to the hour of his death. The truth of the matter appears to be that Christian, so far from being cheerful, was, on the contrary, always uneasy in his mind about his own safety, and this is proved by his having selected a cave at the extremity of the high ridge of craggy hills that runs across the island, as his intended place of refuge, in the event of any ship of war discovering the retreat of the mutineers, in which cave he resolved to sell his life as dearly as he could. In this recess he always kept a store of provisions, and near it erected a small hut, well concealed by trees, which served the purpose of a watch-house. "So difficult," says Captain Beechey, "was the approach to this cave, that even if a party were successful in crossing the ridge, he might have bid defiance, as long as his ammunition lasted, to any force."

The Blossom was the first ship of war that Adams had been on, since the mutiny. It was several hours before the ship approached the shore, and the boats put off before she came to an anchor.

On account of the rocks and formidable breakers, the party who went on shore were landed by the young men, two at a time, in their whale-boat. "The difficulty of landing," says Captain Beechey, "was more than repaid by the friendly reception we met with on the beach from

Hannah Young, a very interesting young woman, the daughter of Adams. In her eagerness to greet her father, she had outrun her female companions, for whose delay she thought it necessary, in the first place, to apologise, by saying they had all been over the hill in company with John Buffet, to look at the ship, and were not yet returned. It appeared that John Buffet, who had been a seafaring man, had ascertained that the ship was a man-of-war, and, without knowing exactly why, became so alarmed—and there was good reason for his alarm, for any of these captains might have made Adams a prisoner—for the safety of the old man, that he either could not or would not answer any of the interrogatories which were put to him. This mysterious silence set all the party in tears, as they feared he had discovered something adverse to their patriarch. At length his obduracy yielded to their entreaties; but before he explained the cause of his conduct, the boats were seen to put off from the ship, and Hannah immediately hurried to the beach to kiss the old man's cheek, which she did with a fervency demonstrative of the warmest affections.

Captain Beechey, after describing many of the manners and customs of the island, goes on to tell that during their stay, they dined sometimes with one person, sometimes with another, their meals being always the-

same, and consisting of baked pig, yams, and taro, and sometimes sweet potatoes. Goats were numerous on the island; but neither their flesh nor their milk was relished by the natives. Yams constituted their principal food, either boiled, baked, or mixed with cocoa-nut, made into cakes, and eaten with molasses extracted from the tee-root. Taro-root is no bad substitute for bread; and bananas, plaintains, and *appoi*, are wholesome and nutritive fruits. The common beverage was water; but they made tea from the tee-plant, flavoured with ginger, and sweetened with the juice of the sugar-cane. They but seldom killed a pig, living mostly on fruit and vegetables. With this simple diet, early rising, and taking a great deal of exercise, they were subject to few diseases.

The young children were punctual in their attendance at school, and were instructed by John Buffet in reading, writing, and arithmetic; to which were added precepts of religion and morality, drawn chiefly from the Bible and Prayer-Book. They seldom indulged in jokes or other kinds of levity; and Beechey says, they were so accustomed to take what was said in its literal meaning, that irony was always considered a falsehood in spite of explanation; and that they could not see the propriety of uttering what was not strictly true, for any purpose whatever. The Sabbath was wholly devoted to the church

service, to prayer, reading, and serious meditation; no work of any kind was done on that day, not even cooking, which was prepared on the preceding evening.

"I attended," says Beechey, "their church on this day, and found the service well conducted; the prayers were read by Adams, and the lessons by Buffet, the service being preceded by hymns. The greatest devotion was apparent in every individual; and in the children there was a seriousness unknown in the younger part of our communities at home. In the course of the Litany, they prayed for their sovereign and all the royal family with much apparent loyalty and sincerity. Some family prayers, which were thought appropriate to their own particular case, were added to the usual service; and Adams, fearful of leaving out any essential part, read in addition all those prayers which are intended only as substitutes for others. A sermon followed, which was very well delivered by Buffet; and lest any part of it should be forgotten or escape attention, it was read three times. The whole concluded with hymns, which were first sung by the grown people, and afterwards by the children. The service thus performed was very long; but the neat and cleanly appearance of the congregation, the devotion that animated every countenance, and the innocence and simplicity of the little children, pre-

vented the attendance from becoming wearisome. In about half an hour afterwards we again assembled to prayers, and at sunset service was repeated ; so that, with their morning and evening prayers, they may be said to have church five times on a Sunday."

Dancing was not encouraged among them. With considerable difficulty, after much entreaty, Captain Beechey and his friends prevailed on three grown-up ladies to perform the Otaheitan dance, which consisted of little more than shuffling their feet, sliding past each other, and snapping their thumbs. They appeared to have little taste for music, either vocal or instrumental. Adams told Captain Beechey one day, that it would add much to his happiness, if the captain would read the marriage ceremony over him and his wife. He had always had an idea of having this done when a proper opportunity should offer. It was done accordingly the following day, and the event was duly noted in a register by John Buffet. The marriages of the young people had all been officiated at by Adams himself, who made use of a ring on such occasions, which had united every couple on the island since its first settlement.

In consequence of a representation, made by Captain Beechey when there, of the distressed state of this little society, with regard to the want

of certain necessary articles, His Majesty's Government sent out to Valparaiso, to be conveyed from thence for their use, a proportion for sixty persons of the following articles : sailors' blue jackets and trousers, flannel waistcoats, pairs of stockings and shoes, women's dresses, spades, mattocks, shovels, pick-axes, trowels, rakes ; all of which were taken in His Majesty's ship Seringapatam, commanded by Captain the Hon. William Waldegrave, who arrived there in March 1830.

The ship had scarcely anchored when George Young was alongside in his canoe, which he guided by a paddle ; and soon after Thursday October Christian, in a jolly-boat, with several others, who, having come on board, were invited to breakfast, and one of them said grace as usual both before and after it. The captain, the chaplain, and some other officers accompanied these natives on shore, and having reached the summit of the first level or plain, which is surrounded by a grove or screen of cocoa-nut trees, they found the wives and mothers assembled to receive them. " I have brought you a clergyman," says the captain. " God bless you," issued from every mouth ; " but is he come to stay with us ? " " No. " " You bad man, why not ? " " I cannot spare him, he is the chaplain of my ship ; but I have brought you clothes and other articles, which King George has sent you."

"But," says Kitty Quintal, "we want food for our souls."

"Our reception," says Captain Waldegrave, "was most cordial, particularly that of Mr Watson, the chaplain; and the meeting of the wives and husbands most affecting, exchanging expressions of joy that could not have been exceeded had they just returned from a long absence. The men sprang up to the trees, throwing down cocoa-nuts, the husks of which were torn off by others with their teeth, and offering us the milk. As soon as we had rested ourselves, they took us to their

cottages, where we dined and slept."

Captain Waldegrave, like all former visitors, bore ample testimony to the kind dispositions and active benevolence of these simple islanders. A remarkable proof of these amiable feelings he noted in the care that was taken of the surviving widows of the Otaheitan men who had been slain on the island, who were helpless and would have been destitute but for the humane consideration of the young people who supported them, and treated them with every attention.

## CHAPTER VI.

### NORFOLK ISLAND.

A FEW years after John Buffet settled on Pitcairn Island, another English sailor took up his abode in the colony. His name was John Evans, and he was the son of a coachmaker in Long Acre, London. He was a worthy and well educated man. Both he and Buffet married, and thus two names were added to the roll of surnames.

In the year 1828 a third seafaring man chose Pitcairn Island as his home. His arrival was an event destined to affect the annals of the island. He was no passing sailor who took a fancy to the place and asked

leave to stop there on his voyage. For years he had entertained a desire to settle among the primitive inhabitants, who had been much talked and written about ever since Captain Folger's discovery had been made public. Having arrived at the island after many difficulties, he was heartily welcomed, and married Sarah, the granddaughter of Fletcher Christian. The name of this man, destined to be the successor of John Adams in the patriarchate, was George Hunn Nobbs.

John Adams died on the

29th of March 1829, aged sixty-five. He had lived on Pitcairn Island since he was twenty-four, the only protector of a number of helpless human beings. The perfect harmony and contentment in which they lived together, the innocency and simplicity of their manners, their conjugal and parental affections, their religious and virtuous conduct, are all to be ascribed to the instructions and exemplary life of this remarkable man. He passed away in the presence of his family and affectionate flock. Adams nominated Mr Nobbs as his successor in the pastorate. This gentleman possessing some knowledge of medicine and surgery besides a competent knowledge of the truths of religion, entered with zeal upon the many duties for the discharge of which his acquirements gave him a vocation.

In 1790 the island was first settled by fifteen men and twelve women, making a total of twenty-seven. Of these were remaining in 1800, one man and five women, with nineteen children, the eldest nine years of age, making in the whole twenty-five. In 1808, Mr Folger makes the population amount to thirty-five, being an increase of ten in eight years. In 1814, six years afterwards, Sir Thomas Staines states the *adult* population at forty, which must be a mistake, as fourteen years before, nineteen of the twenty-five then existing were

children. In 1825, Captain Beechey states the whole population at sixty-six, of whom thirty-six were males, and thirty females. In 1830, the colony consisted of eighty-seven persons. A long drought that year, and a bad season for their plantations, gave rise to fears of famine overtaking them. A possible failure of water supply had long been a subject of grave consideration; and the drought of this year led to the taking of a very serious step. The British government proposed to the islanders that they should emigrate to Otaheite. The queen of that island, Pomaré, seconded this suggestion with great zeal. The Pitcairners were divided in opinion. A party headed by Mr Nobbs were much opposed to the movement. Notwithstanding they all sailed for Otaheite in March. A rich tract of land was assigned them by Queen Pomaré, and the Otaheitans assisted them in collecting wood and constructing houses. The climate, however, did not suit them, an epidemic seized them, and Thursday October Christian, the firstborn of Pitcairn Island, fell a victim to it. Besides, the morals of their new neighbours did not suit their simple, austere mode of life. So they resolved to return to their own old island home. Indeed, the Buffet family and some others did not remain in Otaheite till the general re-emigration. They had come there in a government

vessel. In September 1831, an American brig brought away all the families and landed them again at Pitcairn. This was done at their own expense, and greatly to Queen Pomaré's regret. They restored their plantations, repaired their houses, and Pitcairn village soon resumed its former aspect of cleanliness and comfort.

In 1832 a man named Joshua Hill came to the island, pretending to be a commissioner sent by Government to look after the inhabitants for their good. He talked of great powers entrusted to him, and was received into the house of John Buffet with delight. He wrought a deal of mischief among the families. He assumed the functions of judge, sentenced to the lash and to banishment, kept Mr Nobbs in continual fear of his life, till at last, after anxious correspondence with the home government, this impostor was in 1838 removed by orders of Government, and left at Valparaiso.

Many ships of war touched at the island in the course of succeeding years; but as yet no British Admiral had paid a visit to it. But Rear-Admiral Fairfax Moresby was on the Pacific station in 1851, and he being known to have taken a special interest in the Pitcairn people, was invited to visit the island by a pleasant little note signed by fourteen of the female inhabitants. The frank invitation was cordially accepted; and this visit was an era to the people.

Admiral Moresby arrived in his ship, the *Portland*, in August 1852; and like every other visitor, he was quite fascinated with the persons and manners of the inhabitants. He took a special interest in Mr Nobbs and his family. He got that gentleman to confess himself the unacknowledged son of a marquis by an unfortunate daughter of an Irish baronet. Admiral Moresby procured a passage for him to London, where he was ordained a deacon, in August 1852, by the late Bishop Blomfield, and a priest in November. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel put him on its list, at a salary of £50 a year; and he was introduced to a great many distinguished people. Mr Nobbs was presented to Queen Victoria, who received him most graciously, and gave him portraits of herself and the Royal family. He returned to Pitcairn in May 1853.

The colony had now increased to such an extent, that their beloved little island began to feel too small, or rather not fertile enough for them. Admiral Moresby wrote, the year Mr Nobbs returned, to the Admiralty, saying, that the time had arrived when measures should be taken for their future welfare. Government at that time abandoned Norfolk Island as a convict station; and it seemed a very available home for the straitened inhabitants of the "small Rock in the West." Reports regarding Norfolk Island.



with a view to their removal to it, were duly presented to Government. They were, of course, all in the highest degree favourable to the project. No place could suit the Pitcairners so admirably as that abandoned convict station. Admiral Moresby was requested by what was termed the Pitcairn Fund Committee to sound them on the subject. This committee consisted of some influential patrons of the islanders, who collected funds for their benefit, and looked after their interests generally. Admiral Moresby found the Pitcairners favourable to the removal. In reply to a communication by him, the chief magistrate and councillors resolved: "It is very evident that the time is not far distant, when Pitcairn Island will be altogether inadequate to the rapidly increasing population, and the inhabitants do unanimously agree in soliciting the aid of the British Government in transferring them to Norfolk Island, or some other appropriate place." They expressed a desire and hope that wherever they were taken to, they might be allowed to live in a seclusion similar to that they had enjoyed on Pitcairn Island. Government entrusted the removal of them to Sir William Denison, K.C.B., Governor-General of New South Wales, and he sent Captain Freemantle, R.N., commanding the *Juno*, to see the thing done. Norfolk Island was their destination of course.

Captain Freemantle reached the little island in 1855; and was rather surprised to find the people anything but desirous for the change of residence. Many of them had painful memories of their Otaheite escapade twenty-five years ago. Captain Freemantle was in earnest in his mission. He believed it was for the good of the people; and he overcame all scruples and objections. As a man-of-war could not be spared from the station, an emigrant ship, the *Morayshire*, was commissioned to transfer the islanders to their new home, an undertaking which Lieutenant Gregorie of the *Juno* was appointed to superintend. When he arrived at Pitcairn, he found that he had the work of persuading to do over again. And no wonder! It was a depressing change for them, poor things. Kind, tender hearts like theirs required much persuasion before they could consent to leave their happy homes, and the graves of those they loved so well—their father, John Adams, and the parents, brothers, sisters, and children, who bound them to Pitcairn, as well as quickened their sense of relationship to that other home beyond their graves.

A few enterprising spirits seconded Lieutenant Gregorie's eloquence, and he eventually succeeded in bringing every soul away. After a passage of five weeks, the Pitcairners arrived at Norfolk Island, on Sunday, 8th June 1856.

Mr Nobbs enters in his diary under this date: "Cloudy weather, close in with Norfolk Island; very much disappointed with its appearance from the present point of view, which is directly off the settlement, and presents a succession of hillocks and shallow ravines covered with short brown grass, but scarcely a tree to be seen. Every face wore an expression of disappointment, having been accustomed to hear the island so highly extolled. No doubt other parts have a better appearance, but this side certainly bears no comparison with our Rock in the West.

"At ten A.M., left with my family, and some others, in the ship's lifeboat. It blew fresh, and we were nearly two hours rowing to shore. The wind being off the land during our passage, several squalls of rain occurred, and the boat leaking badly, we were thoroughly drenched, the women and children presenting a most forlorn appearance. Being conducted by Mr Stewart to his residence, I deposited my wife there, and then returned to the pier. On my way thither, I went into the large building where our people were congregating, and seeing they were beginning to feel comfortable, I returned to the landing-place. One of the Government prisoners—doing duty as a constable to prevent any one intruding into the precincts of the large building (formerly the

soldiers' barracks), where our people were assembling—seeing how thoroughly drenched I was, gave me so pressing an invitation to go to his dwelling, which was adjacent, and change my clothes, that I did not refuse his offer. He supplied me with a decent suit, and, moreover, brought me a mug of hot tea, and some excellent bread and butter. All this was done so respectfully, and with such good grace, that I forgot that this man was a twice convicted prisoner."

Mrs Nobbs, writing three months after their arrival at Norfolk Island, expresses pretty fairly the impressions which generally prevailed. "We arrived," she says, "amid squalls of rain, which thoroughly drenched us; but Captain Denham, who was here, had fires prepared and tea ready for us, so that we soon got as comfortable as we could possibly be in, to us, such a bewildering place. Everything was so strange; the immense houses, the herds of cattle grazing, and in the distance the gigantic Norfolk pines, filled us for a moment with amazement. I was conducted by Mr Stewart to the Government House, and seated by a good fire in the drawing-room (I have learned that name since), which was the first fire I had ever seen in a dwelling-house, and an excellent addition to my previous ideas of domestic comfort.

"The island is not to be compared for fertility to the one

we left ; but being much larger, there is more room for our children to branch out upon ; but I think there are few would not return (and I one of the number), if an opportunity offered. My husband is much annoyed at these expressions of our feelings, and declares that he will never leave Norfolk Island. He is positive that the land is a good land, and that before twelve months we shall be of his opinion. Well, I hope this may be the case ; but bad or good, so long as he makes it his home, of course it will be mine ; and seeing him so contented and confident, has for certain a good effect upon us all.

“The place is not nearly so well wooded and watered as we thought to have found it, and to a community like this, who, although at Pitcairn they were sometimes straitened in the staple articles of food, had generally something of an inferior kind to fall back upon, the prospect that in two months from this they will be without bread, flour, or any one thing that will answer for a substitute, is not very encouraging. The island, for spontaneous fertility, is not to be compared with the spot we have left, but I am sure the land is a good land, and will provide all we need, when *we get the means of planting.*”

The Bishop of New Zealand, Dr Selwyn, accompanied by Mrs Selwyn, and the Rev. Mr

Patteson, paid a visit to the new inhabitants of Norfolk Island in less than a month after they arrived. Mrs Selwyn remained with them, while the Bishop and Mr Patteson pursued their missionary voyage among the islands of Melanesia. He returned in September, and held a confirmation, which Mrs Selwyn had assisted actively in preparing for during his three months' absence. On this occasion, Mr Nobbs relates, “After the departure of the congregation, the Bishop, Mr Patteson, and myself, with old Arthur Quintal, were for some time employed in placing stools in front of the chancel, for the accommodation of those about to be confirmed. At half-past three, the afternoon service was commenced. The candidates were first called by name, and arranged on the before-mentioned stools, the women on the right-hand range or tier, the men on the left. . . . The men were arrayed in good black or blue coats, with white pantaloons, and shoes and stockings. The women wore loose white frocks or tunics, and instead of bonnets, which many do wear on Sunday, was substituted a snowy white handkerchief doubled triangularly, without any attempt at adornment, simply placed on the head, and tied with a half-knot under the chin. . . . The confirmation began by ten persons standing up in parallel rows of five each, without step-

ping from the place where they had been seated, when, having listened attentively to the preface and questions put by the Bishop, they, with becoming earnestness, severally answered, 'I do.' By a motion of the Bishop's hand they resumed their seats, and ten others rose, and so on in like order until all had been questioned and responded. They then in similar order came up to the front of the altar, and kneeling, received the imposition of hands. I am sure it would have gratified our many friends could they have been present, and seen parents kneeling by the side of their children. Many of these were also parents, and in one instance, a great-grandmother was accompanied by grand-daughters, three of whom had families of their own. . . . Before the conclusion, it became nearly dark in the church, and the Bishop was obliged to repair to the outer door to distinguish the names of the persons on the certificates of confirmation. The Bishop himself delivered them, first taking each person by the hand, and using the Christian name of each, asked God's blessing on them. And then the members of the various families returned to their respective homes well pleased and edified."

It will be remembered that the Rev. Mr Patteson referred to here, was subsequently ordained Bishop of Melanesia, which was erected into a see

separate from New Zealand; and that he was murdered by savages, while faithfully and lovingly discharging the onerous duties of his sacred office.

In the month of November 1858, that is after living about two years and a half on Norfolk Island, two families of the name of Young returned to Pitcairn Island. The following extract is from a letter written by Sir W. Denison to Admiral Moresby, in which he refers to this event as well as other interesting topics. He says—"I had a rough passage of eight days to the island. . . . I found that the great proportion of the people were well satisfied with their position and prospects. Thirty-three of the men had associated themselves, and by clubbing their means, had purchased two boats and whaling gear from an American whaler. They had then gone energetically into the business of bay whaling, and had killed whales enough to supply fourteen tons of oil, which at present prices may be worth nearly £500. . . . Some have already commenced to manufacture dripstones, which sell well in the adjacent colonies; some have commenced the manufacture of soap; others are looking forward to a profitable trade in oranges and lemons; in fact, as regards the men, I am satisfied with their progress. I wish I could say the same with regard to the women; they, with one or two exceptions, do

not appear to me nearly so civilised as the men. They approach nearer the Tahitian type; and, as we must look to the women to give the first tone to the children, I should wish to see a great improvement in manner, appearance, and information. I trust, however, that Mr Rossiter's presence will do a great deal for them. Hitherto, the school has been but a trifling advantage, but now that Mr Rossiter has taken it in hand, I have a right to expect a great change for the better. . . .

*"I found that two families had gone back to Pitcairn Island, and I heard that three more were contemplating a similar move.*

At a general meeting of the people, I spoke strongly to them, pointing out to them the folly, nay, the sin, which they were committing, in throwing aside for themselves as well as for their children the means of living which had been provided for them, and I warned them that I should not in any way countenance or assist them in removing; that I should put a condition of residence in the grant of land which I was prepared to make to them, and should prohibit any alienation of this land to any but inhabitants of the island. I felt the more bound to do this, as I found that the magistrates and Mr Nobbs had, in the case of the people who had left, been weak enough to agree to pay to the captain of a schooner *a sum*

*of £600 as the passage money of sixty adults to Pitcairn,* and had given him bills for £300 on their agent at Sydney, which he claimed when only sixteen went down, instead of sixty. This money, I may observe, was the value of the wool and hides sold, and was the property of the Government. I have now taken the management of the public funds out of the hands of the magistrates, and given it to the storekeeper, who is only to act as far as regards drawing bills upon the wool, etc., by my directions.

"The island is now marked off in fifty-acre allotments, and I propose to send down the deeds of grant when I have settled the form and conditions, and arranged a simple system of registration, and forms of sale, mortgage, etc. . . .

"I look forward to the time when Norfolk Island will become the St Michael's of New Zealand, Tasmania, and Melbourne. Lemons are indigenous, and form the best stock on which the orange can be grafted. I have sent down several of the best descriptions of orange, and shall supply them with shaddock and other fruits of the same kind. Mr Rossiter is, I am glad to find, a good gardener."

Sir W. Denison adds, "I have given Mr Nobbs £50 per annum out of the revenue of the island, in addition to the £50 which he receives from the Society for the Propagation of

the Gospel. He is fairly entitled to this."

These extracts give a sufficient glimpse of the affairs of the descendants of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, in the new home which Government chose for them and took them to. They have now, somehow or other, ceased to impress the reader of the continuation of their story as the very simple, primitive, pure, and incomparable family they were pictured as being by all who visited them at Pitcairn. They are out a little wider in the world now; Buffet, Evans, Nobbs, and Rossiter are imported influences, and their notions, aims, and means of carrying them out, are both more ample and very different from those of old John Adams. Mr Rossiter received a good income as schoolmaster and storekeeper, and proved himself very useful. He was a conscientious, industrious man, and a rather stern disciplinarian.

The establishing of a Mission College on Norfolk Island, was an occasion of trouble and anxiety to its imported inhabitants. They were afraid that a body of semi-converted natives of the Melanesian islands settled among them, would damage morality and hinder social progress. But their principal objection to the project was based on a belief that there had been conferred on them by the British Government an indefeasible right and title to the whole of

Norfolk Island. They considered that it was theirs and everything it contained. They were unwilling to admit a precedent for alienation, fearing that it might deprive their posterity of a guaranteed inheritance. It was, they maintained, upon the condition of unqualified cession that they consented to leave Pitcairn Island. This was, however, discovered to be a false impression, and after considerable delay and a good deal of plucky correspondence with Government, the Melanesian Mission College was sanctioned in 1866. Bishop Patteson paid £3 an acre for a thousand acres of land; this £3000 was carefully invested, and the accruing interest is applied annually to paying the pastor and chief magistrate of the descendants of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, and also to the cost of medicines, flags, and other necessary and showy matters. In no way can the founding of this college be regarded as other than beneficial to the Norfolk Islanders. Their home acquires reputation by it, and if there is an importation of semi-civilised natives, there is also the introduction of highly educated gentlemen to look after them. This is the wonderful ultimate result of a rash and foolish mutiny. The home of their descendants, formerly the compulsory abode of outcasts, is now the "Holy Isle" of the Pacific Ocean, the seat of the Melanesian Mission College.

## LAST OF THE BOUNTY.

The following paragraph cut from a newspaper in 1874 presents a vivid idea of the hardihood and intelligence of the excellent people to whom it is a regret to say good-bye here at the close of our repetition of their story.

"On the voyage from Sydney the Pearl stayed a day at Norfolk Island, which is a territory within the jurisdiction of Sir Hercules Robinson, as Governor of New South Wales. A very good story is told of the simple-minded, hardy descendants of the *mutineers of the Bounty*. The landing-place is an open roadstead. When Commodore Stirling visited the island in the Clio last year, a gale of wind was blowing, and the sea was running so high that it was impossible to land. After standing off and on for some time, the Clio was about to make sail for Sydney, the weather showing no signs of

moderating, when a boat was observed to put off from the shore. Something serious is the matter, thought all on board, or the islanders would not venture out in such a sea. The ship lay to, but the boat's crew had to toil all through the night before reaching her. *When they gained the deck, Commodore Stirling said, with some solicitude in his manner, 'I am glad to see you. I hope nothing has gone wrong; but anything in the way of medicines or supplies I have is at your service.'* 'We are all well, thank you,' answered the courageous boatmen, 'but *there is one thing we would like—have you a copy of "Lothair"?*' Two French gentlemen fought with swords in a Parisian bookshop for the right to purchase the last copy of the first edition of 'Le Diable Boiteux,' but it does not often fall to the lot of a modern author to produce a book for the possession of which people will risk their lives."

END OF THE BOUNTY AND HER MUTINEERS.

# THE MUTINY AT SPITHEAD.



## CHAPTER I.

### WHAT LED TO THE MUTINY.

THE year 1797 will be for ever memorable in the annals of the British navy. It is a blot on these annals, dark and black enough to make a man of moderate habits of mind rather melancholy in his reflections. The full, blushing truth regarding it has been put on record by Mr Johnson Neale, and that gentleman is adopted as guide in this repetition of the story of the mutineers of that cruel year.

The thing called discipline in the British navy was, up to that year, something very like governmental laziness and neglect trying to perform, or rather to perpetrate, a very grim kind of farce. The best and most truthful account of it extant is to be found in Smollett's "Roderick Random." That choleric Scotsman was on the medical staff of the British navy in his youthful days, and in his first great work he gave such an account of his experience as ought to have induced the powers that were to amend their ways and their do-

ings, but they did not, and hence the mutinies now to be put on record again. They dealt such a series of successive blows on the naval supremacy of Great Britain, as led for a time to the well-grounded fear that the ruin of that service, and the overthrow of the British empire, might possibly be the ungainly results.

The existence of a royal navy in Great Britain may have its commencement dated A.D. 1488. In that year the Great Harry was launched under the auspices of Henry VII. Slavery was universally tolerated in those days. The liberty of every human being was an idea very unfamiliar even to the slaves themselves; and therefore the "press-gang" was regarded as a very rational way to man the navy. Pay and provisions were doled out in a proportion worthy of the manner in which the men who consumed the one, and received the other, were supplied to the service. By the press-gang, a remnant of



feudal villainage, the arm of indiscriminate violence swept up for that service which has shed such a lustre on the name and nationality of Great Britain, all who were so poor, so ignorant, so unfriended, or so vicious, as to be thrown at large on the highways of the empire. It was peculiarly dangerous in those days for an honest, industrious sailor, who supported his family by labouring in a merchant ship, to walk the streets of a seaport town. One instance of a landsman pressed is never to be forgotten. "Under the Shop-lifting Act," says Sir William Meredith, addressing the House of Commons in 1777, "one Mary Jones was executed, whose case I shall just mention. It was at the time when press-warrants were issued, on the alarm about Falkland Islands. The woman's husband was pressed, their goods seized for some debt of his, and she, with two small children, turned into the streets a-begging. 'Tis a circumstance not to be forgotten, that she was very young, under nineteen, and remarkably handsome. She went to a linen-draper's shop, took some coarse linen off the counter, and slipped it under her cloak. The shopman saw her, and she laid it down. For this she was hanged. Her defence was, that she had lived in credit, and wanted for nothing till the press-gang came and stole her husband from her; but since then she had no bed to lie on, nothing to give her children to eat, and

they were almost naked; and perhaps she might have done something wrong, for she scarcely knew what she did. The parish officer testified to the truth of this story. But it seems that there had been a good deal of shop-lifting about Ludgate. An example was thought necessary by the judges, and this woman was hanged for the comfort and satisfaction of some shopkeepers in Ludgate Street. When brought to receive sentence, she behaved in such a frantic manner as proved her mind to be in a desponding and distracted state, and the child was sucking at her breast when she set out for Tyburn gallows."

Such is a single instance of the oppressions which led to the mutiny at Spithead, and the continuance of it subsequently at the Nore. By the press-gang the abject and the friendless were seized to be imprisoned in British men-of-war, the jury which pronounced against them, and their judge which deprived them of liberty, being all summarily comprehended in the capricious will of a more than half-drunk master of the snaring crew. And these were the "jolly tars" who rendered Great Britain glorious! They drudged unrepiningly through the life of severe privation into which they had been pressed. They became valuable to the tyrants who deprived them of both body and soul; and because of this they themselves riveted the life-long galling chain round their own

necks. "On the other hand," says Mr Johnson Neale, "should the natural feelings of humanity lead them to repine or to rebel; should they shrink from imbruing their hands in the blood of those who had never offended them, in a war which no good principle might perhaps be able to extenuate, they were tried by superiors who had no feelings in common with themselves, but a life of prejudices enlisted against them, and either scourged into madness by the application of personal torture to their backs, or ignominiously put to death at the yard-arms of those ships which they had been forced to enter." The press-gang was a complicated detail of legalised villainy; and, strange to say, as far as the law of the land is concerned, recourse might still be had to it, and may in the future. The unoffending Briton, captured by armed violence, was allowed only at rare intervals, and in many cases not at all, to land upon the shore which he loved and never had wished to leave. From the hour of his impressment he was, as a rule, cut off from all communication with friends or relatives at home, and was generally sent to a climate which undermined his constitution. There he either died, or began to endure an existence which for the rest of his life was a burden. Placed under the absolute disposal of a petty, and not unfrequently pettish monarch, whose slightest

caprice was law, he had to discharge duties harassing to the last degree of human endurance. However oppressed and wronged, he had yet no appeal, as has been said, "save to a court of jurisprudence so severe that every line appears to have been traced in blood, and every other penalty was a shameful death."

Such is a mere glimpse at the moral condition of the impressed seamen, at the period which is said to supply the brightest pages of British history. Their food, drink, and pay were in admirable keeping with their moral condition. These shall be described in the language of the authority already acknowledged.

The water at this time supplied to the British navy was, from the ill-constructed build of the ships, the large number of men, and the length of voyage or service, always doled out in a limited and most insufficient quantity to each man for the day. Short as was the quantity, the quality was still worse; carried to sea in a number of wooden casks, decomposition rapidly took place, and the liquid was reduced to the offensiveness of excrement before it was served out for the offices of food. Revolting in odour, and swarming with putrescent life, the water was only kept in countenance by the decayed and unwholesome bread that accompanied it.

Baked by contractors, whose

only virtue was that they cheated a bad government, it went to sea in the form of biscuits, with the addition of every species of adulteration, and a hardness nearly approaching to that of flint. Transported from ship to ship, and from station to station, until it had frequently acquired several years of age, that which had been originally flour and water now generally presented a mixture of rottenness and *acari*. To these were added beef and pork indurated by excess of salt. Supplied by contract also, salted horse mingled in a large proportion with the beef and the Irish pork, and was perhaps the only genuine article of provision that could be found on board. But even here roguery and rapacity conspired to make the friendless sailor still a victim.

The allowance of meat to each man was, by the regulation service, asserted to be one pound a day. Often not one-half, and rarely above one-third, of this quantity was received. Originally subjected to the conscience of the contractors, the weight was still further reduced by the salting; and well authenticated cases are known in which, during many years, the meat so preserved and packed in casks voyaged to and fro to different parts of the world, imbibing so much of the mineral in which it was pickled that it became as susceptible of polish as the agate or cornelian, and wholly without any particle of that flavour, as

well as nearly deprived of that nutriment, by which nature first marked it out for the sustenance of men.

Cheese of a quality equally objectionable and still less capable of preservation, and butter of the same nature, were added rather to tantalise than to support the unfortunate being imprisoned to endure such treatment.

It must, however, be added, although the Government was thus neglectful of all the rational portion of a working man's provision, there was one article of consumption, which, as it most tended to impair the health, and to degrade the mind of the maritime helot, was very plentifully supplied to him—for it was of little value; this was the rum supplied by the British colonies. Two gills or half a pint of ardent, new, and therefore pernicious spirit, were daily given to the seaman, that in this most animal indulgence he might forget the denial and bereavement of every delight and gratification that distinguishes the highest from the lowest of the creation. On one portion alone of the seamen's rations was it possible to bestow commendation; for breakfast the cocoa-berry was allowed, and though bestowed with too niggardly a hand, Heaven has kindly enabled it to withstand a moderate probation of time, and rendered it sufficiently ready for man's use to escape the contaminating interference of contractors, or the

unblushing jobbing of a venal government. The latter, however, for fear that the British sailor should by any chance be able to exist to a fair longevity, or enjoy a moderate portion of comfort during the short span they had allowed to him, sent on board every man-of-war an officer, whose express duty it was to show to how great an extent this cleverness and dexterity of cheating could be carried in a small way by the impartial plunder both of the country and the seamen. It is a matter of supererogation to mention such an officer as the purser: appointed to a man-of-war, when his office as a supplier of unwholesome provisions must necessarily be hateful—where the trouble of constant supervision, checking, and accounting must inevitably be great—he was allowed no salary beyond that which he could realise in saving, or to speak more correctly, pilfering the seamen's rations. Thus, by constant weighing, measuring, and harassing, he withdrew a large emolument from the pittance which barely prolonged their existence. In a line-of-battle ship the office of purser was at that time supposed to be worth a thousand pounds a year.

The ignorance which had at first permitted the institution of the approved way of manning the British navy, continued to protect its enormities till the gradual spread of enlightenment reached even that most neg-

lected branch of the public service. This result was arrived at most naturally. Government pursued a mad career, for which a few humble sailors were destined to pay the penalty which would keep the public quiet. The wise powers of those days commenced emptying the jails of all the most abandoned reprobates and irreclaimable characters that could be found in the country, and by sending them on board the fleet, at once rid themselves of all further trouble, provided food for the shot of the enemy, and by the numerical presence of a set of lawless villains, foolishly imagined they were adding to the courage of veterans already approved of in numberless engagements. By this scandalous proceeding, the seaman who had passed his life in the service of his country was reduced to a level with the wretch whose crimes had expelled him from its shores, and the calling to this service was thus publicly and officially acknowledged as the worst punishment in the state; and while the men became disgusted with their governors, they were infected by their companions. Accustomed to a life of vagrancy and enjoyment, the criminals so drafted from the prisons passed their time in harassing good officers by their outrage of all duty, and the making of an excuse for tyrannical commanders to indulge in brutal and disgusting exhibitions of corporal punishment. Filled

with regret in their own minds for all they had lost on shore, and accustomed, even as rogues in England, to find some show of justice due though to the guilty, they now atoned to themselves for the impossibility of revenge by pointing out to the seamen the unnatural tyranny exercised over them, and the surety of redress on the facts being made to their countrymen. Thus tutored on the one side by iniquity, and goaded on the other by injustice, our surprise here naturally arises, not that the British seamen should have been driven to revolt, but that they should not have revolted long before.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE CHANNEL FLEET.

EARL HOWE attained the culmination of his illustrious career when in June 1794, after inflicting a severe naval defeat on the French, he had the glory of towing into Portsmouth six of their ships of the line. He, however, continued in the command of the Channel Fleet till 1797, in which year, owing to failing health, he resigned that command, and Lord Bridport was appointed to it. The Channel Fleet, after a short cruise, arrived at Spithead in the month of March of that eventful year, and lay there in daily expectation of orders to sail. It was quite well known in professional circles, and especially at the Admiralty, that disaffection was wide-spread among the sailors, that murmurs were not at all suppressed, and that the men were utterly dissatisfied with the treatment

they received in the service; still, those in high places did not look for a mutiny. Nothing like insubordination was expected; and the practical grievances under which the service was suffering dangerously, did not seem to the official mind so important as other urgent matters on hand. Besides, it was daily expected that the French fleet would put out to sea; and the ardour of the men on the eve of an engagement was counted on as a check sufficient to prevent any serious demand for immediate redress of wrongs which were not denied, and were, in fact, undeniable.

The sailors looked to Lord Howe as their beloved and trusted protector. To him they sent anonymous letters and Round Robins, trying to explain in rough and homely language, the grievances they felt,

and how keenly they felt them. They relied in their hope of redress on his lordship's popularity, and his affection for the fleet he had so often conducted to naval glory. Complaints forwarded through their respective captains, they knew, would either not reach the Admiralty at all, or if they did get a hearing at that board, the chances were, indeed the certainty was, that a reference would be made back to the officers who sent on the complaints, who would in turn report that there was only the very slightest ground for discontent, and that the chief malcontents were troublesome and disorderly persons. The ringleaders would accordingly becomemarked men; and would, without fail, be subsequently subjected to a deal of petty tyranny and annoyance. The Articles of War, as they were well aware, provided, "That if any person in the fleet shall find cause of complaint of the unwholesomeness of the victual, or other just grounds, he shall quickly make the same known to his captain, or the commander-in-chief, who shall cause complaint to be presently remedied." The anonymous letters and Round Robins of the sailors were meant, in their own direct way, to be advantage taken of this just and kindly provision. In accordance with the spirit of the paragraph from the Articles of War just quoted, they made their grievances known to Lord Howe in such a manner, as they

hoped, would secure the individual safety of the more active and energetic spirits, and procure attention to their complaints with all the force with which they were presented.

Lord Howe may not have been personally familiar with the mischiefs of the system on which the ordinary affairs of his noble profession were conducted; or he may have been displeased with the informal manner in which the men wrote to him. Whatever was the reason, his lordship at first laid aside quietly the statements communicated to him by men thoroughly in earnest. He took note of the fact that these messages were all written in the same hand, and in the same style. He, accordingly, might reasonably have thought that they emanated from some one grumbling troubler, who did not fairly represent the sentiments generally prevailing in the fleet. But the frequency of these communications compelled Lord Howe to take their contents into very serious consideration. The uneasiness in the fleet became only too manifest, and showed itself very decided in its character. He, therefore, determined to endeavour to get something done to conciliate the men, and to lessen the weight of their burdens where these lay most heavily. He now saw clearly that his duty dictated the necessity of bringing under the direct notice of the Admiralty, the disturbed state of the fleet, the

causes to which he assigned the existing agitation, and what remedies he thought would secure the suppression of it. Lord Howe, therefore, inquired of Sir H. Seymour, the officer commanding at Portsmouth, whether, and to what extent disaffection was rife among the seamen; and to what causes it, if existing, might reasonably be attributed. The unwise answer was, that the whole affair was the insignificant attempt of a few mischievous persons to bring scandal upon the Government. His lordship was, however, by this time too keenly alive to a sense of the situation, and his apprehensions were not to be allayed by such a painfully official reply. At the same time he did not succeed in opening the eyes of the Admiralty to the amount of alarming danger imminent; and while the consideration of the subject was postponed to times blindly supposed to be less critical, the consequent neglect and seeming indifference exasperated the sailors to such a degree, that even their respect for

Lord Howe, their gallant commander-in-chief, was inflamed into hatred of him, and a dogged, incurable opinion began to control their minds, to the effect that he was the originator and main continuator of the hardships they felt to be intolerable.

It was now time, on the part of the oppressed seamen, to take measures more decisive than writing anonymous letters or Round Robins. Preparations were made with remarkable secrecy, prudence, and caution, to secure the attainment of ends which had slowly shaped themselves in the minds of the long-suffering victims of a tyranny as foolish as it proved at length to be feeble. The men of the Channel Fleet determined to demonstrate by their unanimity in word and action that nothing would satisfy them which came short of a prompt admission of the two standing, and, in the circumstances, astonishing grievances: their small pay, and the unequal distribution of prize-money.

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## CHAPTER III.

### THE FIRST OUTBREAK.

**MATTERS** had become more serious than the official mind at the Admiralty was prepared for. The crisis had, however, not yet

come—only the beginning of it, and the preparation for it.

On Saturday, April 15, 1797, Lord Bridport made the signal

for the fleet to weigh anchor, intending to drop down to St Helens. He thus gave the signal for the first outbreak. The Queen Charlotte—here Mr Johnson Neale is followed—Lord Howe's flagship, a man-of-war notorious for laxity of discipline and for turbulence, manned her fore-shrouds and gave three cheers, an example which was immediately followed by the rest of the fleet. On the next day, Easter Sunday, the *passive* insurrection, as it was called, took an active form. The spirit of disobedience expanded and reached an alarming height. A deputation of four seamen from each ship assembled on board the Queen Charlotte, to take counsel, and to determine upon what steps were most suitable to the emergency and best adapted for securing the object of their movement. A captain from among themselves was appointed on the forecastle of each ship, to keep watch and to preserve regularity and subordination to the committee. During divine service, parties of seamen rowed in public procession through the fleet in a line of boats; and the Romney, man-of-war, about to sail as convoy to the outward-bound fleet for the Newfoundland fishery, was peremptorily ordered not to weigh anchor until the effect of these vigorous measures should have been ascertained.

The mutineers now presented

to Lord Bridport, Sir Alan Gardner, the Port-Admiral, together with other officers of rank at Portsmouth, a petition, signed by a large majority of the fleet, setting forth, that while the military, the marines, and other public bodies, had at various times received marks of the bounty of Government, by allowances of bread, money, and other perquisites, the pay of the seamen had not been augmented, although the distresses of the times fell equally hard upon them as upon other parts of the community. They therefore prayed for an increase of allowance, and expressed their firm resolve not to put to sea again until the prayer of their petition should have been answered, unless in the meanwhile the enemy's fleet might happen to sail out of harbour; in that case, they promised to fight the battles of their country, defeat her foes, return again into port, and renew their complaints.

Lord Bridport despatched Rear-Admiral Pole to London, to lay before the Lords Commissioners an account of what had transpired, together with the demands of the fleet. Although no precaution had been taken by the Government before the evil burst upon them, notwithstanding the evident tendency of the fleet towards mutiny, yet, when the blow had been struck, all nerve and courage seemed to fail before an earnest desire to repair at any



risk, and at any concession, the disastrous effects of their own foolish and supine policy. A cabinet council was immediately summoned, the different claims set forth in the petition underwent a serious discussion, and it was agreed that Lord Spencer, Lord Arden, Admiral Young, and Mr Marsden, should proceed to Portsmouth that very evening, with the view of soothing the irritated sailors, and of restoring harmony by a timely conference. When the information which Government had received found its way to the public, alarm and consternation pervaded all ranks and all parties. An earthquake would have shaken London with no greater degree of preparation for the event; and such a calamity would scarcely have exceeded the trembling sensation of imminent danger with which the outbreak at Spithead affected the moral and political structure of British society. But when the surprise of the moment had ceased, and men began to weigh the causes and probable results of this disastrous intelligence, party spirit undertook to interpret the views of the sailors, and to attack or defend the ministers, according to its particular bias. The assailants of Government maintained that the system of procrastination and mismanagement, visible in every branch of the naval and military services, together with an accumulation of arrears undischarged, had long ago sown

seeds of disgust in the minds both of the privates and their officers, of which the fruit and the harvest were now to be reaped and gathered. They alleged, moreover, with a view to exaggerate the formidable aspect of affairs, that the fleet was under sailing orders, but refused to meet the enemy. Both these statements were met with a flat denial by the adherents of Mr Pitt; and the indignant retort was hazarded, that a republican leaven had been secretly introduced, by designing and traitorous politicians, into the vitals of the navy. But neither could this allegation be supported, for it was discovered, upon calm inquiry, that the defects in discipline and authority, and, in fact, the unsound principles upon which the navy was managed, were sufficient of themselves to account for the mutiny, without any elaborate production of more distant causes. When it became generally known that the Lords of the Admiralty had journeyed to Portsmouth for the purpose of negotiating with the disaffected, a note of scornful derision hailed the undertaking. It was made a matter of sarcasm that a *representative government* was actually established on board the British fleet, and that a commission of Admiralty setting out to treat with a *convention of delegates* was an era in the annals of our navy, which no man who madly gave his suffrage for the present war of

disorganisation ever expected to see. No less sagacious was the affirmation, that "a decent seasonable attention to the remonstrances of the sailors might have saved England from a calamity which no man could contemplate without dismay."

Such were the opinions which, rapidly spreading through the country, became the subject of discussion at the corner of every street, in every place of public resort, and by every fire-side; for the untarnished loyalty of the British navy, supported by a long series of splendid victories, had been always the theme dearest to an Englishman's pride. When, therefore, in a moment of doubtful peril, from a bold and by no means contemptible enemy, it was announced that the navy was not any longer to be depended upon with unshaken confidence, no man felt the shores of his native country secure from invasion, nor his own domestic hearth safe from attack.

On board the fleet, remonstrances, persuasions, and even threats, were used in vain. The cool determination of the sailors, not to relax one iota of their demands, remained unassailable. They carefully abstained from acts of rudeness and violence towards their officers, while, at the same time, the slightest breach of orders among themselves was punished with unrelenting severity. Four, or, as some say, two delegates, selected from each ship, met daily in

the state-cabin of the *Queen Charlotte*. By their orders, the marines were disarmed, and the magazines seized. The boats also were taken possession of by the committee, and made to communicate from ship to ship, at their pleasure. The officers were not allowed to go on shore, with the exception of some few who had rendered themselves obnoxious to their crews by harsh behaviour: these were sent away; but even the slopsellers were detained, with permission, however, for their boats to come alongside with goods. A yard-rope was rove at every fore-yard arm, as a gentle hint of the fate which might be expected by any person who should be so hardy as to break through the regulations. All the people were sworn to be true to the cause. So strict was the discipline, that if any man became intoxicated, he was punished severely. One sailor, belonging to *La Pompée*, for bringing a pint of spirits on board, was tied up and flogged unmercifully with a thief-cat. If symptoms of unwillingness to join the confederacy were observed on board any particular ship, she was made to cast anchor between two staunch adherents, with a threat of total destruction upon the least sign of disobedience. The crew of the *Royal William* having omitted to join in the general cheering which took place at eight o'clock every morning, with a repetition at sunset, was warned that she

would be fired into, should her crew still persist in a refusal to obey orders. A favourite amusement with the sailors was the ducking of offenders for light transgressions: the unfortunate malefactor was lowered from the main-yard into the water, and hoisted up again two or three times, until he had given satisfaction for his sins. It must be owned, this summary and novel sentence, although more ludicrous, was yet more humane than lacerating a man's back, until nature failed, and he swooned from exhaustion and loss of blood: new authorities generally discover unusual methods of enforcing obedience to the executive. In the meantime the admiral retained command of the fleet, with one restriction only—that he should not put to sea until the demands of the seamen were conceded. Respect to the officers was strictly enforced, and any breach of discipline in the ordinary routine of duty rigorously punished. The sick and convalescent seamen also, in the Haslar hospital, hoisted a flag composed of handkerchiefs tacked together, and cheered, morning and evening, with the rest of the fleet: this fact would show the unanimity prevailing through the whole naval body, upon the subject of their grievances, and would prove that every man who had tasted the bitterness of the system, was prepared, whether in sickness or in health, to take a share in the task of relieving the service from a pressure

which was felt in common by all.

Immediately upon the arrival of the Lords of the Admiralty at Portsmouth, a board was held, at which Lord Bridport, Sir Peter Parker, and Admirals Gardner, Colpoys, and Pole assisted. Negotiations immediately commenced; the correspondence between the board at Portsmouth and the deputation of seamen on board the *Charlotte*, was carried on through the superior officers of the fleet, who attended the Lords, and delivered the result of their deliberations to the seamen. Difficulties in the way of reconciliation existed on either side; the Admiralty insisted upon a withdrawal of certain points, which they felt ought not to be conceded; on the other hand, the fleet refused to narrow their pretensions. The pay of an able-bodied seaman was 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. a day, or 22s. 9d. a lunar month; this sum they requested might be increased to 30s. a calendar month, or 1s. a day; the pay to be made regularly every three months, in cash and not in paper. With respect to prize-money, the demand was, that one-third of all prizes taken should be distributed among the men; that provisions, in future, should be weighed out at sixteen ounces to the pound, instead of twelve; that a control should be placed upon the power of officers in imposing arbitrary punishment for petty offences; that an asylum or pension should be provided for persons

wounded in the service ; and that a greater degree of liberty to go on shore should be granted than had been hitherto permitted by the rules of the service.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### THE MEN MASTERS OF THE SITUATION.

LORD SPENCER, First Lord of the Admiralty, an amiable and generous English gentleman, was determined to hear the complaints of the sailors, to investigate to the utmost extent what justice their demands were based on, and how compliance was to be accorded to them. The complaints were presented one by one, not all at once. Lord Spencer promised to lay before King George III. their demand for an increase of pay, and the question about the weight of provisions. But the deputation demurred and hung back from promising to return to duty. A distinct recognition, they held, of the justice of their claims should be admitted, and a guarantee from the king should be obtained that the purpose of his lordship's proposition would be carried into effect, and that forthwith. They then introduced the other questions. The Admiralty, we are told, were embarrassed beyond measure ; the public had seen them go down to Portsmouth with an exaggerated idea of the importance attached to their official appearance, and had vainly im-

agined, that no sooner were they known to be in the neighbourhood of the mutiny than all complaints would be hushed, and every tongue silenced. They had also believed that any offer made by them, and any advance towards conciliation, would be eagerly embraced upon the part of the fleet. While they styled the claims insisted upon as extravagant and dangerous pretensions, they gave themselves credit for extreme liberality, and professed a disposition to accede to anything which might be just and reasonable, or compatible with the welfare of the Service. But the sailors reasoned in a different way, and arrived at different conclusions. They now felt their power over the country and the Government. The first symptom of passive resistance had given a shock to the nation, and convulsed the Admiralty to such a degree, that nothing short of their presence at the very seat of the catastrophe was supposed available to reduce the disorder, and to appease the awakening passions of rebellion. The game, therefore, they fairly reasoned, was

in their own hands ; now was the time to unfold their grievances to the fullest extent, and to demand a remission of every hardship which could be brought into the form of a general complaint ; and upon this view of the subject, their proceedings were conducted with firmness, respect, and a cool determination to obtain the end desired.

The negotiations did not succeed in justifying the views of the somnolent governmental mind. They did not promise so well as Earl Spencer and the other Lords Commissioners had expected. They therefore resolved to pay a visit to the fleet in their own solemn personality, in the hope of influencing the mutinous seamen by remonstrance, argument, and authority. But there was one very unwise admiral among them, a jolly good tar all the same, as the result showed. The thing took this shape according to the record. When Earl Spencer and the Lords Commissioners arrived on board the *Royal George*, Lord Bridport's ship, the noble earl expostulated with the delegates for placing the country in a situation of extreme danger by the course they were pursuing ; he also assured them that their request for an increase of pay should be granted ; and moreover, that the grievances of which they complained should receive the most anxious consideration of the Admiralty and Government ; but he relied upon every man throughout the fleet

instantly resuming the several duties of his respective station. Admiral Gardner, however, an impetuous but zealous officer, thought it right upon this occasion to express his sense of the proceedings to the crew of the *Royal George* with more sincerity than discretion. He went on the forecastle, and vehemently accused the sailors of being "skulking fellows, who knew the French were ready for sea, and yet were afraid of meeting them ; that their reasons for disobedience were mere pretences, their conduct sheer hypocrisy ; for that cowardice, and cowardice alone, had given birth to the mutiny." Such unmeasured language touching the feelings of the crew in the tenderest point, excited a tumult of rage and violence, in which the gallant admiral was nearly thrown overboard. He extricated himself, however, from the crowd, by jumping upon the hammock-nettings of the ship, and placing his neck within the noose of the yard-rope near him. He then cried out to the men, as they were advancing with menaces towards him, "If you will return to your duty, you may hang me at the yard-arm." This sudden and novel exploit turned the tide in favour of the admiral, who was generally popular in the service, although the warmth of his feelings had in this instance betrayed him beyond the bounds of prudence ; he was therefore cheered by the retreating crew as he once more re-

sumed his situation on the fore-castle.

The personal conference effected nothing to the purpose. Earl Spencer and his colleagues encountered a respectful opposition to every attempt at conciliation short of a full compliance with all the demands made upon the Government through them. The men were becoming more obstinate. They perceived clearly that they were masters of the situation, the embarrassment of the Admiralty rendering this fact very visible indeed. It was a cruel time; and the Pitt government did its best and foolishhest in the struggle. They were effectually found out by their *helots*. They revived the old report that the men were the dupes of designing political agents; and that upon the supposition of treason alone could the honest character of the British sailor be lowered to such a depth of degradation. The language of the opposition newspapers was contrasted with the doings at Spithead, and from their presumed affinity it was argued, "the Government is to be overthrown by the disorganisation of the fleet." The public were at a loss to understand the spirit of determination which seemed all of a sudden to inspire the seamen, and to make them doggedly indifferent either to the honour or the safety of the country, except upon their own terms; and therefore it was generally inferred that the intrigues of the Jacobins—a name

to conjure by in those days—not the pressure of real and intolerable wrongs, had organised this troublesome confederacy: harbinger of the harassing trades' unions in these days of ours. It seems a strange misconception of the force of authority and how to utilise it, that the Government of the time did not see the many symptoms which offered themselves spontaneously in favour of a settlement of all the difficulties, and that too in their own favour. Take one. In the very heat and excitement of the negotiations, the *Romney* was ordered to put to sea, the signal having been made that the convoy was under sail. The crew earnestly desired permission to wait the result of the conference, but the deputation informed them, "the country requires your services; you must therefore weigh anchor immediately, and drop down to St Helens." These orders were cheerfully obeyed, and the *Romney* sailed with her convoy for its destination, the Newfoundland fishery.

Nothing was accomplished at this conference. The deputation consented to withdraw the claim for an equal distribution of prize-money, but beyond this all other points remained as utterly unadjusted as they had been before.

The nameless leaders of that mutiny must have been able men. They could discern the signs of the times. They did so, and drew up the following petition for presentation to the

House of Commons, and published it as a manifesto to the country at large. They knew when to look over the heads of Earl Spencer, Admiral Gardner, and Lords Commissioners in general. Their language was :

“To the Right Honourable and the Honourable Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled ; the Humble Petition of the Seamen and Marines on board His Majesty’s Ships, in behalf of themselves,

“*Humbly Sheweth,*—

“That your petitioners, relying on the candour and justice of your honourable House, make bold to lay their grievances before you, hoping that, when you reflect on them, you will please to give redress, as far as your wisdom shall deem necessary. We beg leave to remind your august assembly that the Act of Parliament passed in the reign of Charles the Second,—wherein the wages of all seamen serving on board his Majesty’s fleet was settled,—passed at a time when the necessaries of life, and slops of every denomination, were at least thirty per cent. cheaper than at the present time, which enabled seamen and marines to provide better for their families than we can do now with one-half advance. We therefore request your honourable House will be so kind as to revise the Act before mentioned, and make such amendments therein as will enable your petitioners and their

families to live in the same comfortable manner as seamen and marines did at that time. Your petitioners, with all humility, laid their grievances before the Honourable Earl Howe, and flattered ourselves with the hopes that his lordship would have been an advocate for us, as we have been repeatedly under his command, and made the British flag ride triumphantly over that of our enemies. But, to our great surprise, we find ourselves unprotected by him, who has seen so many instances of our intrepidity in carrying the British flag into every port of the seas with victory and success.

“We profess ourselves as loyal to our sovereign, and zealous in the defence of our country, as the army or militia can be, and esteem ourselves equally entitled to his Majesty’s munificence ; therefore, with jealousy, we behold their pay augmented, and their out-pensions of Chelsea College increased to thirteen pounds per annum, while we remain neglected, and the out-pensioners of Greenwich have only seven pounds per annum.

“We, your petitioners, therefore humbly implore that you will take these matters into consideration, and with your accustomed goodness and liberality comply with the prayer of this petition, and your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

“We, the delegates of the fleet, hereunto sign our names for the ships’ companies :

“*Royal George*—Valentine

Joyce, John Morris. *Queen Charlotte*—Patrick Glynn, John Udleston. *Royal Sovereign*—Joseph Green, John Richardson. *London*—Alexander Harding, William Ruly. *Glory*—Patrick Dugan, John Bethell. *Duke*—Michael Adams, William Anderson. *Mars*—Thomas Allen, James Blithe. *Marlborough*—John Vassia, William Senator. *Ramillies*—Charles Berry, George Clear. *Robust*—David Wilson, John Scrivener. *L'Impetueux*—John Witna, William Porter. *Defence*—George Galway, James Barerick. *Terrible*—Mark Turner, George Salked. *La Pompée*—William Potts, James Melvin. *Minotaur*—Dennis Lawley, George Crosland. *Defiance*—John Saunders, John Husband.”

On the same day, and bearing the same date, the following remonstrance or petition to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty was published :

“To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

“MY LORDS,—We, the seamen of his Majesty’s navy, take the liberty of addressing your lordships in an humble petition, showing the many hardships and oppressions we have laboured under for many years, and which we hope your lordships will redress as soon as possible. We flatter ourselves that your lordships, together with the nation in general, will acknowledge our worth and good services

both in the American war as well as the present, for which good service your lordships’ petitioners do unanimously agree in opinion that their worth to the nation, and laborious industry in defence of their country, deserve some better encouragement than we meet with at present, or from any we have experienced. We, your petitioners, do not boast of our good services for any other purpose than that of putting you and the nation in mind of the respect due to us ; nor do we ever intend to deviate from our former character ; so far from anything of that kind, or that an English man or men should turn their coats, we likewise agree in opinion that we should suffer double the hardships we have hitherto experienced before we would suffer the crown of England to be in the least imposed upon by that of any other power in the world ; we therefore beg leave to inform your lordships of the grievances which we at present labour under.

“We, your humble petitioners, relying that your lordships will take into early consideration the grievances of which we complain, do not in the least doubt but your lordships will comply with our desires, which are every way reasonable.

“The first grievance we have to complain of is, that our wages are too low, and ought to be raised, that we might be the better able to support our wives and families in a manner comfortable, and whom we are in



duty bound to support as far as our wages will allow, which, we trust, will be looked into by your lordships and the honourable House of Commons in Parliament assembled.

"We, your petitioners, beg that your lordships will take into consideration the grievances of which we complain and now lay before you.

"First, That our provisions be raised to the weight of sixteen ounces to the pound, and of a better quality; and that our measures may be the same as those used in the commercial trade of this country.

"Secondly, That your petitioners request your honours will be pleased to observe that there should be no flour served while we are in harbour, in any port whatever under the command of the British flag; and also, that there might be granted a sufficient quantity of vegetables of such kind as may be the most plentiful in the ports to which we go; which we grievously complain and lay under the want of.

"Thirdly, That your lordships will be pleased seriously to look into the state of the sick on board his Majesty's ships, that they may be better attended to, and that they may have the use of such necessaries as are allowed for them in time of sickness; and that these necessaries be not on any account embezzled.

"Fourthly, That your lordships will be so kind as to look into this affair, which is nowise unreasonable; and that we may

be looked upon as a number of men standing in defence of our country; and that we may in some way have grant and opportunity to taste the sweets of liberty on shore when in any harbour, and we have completed the duty of our ship after our return from sea; and that no man may encroach upon his liberty, there shall be a boundary limited, and those trespassing any farther, without a written order from the commanding officer, shall be punished according to the rules of the navy; which is a natural request, and congenial to the heart of man, and certainly to us that you make the boast of being the guardians of the land.

"Fifthly, That if any man is wounded in action, his pay be continued until he is cured and discharged; and if any ship has any real grievances to complain of, we hope your lordships will readily redress them, as far as in your power, to prevent any disturbances.

"It is also unanimously agreed by the fleet, that from this day, no grievances shall be received, in order to convince the nation at large, that we know when to cease to ask, as well as to begin; and that we ask nothing but what is moderate, and may be granted without detriment to the nation, or injury to the service.

"Given on board the Queen Charlotte, by the delegates of the fleet, the 18th day of April 1797."

Moderation of sentiment, re-

spectful language, and forcible expression characterise these two documents. They could only be drawn by men of education and real ability. Who these were is not known, and, probably, never will be known. The manifestoes were in harmony with the plans adopted by the mutineers. It would be nothing very astonishing if it were ever to be discovered that the leaders of the opposition government knew more about the whole affair than they were willing to confess to the House of Commons, and this all to their honour; for this mutiny was the beginning of mighty benefactions to the British navy, and many of the mutineers were the martyrs of a good cause. The Government of the time betook itself, of course, to the usual dodge of sending rumours afloat. Paid traitors, it was said, and political incendiaries, had been introduced to the service, purposely to excite the passions and poison the minds of the seamen. But neither at that early period of the mutiny, nor at a more advanced stage of it, was this assertion supported by evidence. The Jacobin clubs, and other societies dissatisfied with Mr Pitt and his administration, have never been proved to have meddled with the matter. It is well enough known that men of good education and ruined fortunes, dissipated characters, and spirits intolerant of repose in those stirring times, had sought refuge in the navy from importu-

nate creditors and embarrassed circumstances. The large bounties offered to persons who might be induced to enter the service, attracted many born in a moderate station of life. Attorneys disqualified by unprofessional practices, excisemen cashiered for dereliction of duty, clerks under suspicion of embezzlement, men of desperate reputation, and criminals escaping justice, found their way on board his Majesty's fleet, and infused a secret leaven of discontent into the ranks of the seamen, at variance with their rough, honest, and genuine dispositions. Such men were likely to feel more acutely, hardships and grievances to which they were not habituated; superiority of intellect would place them at the head of any movement. But even the admission of the presence of such men does not explain the acuteness and firmness of purpose which is to be read in the conduct of affairs in this mutiny. There was a cause to lead, and master-minds headed it, whoever they were.

The grievances complained of were themselves, says Mr Neale, of such a nature as ought never to have been permitted to exist in any well-regulated department of the public service; and their reasonableness was at once admitted, when presented in a form and in language which could not be slighted without danger. A sufficient allowance of good provisions, a plentiful supply of vegetables; proper attention to

the sick ; the prevention of embezzlement and shameless jobbery under the pretence of perquisites ; an increase of pay after the same scale as that enjoyed by the land forces ; and a facility of communication with friends and relatives at home. These points could hardly be thought strained and vexatious complaints ; nor, indeed, could they be overlooked by a wise administration, without impairing the efficacy of the navy.

The charge against Lord Howe, of indifference to their sufferings, and the pointed manner in which the deputies arraigned his lordship's character for betraying their cause, in the petition to the Commons, excited universal attention, and provoked the lively comments of the opposition to Mr Pitt's government. It was affirmed that the noble earl, far from being unmindful of the petition which had been delivered to him nearly two months before the outbreak, or unimpressed with its importance, had waited personally upon Mr Pitt, urged the propriety of taking some steps towards granting the relief desired, and at the same time warned him of the consequences which might ensue from a refusal of the prayer. More than this, also, that he presented that very petition to one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, with a strong recommendation to the board to take it into their immediate consideration. From these loose and inaccurate data, it was ar-

gued that the censure which the irritated and disappointed seamen had passed upon the character of their old and gallant admiral ought to be transferred from him to his Majesty's ministers, who, with a consistent folly and stupidity approaching to madness, entirely neglected the prayer of a body of men on whom depended the safety, the hopes, and the very being of the country. What do they deserve, it was indignantly demanded, who, after having been seriously warned of impending dangers, took no measures of prevention, until they were aroused from their stupor by a voice which unstrung the firmest nerves, and made the blood of every thinking man run cold ? What ought to be the punishment of those, who, at the moment when they were calling upon the country to arm, at the peril of being subjugated by an invading enemy, insanely demolished those bulwarks which were its main defence ? What respect can that Government claim, which gives to threats what it withholds from prayer, and which listens to the dictates of fear rather than of policy ? Yet these were the ministers who were presumptuous enough to think that they were qualified to sit at the helm of the state, and to direct her course amid the storms and tempests which threatened every moment to throw her, an irrecoverable wreck, upon the beach !

These were fair inferences to draw from the rumours afloat ;

and the castigation thus inflicted on Mr Pitt and his administration was a righteous one. Still, of course, the party in power called it the spleen and vexation of the minority in opposition. It was, very probably, a result of the far-seeing statesmanship of that minority. The avidity with which, when pressed by menace and resistance, Government snatched at every chance of arrangement, was a strong point against it. It was argued that they acted from selfishness, rather than from principle, and with only the very slightest consideration for honour and respectability. But this sort of thing is always easily said against a Government in difficulties.

After, as the public were informed, much deliberation, and careful investigation of the several alleged grievances contained in the petition addressed to the Lords of the Admiralty by the delegates, on behalf of the fleet, the board delivered the result of their council to Lord Bridport, to be communicated by him to the delegates. The concession was limited to the two principal demands, namely, an increase of pay, and a provision for seamen wounded in action, until they should be rewarded with a pension or be received into Greenwich Hospital.

Without so much as mentioning or referring to the other grounds of dissatisfaction, their lordships seem to have thought that they had acted like very

clever diplomatists. It was a fine sop for Cerberus. Thus they had done their best to allay irritation, settle quarrels, silence outcry, and finally induce the seamen to weigh anchor, and sail forth in search of the enemy.

But the delegates looked at the matter in a light of their own. They had no intention of coming to an arrangement for anything less than ample concession, and a conclusion to all the differences quite satisfactory to themselves. They took their stand on an objection to a new distinction between ordinary seamen and landsmen, protesting that two ranks alone existed in the navy—able and ordinary. They further insisted upon the marines sharing with themselves the advantages of all increase to their wages; and suggested that the pensions of Greenwich Hospital should be raised to £10, with the imposition of an additional monthly contribution from the sailors to maintain the expense; they were desirous also of admitting the men employed by the East India Company to a participation in the benefits arising from the Greenwich pensions: and strongly reiterated their just complaints upon the subject of provisions and liquor; winding up with an express determination not to lift anchor until these questions had been settled according to their wishes.

The Admiralty proposition was submitted by Lord Bridport to the delegates on Tuesday

evening, the 18th, and on Wednesday they sent in their reply.

The documents will explain themselves best:

“Answer of the Commissioners for Executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, etc., to the above Petitions.

“Having taken into consideration the petitions transmitted by your lordship from the crews of his Majesty's ships under your command, and having the strongest desire to attend to all the complaints of the seamen of his Majesty's navy, and to grant them every just and reasonable redress, and having considered the difference of the price of the necessaries of life at this and at that period when the pay of seamen was established, we do hereby require and direct your lordship to take the speediest method of communicating to the fleet that we have resolved to recommend it to his Majesty to propose to Parliament to increase the wages of seamen in his Majesty's navy in the following proportions, namely,—

“To add four shillings per month to the wages of petty officers and able seamen, three shillings per month to the wages of ordinary seamen, and two shillings per month to the wages of landsmen.

“That we have resolved that seamen wounded in action shall be continued in pay until their wounds are healed, or until, being declared unserviceable,

they shall receive a pension, or be received into the royal hospital at Greenwich; and that having perfect confidence in the zeal, loyalty, and courage of all the seamen in the fleet, so generally expressed in their petition, and in their earnest desire of serving their country with that spirit which always so eminently distinguished British seamen, we have come to this resolution the more readily that the seamen may have, as early as possible, an opportunity of showing their good dispositions, by returning to their duty, as it may be necessary that the fleet should speedily put to sea to meet the enemy of the country.

“Given under our hands at Portsmouth, 18th April 1797.  
SPENCER. ARDEN. W. YOUNG.

“To the Right Hon.  
Lord Bridport.”

#### THE SEAMEN'S REPLY.

“We received your lordships' answer to our petition; and in order to convince your lordships and the nation in general of our moderation, beg leave to offer the following remarks to your consideration,—viz., That there never has existed but two orders of men in the navy, able and ordinary, therefore the distinction between ordinary and landsmen is totally new: we therefore humbly propose to your lordships that the old regulations be adhered to; that the wages of able seamen be raised to one shilling per day, and that of petty officers and

the ordinary in the usual proportions ; and as a further proof of our moderation, and that we are actuated by a true spirit of benevolence towards our brethren the marines, who are not noticed in your lordships' answer, we humbly propose that their pay be augmented while serving aboard in the same proportion as ordinary seamen. This, we hope and trust, will be a convincing proof to your lordships that we are not actuated by a spirit of contradiction, but that we earnestly wish to put a speedy end to the present affair. We beg leave to state to your lordships the pensions from Greenwich College, which we earnestly wish to be raised to ten pounds per annum ; and in order to maintain which we humbly propose to your lordships that every seaman employed in the merchant service, instead of sixpence per month, which he now pays, shall hereafter pay one shilling per month, which we trust will raise a fund fully adequate to the purpose ; and as this in time of peace must be paid by your petitioners, we trust it will give a convincing

proof of our disinterestedness and moderation. We would also recommend that this regulation be extended to the seamen in the service of the East India Company, as we know by experience that there are few sailors employed by them but who have been in the royal navy ; and we have seen them with our own eyes, after sickness or other accident has disabled them, without any hope of relief or support but from their former services in the navy. As to provisions : that they be augmented to sixteen ounces to the pound of bread and meat, cheese, butter, and liquor in proportion, of a better quality, and a sufficient quantity of vegetables ; and that no flour be served with fresh beef. And we further beg leave to inform your lordships that it is unanimously agreed that, until the grievances before stated are redressed, and an act of indemnity passed, we are determined not to lift an anchor ; and the grievances of particular ships must be redressed. Given under our hands, the Delegates of the Fleet, on board the Queen Charlotte at Spithead, April 19, 1797."

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## CHAPTER V.

### THE MUTINY PROCEEDS APACE.

GOVERNMENT showed on this occasion a sad lack of the courage which ought to have been engendered by their conserva-

tive convictions. People who never see the need of change are, as a rule, rather reckless of consequences. But, in this case, the spectacle is instructive, somewhat amusing indeed. Supineness to begin with; imbecile and precipitate haste when they must arouse themselves. The issue of this state of things put to a very transparent demonstration the disastrous consequences of a want of moral courage, and of firmness in men who are entrusted with the highest and most responsible offices of government in a great country. The hurrying down to Portsmouth by the Admiralty did undoubtedly betray weakness, and this weakness the delegates were not slow to perceive and to take advantage of. To see the heads of a chief department of the State communicating personally with a body of men who were trampling law and order under foot was rather farcical. It destroyed the confidence of the public in the administrators of the law. On a sudden the confession was eagerly made that justice had not been law towards the navy up to that time; and that justice, the first of the political virtues, could be extorted from the rulers of the land by people who had slipped into power only by open rebellion. The Government was not disposed to concede any redress they were not compelled to grant. Such is the usual temper of the recipients of the pay and applause of a political pub-

lic. They wait till they are driven, and then they are driven at the cost of those who drive them. At the same time the Pitt Government was willing to yield everything to its helots provided only Great Britain might be once more seen afloat, triumphantly sweeping off the Channel all challengers of her invincible fleet. It was feeble statesmanship. No art nor skill avails to save the victims of such a foolish system of thought, plot, and plan from the destruction they deserve.

The wise board deliberated upon the extent of the concessions to be made in the circumstances. At the same time the delegates undertook to vindicate themselves from the charges of treason, infidelity, and treachery to the best interests of Great Britain, which abounded in the subservient governmental publications of that peculiar and dangerous day. They got somebody to write a squib to the then drowned grand old Admiral Kempenfeldt, who went down, so like an admiral, in the *Royal George*. And they sent the following message to the *Sun*, a paper at that time in great reputation; but who knows anything of it now?

“FROM THE LIVING TO THE DEAD.

“‘Art thou a spirit of earth or goblin damn’d?’

“Sir,—In the *Sun* of the 18th instant we have seen your address, and which greatly sur-

prised us, wherein we are accused of those crimes which disgrace the name of a British seaman, and which may prejudice the minds of our countrymen against us, as we are called upon to make known our wants and wishes in an official and respectful manner.

"Therefore we, his Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, wish to make known to the world that we have done so.

"We, as the subjects of a loyal country, presented our petitions to that honourable earl who wore the laurels of the glorious 1st of June, and who was in the hearts of British seamen represented as their friend; but we are sorry to say that we found to the contrary in his not presenting our petitions to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

"But to convince our country at large that there is not in any wise the least spark of republican spirit, we have caused to be inserted the most private of our concerns: sorry also we are to remark the words 'French agents,' as our country may think by that assertion we now take into our arms the people that a British seaman detests the name of. But to the contrary, we have our country's good as much at heart as any other description of men whatever, and that our request is nowise injurious to our country.

"We ask for that comfortable subsistence which our country can easily bestow, and that those

barbarities which are practised by some (sorry, indeed, we should be to say the whole, as there are among us men of every description, both good and evil) be erased out of this well-instituted service.

"We, the subjects of your address, coolly, as the representatives of that body which has so long lain under the well-known Buoy, wish you to come forward in a fair and manly way, in your real and corporeal state, and try for one week if the scanty allowance on which we are obliged to subsist will keep you in the spirited state which men of our description require, but are at this moment without the assistance of at least two-thirds of their pay; and our wives and families languishing in want, whilst this country, that abounds in plenty, ought to be ashamed at the word Want!

"To the brave Admiral Kempenfeldt's Ghost, Buoy of the Royal George, Spithead.

"*P.S.*—If the clamours for justice daily echoing from the mouths of the loyal tars should again wake the spirit of Kempenfeldt, let not his ethereal, but his corporeal part, make itself known, and we will convince him that those who have made *Britannia rule the main* know also their duty to their Sovereign.

"*Spithead, April 20, 1797.*"

No hope of a termination to this unhappy mutiny could at



this stage be expected, and therefore the board came to the conclusion that the grievances specified in the petition had better be finally redressed. Lord Bridport, in consequence, was ordered to make the following communication to the fleet :

“ By the Commissioners for Executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, etc.,

“ Having taken into consideration a paper containing several representations from the seamen of his Majesty's ships at Spithead, respecting an advance of their wages, and being desirous of granting them every request that can with any degree of reason be complied with, we have resolved to recommend it to his Majesty that an addition of five shillings and sixpence per month be made to the wages of petty officers and seamen belonging to his Majesty's navy, which will make the wages of able seamen one shilling per day, clear of all deductions ; an addition of four shillings and sixpence per month to the wages of every ordinary seaman ; and an addition of three shillings and sixpence to the wages of the landsmen ; and that none of the allowance made to the marines when on shore shall be stopped on their being embarked on board any of his Majesty's ships. We have also resolved that all seamen, marines, and others serving in his Majesty's ships, shall have the full allow-

ance of provisions, without any deduction for leakage or waste ; and that until proper steps can be taken for carrying this into effect, short allowance money shall be paid to the men in lieu of the deductions heretofore made ; and that all men wounded in action shall receive their full pay until their wounds shall be healed, or until, being declared incurable, they shall receive a pension from the chest at Chatham, or shall be admitted into the Royal Hospital at Greenwich. And your lordship is hereby required and directed to communicate this our determination to the captain of each of his Majesty's ships under your orders, directing him to make it known to the ship's company under his command, and to inform them, that should they be insensible to the very liberal offers now made to them, and persist in their present disobedience, they must no longer expect to enjoy those benefits to which, by their former good conduct, they were entitled ; that in such case, all the men now on board the fleet at Spithead shall be incapable of receiving any smart-money or pension from the chest of Chatham, or of being admitted at any time into the Royal Hospital at Greenwich ; and that they must be answerable for the dreadful consequences which will necessarily attend their continuing to transgress the rules of the service in open violation of the laws of their country. On the other

hand, he is to inform them that we promise the most perfect forgiveness of all that has passed on this occasion to every ship's company who, within one hour after the communication to them of the above-mentioned resolutions, shall return to their duty in every particular, and shall cease to hold further intercourse with any men who continue in a state of disobedience and mutiny.

"Given under our hands at Portsmouth the 20th April 1797.

(Signed) "SPENCER.

" "ARDEN.

" "W. YOUNG.

"To the Right Hon.  
Lord Bridport."

The captains assembled their crews and read the proposition made by the board. They asked the men if they were satisfied with the conditions offered. The men said Yes, and meant it. Things looked as if a feeling of general confidence had been restored in the fleet. But the delegates had to be consulted. A final settlement could not be effected without the concessions made passing their committee,—that body which the Lords Commissioners had recognised as embodying the sentiments of the fleet, and legislating for it.

Thirty delegates were assembled on board the Queen Charlotte, but four were absent. The members present unanimously agreed in opinion to accept the terms, and to advise the crews

of the respective ships immediately to return to their duty. Unfortunately, however, when they were upon the point of formally signifying their assent, the four absent members returned, and the whole business was reconsidered. Still nothing was elucidated in the consultation to shake the satisfaction already expressed. But it was argued that no guarantee had been mentioned, either for the king's acquiescence in the recommendation of the commissioners, or for the ratification of the articles by Parliament. It was further alleged that they had ventured upon lengths in their conduct which had placed their lives in jeopardy, unless they could obtain a free and unconditional pardon for all previous offences, under the king's sign-manual. Here was new ground opened up for embarrassing discussion. The committee saw their way through it, and in their own interest and that of the fleet, they resolved to hold the advantageous position they had secured for themselves until King George should proclaim an unconditional pardon, and Parliament should pledge itself to confirm by vote the concessions made by the Admiralty.

The lords were quite willing to recommend that his Majesty should issue a proclamation and an amnesty for all offences; but they insisted that the fleet should immediately put to sea. The delegates had no power to comply with this; and matters

remained in this unsatisfactory state all Thursday. But here our recognised authority must be quoted, for he becomes rather picturesque. On Friday morning, he says, Admirals Gardner, Colpoys, and Pole repaired on board the *Queen Charlotte*, to hold a conference with the delegates, with the expectation of inducing them to alter their determination. But the committee was deaf to the voice of entreaty, menace, and reason; they firmly and explicitly stated, that nothing less than the king's proclamation and the sanction of Parliament would justify them in attaching confidence to the fair words of the board; they would neither be entrapped nor intimidated. High words passed between the parties; Admiral Gardner, with his usual impetuosity of temper, imprudently seized one of the delegates by the collar, and shaking him roughly, declared he would hang him and every fifth man in the fleet, as determined and inexorable traitors. This was the signal for general confusion, in which the gallant admiral was rudely assaulted, and escaped with his life, although with considerable difficulty. Exasperation and vindictive expressions followed.

The delegates from the *Royal George* departed, and rowed to their own ship, where they summoned the crew, narrated to them what had taken place, and consulted upon future proceedings. It was unanimously re-

solved to summon the whole committee on board the *Royal George* by signal. For this purpose, the red or bloody flag was hoisted, much to the terror of people on shore, who, unconscious of the transactions afloat, apprehended the worst consequences from a display of the dreaded symbol of resistance and defiance. Lord Bridport, enraged at this daring act of rebellion, ordered his own flag to be immediately struck, avowing his unalterable resolution never to permit it to be disgraced again by insult to the service and treason to the sovereign. The sailors, for their part, equally firm and regardless of consequences, retorted that he might do as he pleased; nay more, with their consent his flag never should be hoisted again. The guns were then shotted, the officers put under arrest, and a watch set, as though the ships were at sea, in presence of the enemy.

The delegates had certainly excellent reasons for insisting upon a pardon before they resigned themselves to the honour of the Government; since, a mutiny having broken out on board the *Culloden* a short time before, several of the ringleaders were hanged, notwithstanding a previous assurance that the offence should be overlooked by the authorities.

Great was the consternation of the Lords of the Admiralty when they perceived their efforts unavailing, and success reced-

ing to a greater distance. It was too late to retrace their steps, or to effect a vindication of the law, where so much power had been gained by the workings of justice. On Friday evening they posted up to London, where, upon their arrival, Lord Spencer instantly summoned a cabinet council, in which he urged the necessity of complying with the ultimatum of the delegates. The king happening to be at Windsor, it was agreed that a council should wait upon him at that place, to recommend his Majesty to grant a free pardon and oblivion of all that had passed. At five o'clock, Mr Pitt, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Spencer set off for Windsor, where they were met by Lord Grenville. At nine o'clock a council was held, at which the terms of the proclamation were settled, and signed by the king; at ten o'clock the same evening a despatch was forwarded to Lord Bridport at Portsmouth, charged with the healing intelligence that the desired pardon might be communicated to the fleet.

The remarks made upon the cause for which the council was summoned, and upon the compliance only vouchsafed at the last moment, to the sailors' demands, as they appeared in that portion of the public press which spoke the sentiments of the opposition, were just, severe, and well pointed. The writers said, "It would have been wise and dignified, that this council had

been held on the first explosion, instead of attempting to chaffer and bargain with the fleet. The moment for negotiation was that when they first made their representation to Lord Howe. The neglect of their petition attached a severe responsibility somewhere, and required strict investigation. It was hoped that the whole affair would be an awful warning to ministers, how they presumed to trifle with the petitions of an aggrieved people." It was further alleged that there is an insult in indifference, which is more painful to a spirited mind than injury; and no part of the ministers' conduct was so blamable as the pride with which they overlooked the most urgent memorials from all descriptions of men, whom they oppressed by delays, as injurious to the public service as they were fatal to the objects themselves. Thus the arrears of half-pay, the arrears of reckonings, the undischarged king's warrants for military services, lying in vast masses in the Treasury, War, and Pay Offices, were subjects of severe grievance, upon which complaints were heard both loud and heavy.

The foolish answer made by journalists who wrote in defence of Mr Pitt, was that no Government could attend to the paltry petitions of all the persons who fancied they were men with a grievance. It implied that such results as this mutiny must necessarily occur in the conduct

of public business. Arrears were flatly denied; and it was asserted with assurance that the grievances of the sailors had been considered immediately upon their coming before the board in a tangible shape.

The following is a copy of the delegates' reply to the Admiralty orders :

"To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

"We, the seamen and marines in and belonging to his Majesty's fleet, now lying at Spithead, having received with the utmost satisfaction, and with hearts full of gratitude, the bountiful augmentation of pay and provisions which your lordships have been pleased to signify shall take place in future in his Majesty's royal navy, by your order, which has been read to us this morning, by the command of Admiral Bridport:

"Your lordships having thus generously taken the prayers of our several petitions into your serious consideration, you have given satisfaction to every loyal and well-disposed seaman and marine belonging to his Majesty's fleets; and, from the assurance which your lordships have given us respecting such other grievances as we thought right to lay before you, we are thoroughly convinced, should any real grievance, or other cause of complaint arise in future, and the same be laid before your lordships in a regular manner,

we are perfectly satisfied that your lordships will pay every attention to a number of brave men, who ever have been, and ever will be, true and faithful to their king and country.

"But we beg leave to remind your lordships, that it is a firm resolution that, until the flour in port be removed, the vegetables and pensions augmented, the grievances of private ships redressed, an act passed, and his Majesty's gracious pardon for the fleet now lying at Spithead be granted, that the fleet will not lift an anchor; and this is the total and final answer. April 22, 1797."

His Majesty, in council at Windsor, agreed to issue the following :

"A Proclamation for pardoning such Seamen and Marines of the Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet stationed at Spithead, as have been guilty of an act of mutiny, or disobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty; and who shall, upon notification of such proclamation on board their respective ships, return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty.

"GEORGE R.

"Upon the report of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, of the proceedings of the seamen and marines of the squadron of our fleet stationed at Spithead, and of the measures taken by the said Lords

Commissioners in consequence thereof; and in order to manifest our desire to give due encouragement to all those who shall return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, according to the rules and practice of the navy; we have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation, and do hereby promise our most gracious pardon to all seamen and marines serving on board the said squadron, who shall, upon notification hereof on board their respective ships, return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty; and we do hereby declare, that all such seamen and marines, so returning to their duty, shall be released and discharged from all prosecutions, imprisonments, and penalties incurred by reason of any act of mutiny, or disobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty previously committed by them, or any of them.

"Given at our Court at Wind-

sor, the twenty-second day of April, one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-seven; and in the thirty-seventh year of our reign.

*"God save the King."*

The delegates had given particular orders on Saturday evening, that every sailor should appear in the rigging on Sunday morning, with clean clothes, and help to raise the usual cheer. The cheering was, on that glad and sacred day, more animated, vociferous, and a good deal louder than usual. Every man who could mount the shrouds, did it—but the red flag kept flying on board the Royal George. At half-past six the same Sunday morning, a messenger arrived with despatches from Windsor. He had accomplished the journey in the extraordinarily short space of seven hours—a rapid ride it was indeed when we consider the state of the highways in those days, and the lumbering means available for getting over them.

## CHAPTER VI.

### A LULL.

LORD BRIDPORT, along with Admirals Gardner, Pole, and Colpoys, was immediately summoned by Sir Peter Parker, the Port-Admiral, for consultation, and after a lengthened conference

they, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, went on board the Royal George. Lord Bridport was at this time on comparatively good terms with the crew of his ship. They had written him a

letter after their tempers had cooled a little, a sort of filial letter, in which they styled his lordship their father and friend, and disclaimed any intention of offering him the slightest degree of personal disrespect. When he stepped on board he hoisted his flag at once, and addressed the crew in a short, sailor-like speech, during which he failed to conceal the intensity of his feelings. He said he had brought with him a redress of all their grievances, as well as the pardon of the king for the share they had taken in the recent transactions. The men did not try to conceal their satisfaction, and their gladness to receive this agreeable intelligence. A signal was made for the captains of the fleet to repair on board the *Royal George*. Copies of the king's proclamation were handed to them when they were assembled, and these they were requested to read to their respective crews. This they did about two o'clock in the afternoon, and the immediate result was wonderful. The fleet seemed to suffer quite an excitement of joy, and the men on board each ship gave three cheers when it was signalled that the reading was all over. But the delegates' ship, the *Queen Charlotte*, gave as yet no sign. This looked ominous, and anxiety and dismay seized the people on shore, as well as the officers of all the other ships. No token of reconciliation was to be discerned; the red flag continued to fly at the main, and

the ropes were still reeved at the yard-arms. It began to be doubted whether the delegates would accept even the pardon of his Majesty and the concessions so pluckily wrung from the Admiralty, before these had received the full sanction of Parliament. It was only a delay, however, a "stage-wait" in an immense and very exciting drama. Two of the delegates, Joyce and Glynne, were on shore, and their colleagues would not proceed to a consultation in their absence. A boat was sent to fetch them, and they were conducted on board the *Queen Charlotte*, with all the ceremony and signs of respect which superior officers claim. The delegates immediately took the matter into consideration, and advised the fleet to return to their duty without delay. At six o'clock the flag and ropes were hauled down, and the ships cheered again as a signal that everything was accepted on their part; that the council of delegates was dissolved, and that order, discipline, and subordination were again restored. The *Mars* and *Marlborough* were the last ships to yield; the former in particular maintained a spirit of defiance to the last. The disposition of the fleet in general seemed, however, to be satisfactory; and the delegates, as well as the crews they represented, seemed to be convinced that the redress afforded was fully as much as might have been expected, considering the high

hand with which matters had been carried on against the Admiralty; and when rumour carried all this news throughout the country, the nation seemed to abandon itself to a jubilee of gratitude and joy.

On Monday afternoon—that is, next day, for what has just been recorded, it will be remembered, took place on Sunday—Vice-Admiral Sir Alan Gardner, in the Royal Sovereign, dropped down to St Helens, with the first division of the fleet under his command, and was followed on the two successive days by Lord Bridport in the Queen Charlotte, and by the remainder of the ships; the admiral, however, was unable to put to sea, owing to the prevalence of contrary winds. The North-Sea fleet, lying in Yarmouth Roads, under the command of Admiral Duncan, received the intelligence of the Admiralty resolutions with the most lively expressions of gratitude, and returned the following address of thanks:

*“Venerable, April 27, 1797.*

“The seamen of the North-Sea fleet beg leave to return their grateful thanks to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for their ready compliance with the humble request of their worthy companions in the Channel fleet. At the same time, to convince their lordships of our united and steady support of his Majesty and our country, we will at all times risk everything

that is dear to man. Have only to regret, from the situation of the enemy we are opposed to, it has not been in our power to show the nation we wish to do our duty and honour to our country and worthy commander-in-chief.

“SEAMEN, Yarmouth Roads.”

The squadron at Plymouth, under Admiral Sir John Orde, at first welcomed the tidings with every mark of satisfaction. But on the Tuesday evening they began to repent of what they considered their too easy acquiescence, and to entertain grave doubts as to the certainty of the information which had been communicated to them. The Atlas, of 98 guns, Captain M. Squire; Majestic, of 74, Captain G. W. Westcott; and Saturn, of 74, Captain James Douglas; went out of harbour and anchored in the Sound. The crews refused to allow any ship to leave the Sound until they were accurately informed that the business had been finally settled to the satisfaction of their brethren at Spithead. They sent orders to the Edgar, 74 guns, which was anchored in Caswand Bay, to join them immediately. They fixed on the Atlas as the *Parliament ship*, the name given to the vessel from which the orders of the delegates were understood to be issued. Delegates were chosen in the usual manner, and they assembled on board the Atlas.

Remark here, that although



an advance of wages had just been paid by the Commissioners of the dockyards, and the bum-boats went off with slops as in ordinary times, yet no sales were allowed, nor any person belonging to them suffered to go on board. A long string of articles was nailed against the mainmast, containing instructions for the regulation of each ship. The whole of their correspondence by letter, after it had been officially communicated, was also nailed to the mainmast, for the perusal of all parties. So that the mainmast was made to serve both in a legislative and an executive capacity. The ships lay with their lower yards down and their topgallant-masts struck, notwithstanding that the weather continued remarkably fine.

The Plymouth squadron was determined to be satisfied as to the state of affairs at Portsmouth, and they went the right way about obtaining satisfaction. On Friday eight delegates were despatched to Portsmouth in a cutter to learn what was the real state of affairs. They arrived at St Helens, and received at a conference personal assurance that all differences existing in the navy had been amicably settled. At about half-past five o'clock on Tuesday evening, May 2d, a blue flag was hoisted at the mizzen-peak of the *Atlas*, and the signal was immediately answered by the *Majestic*, *Saturn*, and *Edgar*, each of which displayed a similar flag at the mizzen topgallant mast-head; the flags were

kept up for a few minutes, and then the *Atlas* having hauled down her signal, the other ships followed her example. This was the private signal for the delegates to assemble on board the *Atlas*, a communication having been received from the committee of inquiry, which had been sent to Portsmouth. Its contents were to the effect that they were perfectly satisfied with the manner in which all grievances had been adjusted at Spithead; and therefore they enjoined the crews of the ships at Plymouth to return to their former obedience and discipline. In conclusion, they acquainted the delegates that they, the deputies, were then on their passage thither in one of the Portsmouth cutters, but had resorted to the post for the conveyance of their intelligence, in order that the ships might be the more speedily reduced into obedience. The delegates then dissolved their board, and reinstated the officers in command of their respective ships.

The crews at St Helens were, however, by no means so utterly satisfied as the enthusiastic delegates from the Plymouth squadron were led to believe. A feeling of distrust began to prevail among them, and the contrary winds seemed to be breezes sent to favour and foster the mutinous spirit. They prevented the fleet from putting to sea; thus the men were left in a state of discontent to their own fancies, to sinister rumours, to the active

but stealthy action of mutinous agitators; and they could not help taking note of the fact that no active and public steps had yet been taken by Government towards the fulfilment of those pledges by which they thought the Lords of the Admiralty were in honour bound.

On the 28th of April Lord Bridport sailed from St Helens with the following men-of-war: Royal George, Queen Charlotte, Royal Sovereign, Duke, Glory, Terrible, Defence, La Pompée, Robust, Impétueux, Defence, and Mars, together with the S. Fiorenzo frigate, and the Incendiary fire-ship. But the Marlborough, Minotaur, and Ramillies were silent when the signal was made for sailing, and refused to lift anchor. Still Lord Bridport, fearful of testing the disposition of the fleet, dared not make any demonstration of force to compel the refractory vessels to obey orders, but was obliged to leave them, sulkily riding at anchor, to the bent of their own humours. Towards mid-day, however, the wind chopped round into an unfavourable quarter, and the fleet, putting back,

resumed her former station at St Helens. The Marlborough, Minotaur, and Ramillies had a grievance of their own, and it was of long enough standing to explain their conduct on the 28th of April. They had been for some time dissatisfied with their officers, and had earnestly urged the Lords of the Admiralty to make some change among the gentlemen to whom they were expected to show ceremonious respect. The board, however, stood firm against them on this point. They positively refused to make any change, alleging the inconvenience and weakening of the powers of discipline which must ensue, if crews were permitted to nominate for their guidance the officers under whom they were disposed to give loyal obedience to the laws and rules of the navy.

This difficulty was partly got over. In a day or two the officers and the crews of two of the recusant ships, the Minotaur and the Ramillies, came to an understanding, but the crew of the Marlborough continued insubordinate, and refused to join the fleet.

## CHAPTER VII.

### MORE MUTINOUS THAN BEFORE THE LULL.

THE blast which blew the mutiny into a more furious flame than had yet flared from the fleet, issued wildly from that mildest of sources, the House of Lords. All the dangers

which, it was fondly thought, had been happily avoided, became visible once more, and in a more formidable shape. It happened thus. Ten days had elapsed without any public notice of measures for redeeming the credit of the Admiralty Board, by the application of some prompt and practical remedy for the grievances of the sailors; all that had been received or heard of, up to this time, was a mere verbal announcement of the Government's intentions, conveyed to the fleet at the same time with his Majesty's pardon; besides, no authentic account of the origin of the discontent, its progress, the means adopted to allay it, and its suppression, had as yet been communicated officially to Parliament. The Duke of Bedford, under these circumstances, and perhaps urged by symptoms of uneasiness observable at St Helens, called the attention of the Lords to the subject, on the evening of Wednesday, May 3. The following is an abstract of the debate.

The Duke of Bedford asked, whether any of his Majesty's ministers had it in charge from his Majesty to make any communication upon the recent important transactions which had occurred in the marine department? If no such communication was made, either now or on a future day, he should find himself called upon to bring a subject, so connected with the best interests of the country,

before their lordships, by moving for the production of certain papers connected with it.

Earl Spencer replied, that he had it not in charge from his Majesty to make any communication to the House, nor did he foresee that any communication would be made upon that subject.

Earl Howe said, that as his name had been mentioned in the transaction alluded to, he had anxiously waited for a suitable opportunity to explain to their lordships the part which he had acted in this business. Had any censure been attached to his professional character, he would have looked to another quarter for an inquiry into his conduct; but as the blame which had fallen upon him in the present instance related to his conduct in a capacity different from that of an officer, he looked to their lordships for his vindication. The explanation, therefore, for which he was called upon, he should take an opportunity of giving when the noble duke brought the subject before the House. He expressed a wish, however, that for the sake of the service the business had never been brought under discussion, for the legislature would be placed by it in a most delicate situation. Either they must approve of transactions which every man must wish had never happened, or they must withhold that approbation, and thus acknowledge that they had made concessions

under the pressure of the moment, which they think improper to confirm.

The Duke of Bedford said, he was now too well acquainted with the issue of motions in that House, which the king's ministers intimated their intentions to oppose. He certainly, therefore, should not make an attempt to bring the present subject into discussion, which he well knew would be fruitless. But if he could conceive any terms in which he could couch a motion for the production of the papers connected with it, he would make that motion now; as the transactions, however, to which he referred were without a parallel in history—for he knew of no instance but the present, in which the ministers of the king had entered into correspondence and negotiation with any body of his Majesty's subjects—to conceive the proper terms for a motion on such a subject was no easy task. If any mode occurred to him of obtaining these papers, he should propose it to the House on a future day, without any preface or recommendation, leaving it entirely to the decision of their lordships.

Earl Howe, speaking again, said, Between the second week in February and middle of March, being confined by illness at Bath, I received, by the post, several petitions, purporting to be transmitted from different ships of the Channel Fleet. They were all exact copies of each other,

limited solely to a request for *an increase of pay*, that the seamen might be able to make better provision for their families, decently expressed, but without any signature. I could not reply to applications which were anonymous, nor acknowledge the receipt of them to parties unavowed and unascertained. About four or five of the petitions first received, though little different in the handwriting, were obviously dictated by the same person, and I had therein further reason to think they were fabricated by some malicious individual, who meant to insinuate the prevalence of a general discontent in the fleet.

Not resting, however, on this conclusion, I wrote to an officer at Portsmouth, to whom I was naturally to expect such applications would in my absence, be addressed, to inquire whether any such dissatisfaction existed in the fleet. The answer was, "that no such appearance had been heard of there, and it was supposed the petitions had been framed for the purpose I suspected."

On the morning of the 22d of March, the day after I was able to come to town, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, now absent on service, happening to call upon me, I related these particulars to him, showed him the petitions, and sent them the same day to his house in the office, that they might be communicated to the noble earl who presides at that board. Of the

subsequent events I have no other knowledge but such as is to be obtained in the daily papers. Demands for an increase of pay are not to be discussed in anonymous correspondence.

Such is a summary of the debate which rekindled the mutiny.

When a skilful surgeon undertakes to cure a festering sore, he aims at causing healthy blood to circulate where hitherto the blood has been kept rotten by millions of microscopic forms of life, the condition of whose existence is corruption. This he does after killing the *animalculæ* whose life is death to the patient, by clipping and tugging at the edges of dead skin, probing the wound, and other surgical devices which often seem more likely to kill the patient than to cure him. It is not insinuated by this rambling reflection that the Duke of Bedford had an intelligent intention of curing, by analogous means, the festering sore of the British navy ; or that he meant anything more than as a political partisan to show up the remissness of Mr Pitt's Government. Still he did the right thing, and, as it seems, at the right time too, although appearances, shortly after, were dreadfully against the wisdom of his conduct. The cobbled peace which had set the nation in ecstasies of joy, was but a putting off of the day of real evil, and the unwise, or rather disingenuous conduct of the Government, if allowed to continue unchal-

lenged, was a preparation for making that day a thousandfold more evil than it proved even subsequently at the Nore.

The debate was pregnant with consequences. Why this delay? was the meaning of the Duke of Bedford's question. Earl Spencer was too official when he announced merely that he was not aware of any message which the king intended to send to the House on the subject. The announcement was due to the other House ; but here were means put into the hands of adroit agitators to rake up the ashes of expiring differences, and ample materials to feed to fury the cruel flame thus rekindled. Accordingly a notion was industriously disseminated through the fleet that Parliament was not disposed to implement the promises made by Earl Spencer to the seamen. This report, of course, gained immediate credit, and readily admitted confirmation by the assertions made on a handbill, which was industriously circulated, the purport of which was that the Lords were indisposed to grant the crews the stipulated redress. Every hour's delay at this conjunction intensified the sailors' suspicions of the ministers' sincerity, and hours enough were allowed to pass on heavy wing until insubordination reappeared, and blood was shed. On Sunday, May 7, when Lord Bridport, who had just received intelligence that the Brest fleet was ready to put

to sea, made the signal to weigh anchor, a critical command which every ship refused to obey; the yard-ropes were rove; the delegates assembled, and proceeded to the London, Admiral Colpoys, with the intention of holding their convocation on board that ship. On their way they first of all visited the Marlborough, and were received with open arms by that most undaunted and rebellious of all the crews. The delegates, after they had established their authority in the Marlborough, rowed with all due form alongside the London. Admiral Colpoys ordered them to sheer off, but they resolutely insisted upon boarding, notwithstanding that he warned them that the first act of disobedience would be fatal. While they were attempting to gain the sides of the ship, the admiral ordered the marines to fire; three delegates were killed, and five wounded. A scuffle ensued on board, which ended in the seamen getting possession of the deck, and wounding Lieutenant Simons, of the marines, together with several of his corps. The mutineers then tried to point a main-deck gun aft against the officers; in this attempt they were resisted successfully at first by Lieutenant Peter Bover, but upon a renewal of the attack, that officer pistoled one of his assailants; and for this offence he was soon after seized, and taken to the forecastle to be hanged at the yard-arm. The rope was fastened round his neck, but he was

saved by the interference of Mark Turner, one of the delegates, with whom he had fortunately been acquainted in another ship. The seamen of the London having now gained the command of the ship in defiance of the officers and marines, turned the muzzles of the foremost guns aft, and threatened to blow every one of their opponents into the water. In the meantime Lieutenant Bover was standing on the forecastle awaiting his sentence. The admiral now interposed, and very nobly observed that he alone was to blame, and that he had acted by orders received from the Admiralty. The seamen demanded and obtained a copy of the orders. The article, however, upon which he proceeded is as follows: "That the captains and commanders of his Majesty's ships be particularly attentive to the conduct of the men under their command; and that they be ready, on the first appearance of mutiny, to use the most vigorous means to suppress and to bring the ringleaders to punishment." These orders were dated the 1st of May.

Admiral Colpoys and his superior officers were instantly put under arrest; his bunting being struck, was superseded by the bloody flag, and the marines made prisoners. The delegates shortly afterwards held a consultation, at which it was proposed to try the admiral, Captain Griffiths, and the first lieutenant of the London, by

court-martial upon a charge of being accessory to the death of certain delegates from the fire of the marines.

On Monday, at noon, the red flag was hauled down, and the admiral's flag again hoisted on board the *London*. This signal, however, was far from being any favourable indication of a desire to return to duty, as was the interpretation put upon it by the people ashore. It was only for all the ships to rendezvous at St Helens, in order that the trial of the officers might be conducted in safety and with due solemnity. To so great an extent was their determination carried, that the delegates commanded Captain Milne, of *La Pique*, to repair on board the *London*, but whether as a member of their strange court-martial, or as evidence, was uncertain.

The next step of the mutineers was to send away, with their baggage and servants, the principal officers, among whom the most distinguished were, Vice-Admiral Gardner and three of his lieutenants, from the *Royal Sovereign*; Captains Holloway, of the *Duke*; Alexander Hood, of the *Mars*; Nicholls, of the *Marlborough*; Wells, of the *De-*

*fence*; Campbell, of the *Terrible*; Cook, of the *Nymph*; Bligh, of the *Latona*; and all the officers of the *Pompée* frigate.

After this business had been accomplished, the delegates came to a resolution to assemble the whole Channel fleet at St Helens. They therefore ordered the *Royal William*, the port-admiral's flag-ship, to join them immediately; and also despatched a frigate to Plymouth, enjoining the three mutinous vessels in that port to sail round to the place of rendezvous. Sir Roger Curtis' squadron, at Torbay, if it had not yet put to sea, was to be informed of the fresh disturbances which had broken out at Spithead, and to be requested to cast in its lot with the rest of the fleet. In the meantime the weather came down upon them in a dreadful hurricane, and the ships, destitute of their officers, and only under the guidance of the seamen in command, were either in danger of getting aground as they were steering for St Helens, or having arrived there, and riding at single anchor, devoid of any more skilful control, incurred the risk of running foul of each other, and were in continual hazard of being lost.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## GOVERNMENT IN A FRIGHT.

LONDON was panic-stricken at the news of all this. What would be the fate of Admiral Colpoys and the other officers? What were the intentions of the ministry?—were the two distracting questions which people in alarm kept putting, and answering, according to the behests of thousands of bewildering fancies. Already the unfortunate gentlemen were condemned and put to death, was commonly and positively asserted and believed. Those who did not believe quite so much as this, became exceedingly prolific of plans to save them from death and the nation from disgrace. Offer the most unbounded concessions. Send down the king to Spithead—the poor, stupid, obstinate king! Or send a deputation from both Houses of Parliament; let them journey to Portsmouth without the least delay, and by personal supplication, strive earnestly to put an end to this frightful state of insubordination within the wooden walls of England. Such are one or two specimens of the advice tendered to Mr Pitt and his colleagues, who naturally regarded them as something akin to the ravings of insanity.

The Government was seriously alarmed, and felt, in a sense, very different from that idea present to Lord Melbourne's mind when

he sneered at the phrase, that "Something must be done." Roused from lethargy at last, or rather from an assumed supineness which was meant to show contempt for the interests of a noble branch of the public service, and which, it was hoped, would be put an end to by pooh-poohing the men's heroic, valiant, modest struggles to secure their unquestionable rights,—admitted to be such by the Board of Admiralty,—Mr Pitt, haughty son of a haughtier sire, began at last, sorely against his inclination, to do something. He did the least he could, of course; but he had to do it; he could not help himself; the men were masters of the situation; the game was entirely in their own hands, the Government and the nation were in the same horny hands, because the fleet went with the men.

Accordingly on Monday evening Mr Pitt rose in his place, in the House of Commons, to move a resolution for a grant to his Majesty, towards increasing the seamen's pay, according to the addition directed by order of council of the 3d of May.

The House having resolved itself into a committee of supply, and the estimate being read for an additional allowance to seamen, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr Pitt) made a



speech of which the following is a summary. He said—I rise pursuant to the notice which I gave on a former day, to call the attention of the committee to the subject of the estimate now before them. I feel myself, on the present occasion, placed in a situation of considerable difficulty and embarrassment. I am aware that it has always been usual, when any addition to the public expense, and consequently to the public burdens, was proposed, to enter into the grounds of the proposition, and to explain in detail the particulars of the measure. I now, however, feel it necessary to declare that I cannot, in the circumstances in which I am placed, consistently with the duty I owe to the public, enter into such a statement; the proposition, therefore, which I shall have the honour to move, I shall submit to you without entering at all into its merits, trusting that you will pronounce a silent judgment upon it, conceiving as I do, that I should be departing from my duty, and that the committee would be acting contrary to the most important interests of the nation, to entertain any discussion upon a subject of so much delicacy at the present moment. For whether I consider the occurrences which happened some time ago, or the difficulties which now exist—the particulars of which I am not prepared to state, but which may perhaps have arisen from misrepresentation of what pass-

ed in another place—this must operate as a motive for the exercise of additional caution to guard against the slightest misapprehension, while at the same time it affords ground for hope, that the knowledge for the decision of Parliament upon the proposition which I am about to submit to the committee, will entirely remove the discontent which has prevailed, or which may at present exist. Under these circumstances, then, I feel it my duty to ask and entreat the silent judgment of the committee on the proposition which I shall make, grounded upon the estimate now before them. The amount, which is, perhaps, the point least worthy of attention, will be:

For advance of pay,	£351,000
For additional allowance of provisions,	185,000

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Making a total of, £536,000

I think it my duty to state, however, that the estimate for the increased expense of victualing was framed upon an old rate, when provisions were considerably cheaper than they are now, so that the actual amount upon that head will considerably exceed the estimate. Making allowance for this excess of the actual amount above the estimate, the whole expense for the nine months of the present year I compute at £372,000. I shall therefore conclude with moving a sum to be granted to his Majesty to that amount.

Mr Fox said—I certainly

shall vote for the resolution which is now before the committee, but I cannot do it in the manner which the right honourable gentleman proposes, namely, to give it silently; I cannot do so without betraying my constituents. He seems to deprecate discussion upon this subject at this moment, as being likely to increase our difficulties. It is not to discussion but to silence we owe that difficulty. This House should not have been the confidants of the minister and remained silent so long upon this subject. Had this House interposed upon the commencement of this matter, instead of indulging the ministers with the scandalous delay of a fortnight, I verily believe we should not have heard anything of the misfortunes which have recently happened. The minister has said that much of what has recently happened was owing to misrepresentation and consequent misunderstanding, and that debating the subject is not the way to put off the evil; that it can only be removed by voting a remedy for it in silence. I say that silence has been affectedly preserved in this House, in order, as I told the minister long ago, to give him an opportunity of doing away the effect of any misrepresentation or consequent misunderstanding that had taken place when we heard of this business first, and to avoid any future misunderstanding. It has not produced that effect, nor do I

think it was well adapted to produce it; for I am convinced that secrecy is but seldom, if ever, so good a mode of avoiding a misunderstanding as discussion. I will not now go into the detail of the conduct of the Admiralty upon this most delicate, critical, and important business during the Easter recess. Indeed I have not, nor has this House, any authentic information upon it. From what I have heard, however, in common with the public, I have strong doubts of the propriety of that conduct. It seems to have been that of neither denying nor granting, but an endeavour to bargain with the seamen, and to offer them less than was reasonable they should have, since it was less than is now proposed to be voted in this committee. The evil of this is, that you have increased when you should have diminished the suspicion of the seamen, and more especially some personal diffidence, which it appears they entertain. This House might, on the Monday or the Wednesday following the notification of the discontents, have voted that which is now proposed; and it is inexcusable in ministers to have delayed it so long. But most extraordinary indeed it is that silent confidence in ministers should be now demanded of this House. I say that, after seeing the criminal conduct of the administration upon various occasions, but most strikingly upon this, if this House shall

now continue to place silent confidence and a blind trust in men who have so misconducted themselves, it will be little less blamable than ministers have been. It will be criminal in this House to repose trust and continue power in the hands of men whom we know by bitter experience to be unfit to conduct our affairs; who have shown a degree of guilt or incapacity, or both, that has led us to the brink of destruction. I say this is not a time, nor are the present circumstances those in which we should repose confidence in an administration generally, even supposing it to be the reverse of what I think it is, namely, the best of all possible administrations; but least of all to such an administration. Ministers cannot say they were not warned of the danger of delay upon this most important of all subjects. I asked the minister as early as I could what was intended to be done, and when. I entreated that he would not suffer any delay to take place; I repeated my questions and entreaties: and if I have any reason to blame myself at all for the part I took, it is for not having repeated my desires still oftener. That it should now be supposed that any good can arise out of secrecy and silence upon this subject is ridiculous. The thing is absolutely impossible. Does the right honourable gentleman really think that not only now, but for ever, the cause of this discontent is to remain a secret?

Does this House really mean to say to the people of this country that, after what they know has happened at Portsmouth upon the commencement of this misunderstanding and since that, they will never inquire into the cause of it? Are we so abandoned as to determine never to have any responsibility upon ourselves, but that we are to say we will leave the whole of it, under a blind confidence, to our executive Government to manage? I say we ought to take responsibility upon ourselves; it is our first and greatest duty, without the due performance of which we shall be worse than useless to the public. If we neglect that duty, consider what may be the effect of this. What has happened may happen again. What is it that has already appeared before us? That grievances have been complained of, and have not been sufficiently attended to. The cause of these complaints cannot be fully known. I declare, upon my honour, I do not know the cause. All I know is what I have seen in newspapers, related as having passed between the Admiralty and the delegates of the fleet. I never heard how far the Admiralty conceded to, or opposed the wishes of, the seamen. I never understood the matter to this day, and even now I do not fully understand it. Why then, I ask, how am I to do my duty to the people of England, in voting away their money under circum-

stances that are more important perhaps than any that ever came before us till now, without knowing the real truth as to the cause of that vote? I say that we ought to know the cause, for without it how can we be satisfied that the remedy is adequate to the evil? I say also that if ministers were as successful in all their plans as they have been unsuccessful; if they had fulfilled all their promises as uniformly as they have disregarded them; if they had gratified our wishes in proportion as they have disappointed our expectations; it would even then be the duty, the bounden duty, of the House of Commons, in this most critical and important of all cases, to call for a full explanation of the causes of this discontent. I hope the right honourable gentleman will state them all fully and authentically to this House at some future period. I think he ought to state even now what were the circumstances which have led to the misunderstanding between the fleet and the Admiralty after the first promise was made to the sailors. This he ought to do now, in order that we may know whether this vote which is before us is a complete or a partial compliance with the wishes of those who are the objects of it. To endeavour to pass it by in silence is silly. To expect that secrecy can save you now, and to think that it may be smothered, is the weakest of all possible hopes, by

which you will resemble children who shut their eyes and think that nobody can see them. I therefore hope that this business will not be suffered to be passed by in silence. I will no more be answerable for any misrepresentations that may go abroad upon our discussion than the minister; but I know that much more misunderstanding is likely to follow silence than discussion. I therefore wish the matter to be discussed. I wish to know now whether this is all that is intended to be done on this business? By this species of blind confidence which the minister is so ready to ask, and which this House is much too ready to grant, the constitution of this country may be undone. I know there are many who think that the inconvenience of popular assemblies is great on account of the publicity of their proceedings, hence indeed has arisen great error in giving to ministers confidence when they ask it. But our present ministers seem to think that the less they are called upon to explain, the more danger there is in attempting it; and they call for confidence in exact proportion as the necessity is urgent for explanation.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he thought that a silent vote upon this subject was the best, and therefore he took the liberty of recommending it. He thought so still, for he was not shaken in that opinion by anything that was said

by the right honourable gentleman who spoke last ; and it was singular enough that that very person who called for so much information, declared he should vote for the resolution after he had heard the explanation that had been given, although he declared at the same time that he knew no more upon it than any other member of the House. A pretty convincing proof that what he had heard already was sufficient to convince him of the propriety of the present motion. This added to his opinion on the propriety of his not entering further upon this discussion.

Mr Sheridan said he certainly should vote for the resolution ; but there was a question he should propose to the right honourable gentleman, which might be answered without involving that discussion which he wished to avoid, or that mischief which he apprehended. In allusion to the new disturbances which were said to exist, the honourable gentleman had said that nothing was so likely to restore tranquillity as an immediate vote in favour of the resolution. But why then did not the right honourable gentleman avail himself of the opportunity of submitting that vote sooner, when it might have prevented the disturbances it was to appease ? Why was it that the vote was to be proposed when information was received that new disturbances had broken out ? Why did he not take immediate steps in consequence of the promises

which were made ? Why, instead of the slow and procrastinating mode that had been followed, had not the right honourable gentleman come with a message from the throne, recommending the House to take measures to carry into effect what had been done ? He distinctly asked, then, why a fortnight's delay had been interposed before any steps were taken to carry into effect what had been done ? How could they rely that even what they were to vote would be properly carried into effect ? From the words of the Lords of the Admiralty, they had come to the resolution of acceding to the demands of the seamen, "that they might have as early as possible an opportunity of returning to their duty, as it may be necessary that the fleet should speedily put to sea to meet the enemy of the country," it was plain that they did not expect that the seamen were to return to their duty upon that promise, but that some other proceedings would immediately follow upon it. The first step, then, ought to have been a communication to the House ; and such a vote as this, passed with unanimity, would have perfectly satisfied them. He thought too highly of the character of British seamen to imagine that this vote would not satisfy them ; and if it did not, he should think more degradingly of them than he did at present. This representation might have induced them to do

what they ought not to have done; but the right honourable gentleman ought to have prevented the possibility of such misrepresentation. He was convinced, however, that means of conciliation would be more effectual if accompanied with a vote of censure on ministers for not coming to Parliament sooner with some proposition on the subject.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said it was a mistake to imagine that the proposition had been brought forward in consequence of recent occurrences. He had given notice on Thursday that estimates were

to be presented, and they were laid before the House on Friday, and this was the earliest day that could have been appointed for taking them into consideration.

Mr Fox differed from his honourable friend with regard to the blame imputable to the Admiralty. Knowing, and valuing as he did, the private character of the First Lord of the Admiralty, he could not but wonder that a man, with feelings like his, could suffer a fortnight to pass without suggesting to his friends the necessity of haste.

The resolution then passed  
*nem. con.*

## CHAPTER IX.

### GOVERNMENT ATTACKED IN PARLIAMENT.

So far it is only a resolution. It will be remembered that Mr Pitt rose in his place, on Monday evening, to move a resolution for a grant to his Majesty towards increasing the scamen's pay; and this resolution, we have just read, was passed *nem. con.* It had, however, to be immediately followed up by an Act of Parliament conferring on it the force of law.

A cabinet council was held on Monday evening, after the business of Parliament was over, and it was resolved to send the resolution by express to Ports-

mouth. It was confidently anticipated that the communication thus sent would be the panacea, the cure-all of all the illnesses of the navy. Much reliance was placed on the good sense and loyalty of the navy. This kind of compliment is often paid to the trodden-down, after they have compelled their oppressors to listen to reason. It is a maudlin appeal for mercy made with patronising airs. The good sense of the seamen was not to miss observing the fact that the solemn pledge of Parliament for their personal

security, and for the removal of their grievances, was now—at long length—in their hands; and they were assured that every man in the kingdom would join them in resenting a violation of the terms agreed upon, if anything so wicked and absurd should be attempted. There never was an instance of a solemn indemnity being disregarded. They ought not to be led away from a just confidence in the king's word.

Such were the miserable resources of argument and appeal made by greedy, selfish, oppressive people in the fright which they got when they found that the "jolly tars" were men who could intelligently and successfully assert and secure their own rights, as well as "come along, and fight the wars." The hopes entertained in London—one or two of the reasons for which have just been given—were based upon imperfect knowledge. There was an element in the struggle of which London tradesmen, and other wise statesmen, had not the means of taking into account—namely, the quarrel between the crews and their officers, which had passed all bounds of moderation. The cool, clear-headed leaders of the mutiny entertained no doubt that their pay would be increased, and that such changes would be made in the general system of naval administration as they required. They had found out the secret of securing this. They could have no difficulty in

stirring up reminiscences of the past, if the Lords of the Admiralty happened to be men fools enough to trifle with them. But private pique against their officers was the main incitement to this renewal of the mutiny, although the reason ostensibly assigned for it was the delay which had taken place in the carrying out of the regulations of the Admiralty. Although the sailors were not willing to admit this, still it is a fair inference from their conduct.

The question came before both Houses of Parliament on Tuesday evening.

In the House of Commons, Mr Whitbread opened the attack upon Government by demanding an explanation of their unwarrantable delay in bringing forward the bill, upon which they were that night summoned to deliberate. He also intimated his intention to move a vote of censure against Mr Pitt, if the explanation should turn out to be, as he anticipated, unsatisfactory in its nature. When this prelude to a more serious question had been finished, the bill for granting the different allowances promised to the seamen, passed both Houses with great haste; and a commission having been appointed by the king for giving it the royal assent, it became the law of the land, and was sent off to Portsmouth the same night.

A summary of the debate in both Houses on that Tuesday, May 9th, 1797, will place the

subject quite succinctly before the minds of readers in our day.

#### HOUSE OF LORDS.

In consequence of a message received from the House of Commons by Mr Pybus, requesting their lordships to sit a little longer, they waited till the bill was brought up for granting an additional allowance to the seamen on board his Majesty's fleet. The bill was read a first time without opposition. On the motion that it be read a second time—

Lord Suffolk said, he conceived this to be the stage of the bill on which it was proper for him to put the question to the noble secretary of state, which he had come down for the purpose of asking, with an anxiety bordering on distress. He wished, in the first place, to know why the bill now before the House was not brought in a fortnight ago, and what were the causes of the delay which had taken place?

Earl Strange (the Duke of Athole), thinking that incalculable mischief might be the consequence of any discussion taking place upon a subject of so great delicacy, rose for the purpose of deprecating such a discussion, and of expressing a wish that the bill should go through its several stages, without any observations being made upon it.

Lord Grenville declared that there was no species of invective, however bitter, and no de-

clamation, however irritating, should provoke him to depart from the duty which he owed to the public, by entering into a discussion which would highly injure the best interests of the country. He little expected to have heard of different sides of the House on this night; different sides of the House on such a question! On such an occasion it was the duty of their lordships to act with unanimity, and to forget all questions of inferior moment; under a firm conviction that the present difficulties under which they laboured were entirely owing to a scandalous misrepresentation of what passed in that House on a former evening, he should not, on the present evening, give a second opportunity for the same cause, to produce, perhaps, still more calamitous effects. He should, therefore, sit down with an expression of thanks to the noble earl, for the judicious and manly way in which he had expressed his sentiments upon the subject.

The Duke of Bedford said, he rose for the purpose not of introducing discussion upon the subject of the bill now before the House, but of resisting the doctrine that their lordships were bound to sanction whatever his Majesty's ministers thought proper to propose. He was not surprised, however, that discussion and explanation were equally obnoxious to his Majesty's ministers; for secrecy alone could screen their con-



duct from censure, and their characters from infamy. When any light was thrown upon their actions, it served only to convict them of odious treachery, or the most shameful incapacity.

Lord Rawdon said, that the question put by his noble friend (Lord Suffolk), did not invite any discussion upon the subject of the bill now before the House. His noble friend did not object to the bill, he only wished to know the cause of the delay which had taken place in bringing it in. There was one consequence of a serious nature to be expected from the silence of the noble secretary, if it was persevered in; namely, that the delay would naturally be ascribed to official neglect; a circumstance which certainly would not tend much to conciliate the seamen, at least, to those who administered his Majesty's government. The explanation desired went only to one simple point, and it was idle and childish to evade it; viz., why the measure now adopted was not taken with greater expedition?

The Duke of Grafton said, that he did not ask too much, when he asked a confession from their lordships, that the present was one of the greatest calamities with which the country was ever afflicted, and that it arose chiefly from procrastination. If, then, these positions were founded in rectitude, would any of his Majesty's ministers be hardy enough to say that the

country ought not to be informed of the causes of that procrastination? When they were putting off the definitive settlement of the business from day to day, did they recollect the promise of the First Lord of the Admiralty, to pledge his Majesty's royal word that the measure should be carried into effect? Had he been First Lord of the Admiralty, he would not have been an hour from the elbow of the minister, till he had got his promise carried into execution; and the minister, on his part, ought to have recollected, that his Majesty's most gracious order called upon him to take the speediest steps for giving it effect.

The Lord Chancellor contended, that those who were for entering into discussion at the present moment, partook, in some degree, of the criminality imputed to those who were said to be the authors of the delay. He appealed to the feelings of their lordships to consider, whilst they were debating in that House, what might be at present the situation of the fleet; to consider that while they were entering upon topics, which might be agitated at a future day, and asking questions which might as well be answered to-morrow, the delay which was thereby occasioned to the passing of the bill might be putting in peril the lives of the best and bravest men in the country. It was like stopping to inquire how a

fire was kindled, before they employed the engines to extinguish it. The discussion of the subject was unavoidable; he only asked a flag of truce for one night, and their lordships' assent to the bill, that it might be passed, and sent off to Portsmouth immediately.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr Whitbread said, that in consequence of what had passed last night, and considering the impressions on men's minds relative to the disturbances at Portsmouth, he now rose, not to enter into the causes of that affair, but to press upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer a question which had been distinctly proposed to him by two of his honourable friends last night, and to which no answer was made. He begged, therefore, to ask why the proposition moved last night was not brought forward on an earlier day? Had this been done, the disastrous consequences which had taken place might have been prevented. Unless a satisfactory explanation was given of a delay so fatal in its consequences, and for which the right honourable gentleman was responsible to the House and the country, it was his intention to move a direct vote of censure against the Chancellor of the Exchequer for gross neglect of duty, in not submitting the subject sooner to the House.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer rose and said, that he

was responsible for what he had done in his official capacity; and whenever that vote of censure was proposed, it would be time to state to the House the circumstances upon which he should be ready to rest his justification. As to the question proposed by the honourable gentleman, undoubtedly both misconception and misrepresentation, of which a great share had most probably taken place, had arisen from the sense of the House not having been taken upon the subject; and even judging from what had happened of the influence which this circumstance had produced, no man could lament more than he did that any delay had intervened. But it was a great mistake to imagine that no steps had been taken to forward the business, and to prepare it for being submitted to the House. Upon the 26th of April the memorial of the Lords of the Admiralty, agreeably to the usual forms, had been referred to a committee of the council. That committee made their report, which was submitted to his Majesty. All these forms, which the regular conduct of the business required, necessarily consumed some time. After the approbation of the king was given, estimates were ordered to be prepared to be laid before the House. Meanwhile, too, the subject had been repeatedly before the Parliament, not for the purpose of an express vote, but in a way that showed the

business to be in train. He had expressly stated that there would be a communication on the subject to enable the House to come to a vote consistently with the usual forms. As early as the day on which the general state of the ways and means of the country was laid before the House, he had distinctly stated that the provision then to be made was independent of any additional allowance. Thus, upon many occasions, such steps had been taken as could leave no doubt whatever of the intention of the executive Government to submit the subject to Parliament as soon as the regular preliminary forms were observed. Certainly all that speed had not been employed which, if any danger of misconception had been apprehended, might have been used, and which was to be lamented, if that delay had given room for the misrepresentations which had taken place, and the consequences which had ensued. Such was the candid explanation of the delay which had taken place; and having given it to the House, he left it to the honourable gentleman to bring forward his motion whenever he thought proper. It would be observed that there was part of what was meant to be granted, which, not being usually stated on estimate, was not comprehended in the vote, but which would be included in the act. Waiving for the present, then, any discussion which was personal to

himself, he hoped the House would see the propriety of immediately coming to the subject to which he alluded.

Mr Fox said, that after the explanation which the right honourable gentleman had just given, he could not help saying that the delay complained of was an intolerable and fatal neglect of duty. In his opinion ministers were guilty, not only judging that delay after the fact, but before the fact. The history of the transaction was, that in Easter week complaints had existed in the fleet, meetings of delegates had taken place, and various other circumstances happened. A letter was written from the Admiralty upon the subject of these complaints, which stamped upon it a character of incapacity the most flagrant, or want of talents for acting upon a great and difficult crisis unexampled in the annals of any administration. This letter not having produced any effect, a second had been sent, with which the seamen were said to be satisfied, and on which they were to return to their duty. This transaction had taken place on Sunday morning, the 23d of April. Under all the circumstances with which this affair was accompanied, he would submit to any impartial mind whether this were an occasion for tardy forms and official delays. What was the duty of ministers upon this occasion? Was it not their duty, after they had recognised the delegates

with whom they treated; after they had made a promise, to have lost no time in completing the transaction? Yet in stating the rapidity with which they had acted in pursuance of the usual forms, it appeared that the first date of any step was the 26th of April, three days after the agreement had been made. Was not this a matter upon which the utmost despatch ought to have been used? Delays till the opinion of council was taken! Delays after a pardon had been proclaimed for what had passed, when the active part of the council were the men who had agreed to the transaction to be considered, and who were bound to carry it into effect! Could there be any doubt of the opinion of the council? Was any delay necessary till it was pronounced? But even the order of council to which these tedious steps and formal proceedings were to lead appeared on the 3d of May, and five days elapsed before the subject was submitted to the House. Estimates, forsooth, were to be prepared! as if the minister could not guess what was to be the nature of the order of council, and could not therefore give orders for estimates to be prepared. If this country be doomed to ruin, was ever country ruined by incapacity so gross, by misconduct so unparalleled? Was this a time to adhere to petty formalities, to procrastinate for the production of an estimate?

The right honourable gentleman said, he had it in contemplation to bring forward the subject; he had alluded to it in his speech upon the budget. But how were the seamen to judge or to know his intentions? how were they to know that he was bound to bring forward the subject? Such was the elusory character of the right honourable gentleman's language, that it was often difficult even for the House to know by what he was to be held, and to what extent he was bound. But consider the nature of the transaction, and the circumstances with which it was accompanied, and let any man say it was necessary for the right honourable gentleman to suspend the business to give his clerks time to make out an estimate. After the fact, the right honourable gentleman regrets its consequences; there were not many of his acts which, at one time or other, the right honourable gentleman would not have reason to repent. A conduct, however, to which was owing the loss of the innocent lives of men, whoever they were, who had fallen, whether high or low, men to whom the country was highly indebted, ought not to be passed over unnoticed by the House. To oppose any measure which tended to expedite the final completion of the transaction, however, was by no means his intention.

Mr Sheridan said, he was confident that not a doubt re-

maintained in the mind of any gentleman in the House, of the shameful misconduct of his Majesty's ministers. Nor had he any doubt but that they all felt regret at what had happened, and indignation at those who were the cause of it, as well as contempt for their incapacity. He should himself, if his honourable friend had not given notice of it, have brought forward an immediate censure upon the king's ministers for having delayed this measure; but that he wished that nothing should now stand in the way of passing the bill. The reason which the minister offered as an apology for the delay that had taken place, was not to be endured under the circumstances of the time. The minister now pretended to say that he waited for an estimate of the expense which will attend this measure. Did he really believe that the public were to be so insulted? He could have brought this estimate down to the House at the very hour after the king's proclamation issued. This was such shameful neglect that he trusted the House would feel it, as he was sure the public felt it, with abhorrence. The minister was absolutely without excuse for the delay that had taken place. He knew that the sailors were dissatisfied. He now came forward with his unavailing regret that any disturbances had happened. He pretended that they arose from misunderstanding. Could there

be any wonder at that misunderstanding? Had the sailors not a promise from the Admiralty; and was not that promise afterwards treated with apparent indifference by the king's ministers? Did they not delay the measure which could alone give it sanction? Had they therefore no reason for doubting the sincerity of the minister? It was true indeed that in most cases where money was to be called from the people, the minister's promise was precisely the same thing as a vote of the House of Commons, at least there was reason for thinking so from former facts; but it was not wonderful that the sailors thought otherwise, for they judged more of what Parliament ought to be than what it really was by its modern practice; and therefore, unless the minister had lost his very superior intellects, it was impossible for him not to foresee the consequences that followed. He could not but foresee that, when the order was given for the fleet to weigh anchor, jealousy would remain among the sailors, and therefore he was to all intents and purposes answerable for the consequences that ensued. Be the claims of the sailors what they may, what was now proposed to be granted to them was nothing more than justice. At the same time that he said this, he must not omit to state distinctly his decided disapprobation of the mode in which these

demands were insisted upon. It was unfair and inconsistent with the brave, generous, and open character of British seamen; nor had he a doubt there had been a foul interference with them, and means of the basest nature used to induce them to take the steps which they had taken. If men were oppressed, they ought to be relieved by their country. But, however just their complaints were, they ought to complain in a regular way. If there were among them, as he believed there were, any who advised the sailors to put their country into such peril as it stood in at this moment, for the mere purpose of having their objects carried, such men were the most base of traitors. He suspected there were persons of this description, and the evil was of the most alarming kind, when the enemy were actually preparing in the most formidable manner against us. He thought that listening to the suggestions of such foes to this country would never have been the fault of the brave British seamen. He thought that the sailors had such a distrust in the promises of the executive Government, and perhaps they might not have sufficient faith in the pledge of that House. They had evidently shown they had no faith in those who had hitherto negotiated with them, if accounts were true, as he was afraid they were; for it appeared by them that when the town

was lulled yesterday into a sanguine hope that the disturbances were over, and that the London had sailed down to St Helens, and that Admiral Colpoys was gone with her, the delegates went on shore to view the dead bodies of those who fell in the scuffle. If this be true, as he feared it was, he would ask what was to be done with the fleet? What measure was to be taken? Had any been taken to prevent future mischief? Anything to prevent the most horrid of all calamities? He believed none. This was a signal instance, and a fresh one, of the deplorable incapacity of the present ministers in this critical conjuncture. By their criminal and murderous delay had they brought on this dreadful evil. It was at their door should be laid the blood that had been shed on this dreadful occasion. And yet, after all this, the right honourable gentleman came to the house and asked for confidence, as if nothing were the matter. He gave no answer to any question put to him, but desired the House to pass the whole matter by in silence. He said he really did not wish to give way to his feelings, and therefore he should endeavour to restrain himself. What would be the effect, if the House followed the example set before them by the minister? A sullen silence was to be observed. What would the inference be which the sailors would draw from this? Why, that the Par-

liament had passed this measure unwillingly, because an advantage had been taken of it, and in which they were not sincere, and which they would therefore abandon as soon as they had an opportunity of doing so. He hoped, therefore, that it would be expressed, as the general sentiment of the House, that they did give and grant this, as the real right of the British navy; but if it were given in that sullen, silent manner, which the minister proposed, it would not be giving to the sailors the security they desire. It was a curious thing to see the minister, whose negligence brought on this evil, holding in his own hand the helm of the vessel, which, by his piloting, had been steering among the rocks, and telling the sailors, "Hold your tongues, let not a word be spoken; I will bring you safe through all your dangers; and, as a proof that I will do so, I am the person who brought you into them." His own incapacity was the ground on which he called for future confidence. He thought, therefore, that if the other House was sitting, that the House of Commons ought to send it a message, to desire their immediate concurrence to the appointment of a committee, consisting of a small number of the members of each House. It could not be a question upon which any party feelings could operate; on this question there could be but one feeling; he

should, therefore, propose that a joint committee be appointed—to have power to send for persons and papers, to sit from time to time, and to adjourn from place to place, as occasion might require, and there could be no difficulty as to the spot where they ought to be, and that they should proceed without any adjournment above eight hours from time to time, and commence without delay. He felt that this was the only measure by which we could extricate ourselves from this horrid calamity.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer should now move, That this message be sent to the Lords, that their lordships be desired to sit for some time longer.

The question was then put for a message to the Lords, to desire them to continue sitting for some time, upon the suggestion of the Speaker, and passed.

Mr Pybus having taken the message, and returned with the acquiescence of their lordships,

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then moved, That a bill be brought up on the resolution of yesterday, for the additional allowance to the seamen, etc.; which being granted, the bill was brought in immediately, and passed through all its stages, and carried to the Lords. The House sat until the message came to announce that the royal assent was to be given to it by commission.

## CHAPTER X.

## A VOTE OF CENSURE PROPOSED.

As every reader of these summaries of speeches must have felt, the explanations made by Mr Pitt and his friends were most unsatisfactory. The opposition were not to be trifled with, and Mr Whitbread was in downright earnest when he threatened a vote of censure. Accordingly, on the evening of Wednesday, May 10th, he moved, "That the Right Honourable William Pitt, in having so long delayed to present the estimate of the sum necessary for defraying the expense of an increase of pay, and also of the proposed issue of a full allowance of provisions to the seamen and marines of his Majesty's navy, has been guilty of a gross breach of duty, and deserves the censure of this House." Mr Pitt's silence when asking the vote of money, and the requirement he made of the same line of tactics from both sides of the House, were clearly very suspicious indications of the Prime Minister's unadmitted feelings, if not convictions. He seemed to think he could convince the crews of the country's good faith towards them by telling them nothing, and doing the least he could at the latest possible moment. He could not have planned, nor could Mr Fox, a finer arrangement for a fierce attack by the vigilant

opposition which the latter keensighted statesman led. The weak point thus exposed by Mr Pitt himself was, of course, fairly turned to a party purpose. The question was all about the delay which Mr Pitt had allowed to take place. Had it been necessary? Had ordinary despatch been used for giving effect to the arrangements proposed by the Admiralty, and sanctioned by the king? Or even, supposing regular official routine to have been observed, and this obstruction to be sufficient to explain the delay, was Government not to blame for omitting to press forward, with extraordinary haste, measures of such vital importance to the safety of the state? Such was the gist of this important debate at a great crisis in the history of Great Britain; and a short summary of the speeches given on the occasion will be the best means of presenting a fair and full view of the whole question, to the readers of this relation of the story of a mutiny which had a few very sad, and a great many most beneficial, ultimate issues. The debate this time was confined to the House of Commons. On the evening already mentioned, Wednesday, May 10th,

Mr Yorke, finding the House pretty full, and the usual hour for beginning business approach-



ing, rose for the purpose of requesting the honourable gentleman opposite to him, to postpone the discussion of the transactions which had lately taken place on board the fleet. The motion of which an honourable gentleman (Mr Whitbread) had given notice yesterday, could lose nothing of its weight by being delayed for some time, and the country had already suffered so much from untimely discussion, that he thought the House should be extremely cautious how they entertained a debate upon topics so delicate in their nature, and critical in their consequences. The country he pronounced to be in danger; and he called upon the House to endeavour to save it. In the present critical moment, therefore, he again conjured the honourable gentleman to put off his motion till a future day, since, by bringing it on that evening, he could do no good, and might do much harm.

Mr Whitbread said— In proportion as the crisis is awful beyond example, and the calamities with which the country is threatened are alarming to an unheard-of extent, it is impossible for me not to feel on the present occasion an uncommon degree of pain and embarrassment. Before the solemn appeal and adjuration which the honourable gentleman, for whom personally I have a great respect, addressed to this side of the House, and in particular to me, I experienced these sensations, and

they must now be considerably increased, when I find it impossible, consistently with the duty I owe to my country, not to proceed in bringing on the motion of which I have given notice in deference to him or any class of men with whom I may differ in opinion. It is delay and procrastination which has brought us into the dreadful and calamitous situation in which we are now unfortunately placed; and there is nothing which I regret more than not having moved a vote of censure upon the minister, on that day on which the estimates were taken into consideration, for his extreme and culpable negligence in not having carried the measures proposed into effect with greater celerity. I regret, I say, that on that day a vote of censure was not passed upon his conduct, which might have accompanied the other vote to Portsmouth, for the purpose of convincing the sailors that the House of Commons had not been a party in that delay to which all the subsequent calamities are to be attributed. That they have arisen solely from that cause is a proposition which, I think, I shall be able to substantiate from authentic documents; and if I am able to make good this proposition, if the House of Commons do not pass a vote of censure upon the author of that delay, we shall as grossly neglect our duty as he has neglected his. I know there are those, perhaps a majority of

this House, who differ with me respecting the origin of the recent insubordination of the fleet, and who will be ready to attribute any future mischief which may ensue—which God avert—to the discussion which I am now bringing before the House; but however much I may wish to stand high in these gentlemen's opinions, I have a still stronger desire to stand high in my own. From that which my duty therefore calls me to encounter I shall not be deterred by the fear of any animadversion which may be passed upon my conduct.

Having said this much by way of preface and apology, I proceed to a summary investigation of the ground of debate, in which I think I shall have no difficulty in being able to prove to the satisfaction of the House, that the first minister of the country has been highly criminal in suffering the delay which took place between the concessions which were made by the Lords of the Admiralty, to the seamen and the ratification of these concessions by Parliament; and in this view of the subject, the House will naturally perceive that the motion which I have to propose to them is nothing less than a direct censure upon that right honourable gentleman. If I am asked upon what grounds I ascribe the mischiefs which have arisen from this delay, I refer the House to the speech of the right honourable gentleman, in which, unsatisfactory as

it was, he admitted that the delay had been an unfortunate circumstance, and that had he foreseen the events which have happened, he might have acted with greater despatch and expedition. Was it not an express article of the compact formed between the Lords of the Admiralty and the seamen that the conditions upon which they stipulated were to be ratified by Parliament? Was it not promised by the Lords of the Admiralty that they should recommend the concessions which they had made, as far as they had power to make them, to Parliament for its sanction? In consequence of this stipulation and this promise, what were the seamen naturally led to expect? Certainly that an immediate message would be sent by his Majesty to his two Houses of Parliament recommending the subject to their consideration. But was any message sent? No; nor has there been one to this day. This would have been the natural mode, one would have thought, that ministers would have adopted to carry the measures for which they were pledged into effect. But let us see how they actually did proceed. From the public papers, which of course are authentic, I find that the ratification of the articles of their stipulation with the Lords of the Admiralty by Parliament, was required by the seamen before they were ordered to go to sea. This stipulation was con-

cluded on the 23d of April. On the 26th it was laid before the Privy Council, and was not ratified by his Majesty till the 3d of May. And not even then a message was brought down to Parliament, the estimate not having been laid before them till Thursday last. It was not indeed laid before them even then, but there being no House on Thursday, he gave the minister credit for having them ready on that day if the House had transacted business. If this, then, was the case, was it not the least thing which that minister could do—that minister who, by his unaccountable and criminal negligence, had brought those numerous and aggravated calamities upon the country, which every man so much deplored, and which might be attended with consequences still more fatal than any one was aware—ought he not to acknowledge his error, and to beg pardon of the House and of the country; and ought not the House of Commons, whose business it was to watch over the conduct of ministers, and to provide for the safety of the empire, to impose a censure upon him who, by his gross incapacity, had brought the state into this strange and unprecedented dilemma? I have stated that the seamen stipulated for a Parliamentary ratification of the concessions made to them by the Lords of the Admiralty; this ratification being delayed, and mischief ensu-

ing, I am entitled to presume that the mischief was the consequence of the delay. I know that it has been attributed to a different cause; that it is said to have arisen from misrepresentation of what passed in another place; but even supposing that this was the real and sole cause of the calamities by which we have been afflicted, would not that misrepresentation have been prevented by an earlier communication upon the subject to Parliament? This account of the matter is only varying the light in which it is viewed; the source of the evil remains the same. I am happy to be informed by the news of this day, that, in consequence of intelligence reaching Portsmouth of the vote which has been passed by this House, matters immediately assumed a more favourable aspect; and that, though the intelligence was prevented, by the unfavourable state of the weather, from being known through the whole of the fleet, the crews of those ships who were made acquainted with it immediately returned to their duty. If it required any additional proof, this is another circumstance which I am entitled to claim in aid of my position, that the whole of the mischief has proceeded from the delay of his Majesty's ministers in carrying their promises into execution. For, if the effect produced by the resolution of the House of Commons is to restore tranquillity, what could be the

mutiny but the disappointment arising from that resolution not being passed at an earlier period? Indeed, the proofs are so clear, and the circumstances which I have enumerated so conclusive, that I find it quite unnecessary to add anything further upon the subject. An inquiry into the origin and whole course of the transactions must be instituted at a future period; and I trust that if it shall be found that any part of them were owing to the misconduct of any member or members of the present administration, that they will be brought to that condign punishment which they so justly deserve. I may, perhaps, be taxed with warmth; and it may be that I have been excited to a greater degree of heat than is becoming in one preferring an accusation; but I cannot help feeling some degree of indignation, when I find that to all the other instances of wretched incapacity, of wasteful profusion, and of a dereliction of every honourable and worthy principle, by which their administration has been marked, they have added this new calamity, of magnitude unascertained, and consequences incalculable. Mr Whitbread concluded by moving the vote of censure already quoted.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said—Before entering more directly upon the topics involved in the present question, I must not omit, on setting out, to state how the question stands

in point of form. If any blame attaches to the conduct of Government in the course of the transactions which have been alluded to, I desire to be understood as not wishing to transfer the blame from myself, or even to divide it with another. But I owe it to the House to remark, that it was not my duty either to prepare or to present the estimates, and that I neither prepared nor presented them; that it was no part of my duty to direct the preparation; and that, in short, there is not one branch in the whole department of finance which falls so little within my province as that to which these estimates refer. The motion, therefore, in the first place, was wrongly worded: but I beg again not to be misunderstood, as wishing to cover myself under this statement from censure. On the contrary, if the honourable gentleman means to impute blame to the authors of the delay which has taken place, and to which he ascribes the recent mischiefs which have unfortunately befallen us, I am willing, personally, to meet the accusation, considering myself as responsible for every measure, not only connected with finance, but with the general safety of the country. I do not, however, find it necessary to trouble the House much at length upon the other points connected with the question, because they lie within a short compass; besides that the facts are already known to the House. The fair state-

ment of the question is shortly this ; whether the executive government were in possession of ground sufficient to enable them to infer that the delay which took place would be accompanied with danger to the country. The facts were these: on the 24th, not the 23d April, as was stated by the honourable gentleman, we heard that the seamen on board the fleet had returned to their duty. On the 26th, after the intervention of a day, a memorial was presented to the Privy Council, containing the concessions which were proposed to be granted to the seamen. A committee was appointed to inquire into the subject of the memorial, and their report was delivered at the next ordinary council, which was held on the 3d May, when these concessions were confirmed by his Majesty. Notice was given on Wednesday last that the estimate would be laid before the House on Thursday, but the House not meeting on that day, they were presented on Friday, and ordered to be taken into consideration on the Monday following. Certainly, at the time that the concessions were granted by the Lords of the Admiralty,—at the time that the memorial was delivered to the Privy Council,—at the time that the report was made,—at the time the concessions were confirmed by his Majesty,—at the time that the estimates were presented,—and at the time they were taken into consider-

ation, there was unquestionable evidence that the executive government did mean to complete their engagements. I never have heard the sincerity of ministers called in question; and, indeed, there could be no ground for such a suspicion, for when the estimates were presented, the mutiny which had latterly taken place had not then begun. The honourable gentleman imputes this mischief principally to delay, and he is willing to allow even that misrepresentation had some share in producing it, while he charges the misrepresentation upon the delay. But may not those who are averse to discussion fairly retort, that if there had been no discussion there would have been no misrepresentation? At least there would have been no misrepresentation of a declaration which was made in another place, and which was most scandalously perverted for the worst of purposes. This, however, is not the only species of misrepresentation of which I have to complain; the acts, as well as the language, of the executive government, have been misrepresented by those who are in the habit of opposing ministers; and to this species of misrepresentation I, in part, ascribe the mischiefs which have arisen. I am ashamed to vindicate the sincerity of ministers against these imputations. It was equally their duty and their interest to be sincere, and there were no symptoms of duplicity.

in their conduct through the whole course of the transaction. They not only recommended it to his Majesty to pledge his word for what they had provisionally promised, but they sent notice of the measure which was in agitation to branches of the fleet which were not under the command of Lord Bridport. Under these circumstances, it is for the House to decide whether guilt is imputable to his Majesty's ministers. As to the present circumstances of the fleet, I am happy in being able to inform the House that, in consequence of the vote of Monday last being communicated to the fleet, the seamen have shown an inclination to return to their duty, and that there is something more than a dawn of hope that order and tranquillity will be soon restored. I am sorry that the state of the weather, which has rendered it impossible to hold frequent communication with the fleet, puts it out of my power to speak with greater confidence upon this subject. I have only to request that, by entertaining improper discussions, the House will not be so wanting to themselves as again to cloud that prospect which has already opened, in consequence of the wise and prudent measures which they have adopted.

Mr Whitbread proposed to amend his motion by the introduction of the words "His Majesty's ministers," instead of the words "the Right Honourable William Pitt."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer being desired by the Speaker to withdraw, agreeably to the forms of the House,

The question was put upon the motion as it originally stood, which was negatived.

Mr Fox proposed, as another amendment to the motion, that, instead of the words "in presenting," be substituted "in presenting, or causing to be presented."

The motion thus amended being put,

Mr Fox said—I never in my life was more convinced of the propriety of a motion than I am of that which is now before you; and of the expediency of passing it now I am as well convinced. With regard to the propriety of this, I wish those who oppose it would state specifically the mischief which it will do: hitherto they have only talked of that mischief in general terms. I say generally also, that public discussion is the best security for public welfare, and the best security for the safety of every good Government. That energy which is to be had from secrecy, which some persons are so fond of, stands upon the authority of but a few, and they have neither been the wisest nor the best; but they are those who, from age to age, have endeavoured to enslave mankind; and they have been controverted by the wisest and the best in all ages, as appears by the best histories of this world. I say this generally. But to come to the immediate

subject which is now before us, and to apply these general principles to the facts that have appeared. When this mutiny first broke out, was the subject debated in this House? No. It was passed by in silence; and those gentlemen, who are so enamoured of secrecy, had the complete advantage of it, as much so as could have been desired by any favourite, absolute government; for however I may deplore, and however every man in this country may deplore, what has happened, and may have wished that better measures had been adopted for the safety of the nation, yet still it must be allowed that ministers have had all the advantages of the secrecy for which they are such advocates, as far as regards our proceedings. But there are now exhibited charges against me. I am now accused for not having at first stated the danger of what has lately happened; that I did not at first state the danger of the delay, of which I now complain. Now that the money is actually voted, it is strange that I should complain of the danger. I beg the House to consider this charge. Had I at first stated, that I apprehended that that would happen which has actually happened, I ask this House whether gentlemen on the other side would not have said they believed, and would desire this House and the public to believe, that that very prediction of mine had had a considerable share

in causing the event; that the variety of statements of dangers in this House contributed to bring about the evil? Mark the impregnable defence of the minister! Here, if you state your opinion of the necessity of expeditious measures, and also the danger of delay, you are said, by your statement, to cause the mischief, which might have been avoided if you had remained silent. But having remained silent, you are told that you have no right to complain in consequence of what has happened; for that you yourself did not foresee it, because you did not tell the minister anything of your apprehension of danger. If you do state your apprehension, you are the author of the mischief; if you do not, it must be taken for granted you yourself had no apprehension of the danger. Let us now apply to the facts. The news of the discontents in the fleet arrived in London on the Monday morning: I happened to arrive in the afternoon of the same day: uninformed as I then was, I thought that we should have before us the transaction with all possible speed: in answer to a question, I was told that a communication would be made with all possible speed. Should not I have been a caviller to have said more at that time? In a few days I did state, that it appeared to me to be important that some measure should be speedily discussed and adopted.

The whole of the question divides itself into two parts ; first, whether there was any cause for any extraordinary expedition in providing a remedy for the evil? for if there was not, I admit that the whole of my honourable friend's motion falls at once. Ministers have contended this, and acted as if they thought there was no cause for extraordinary expedition ; in which they differ, I believe, from every man in this House, and every man in this country. I contend that if, contrary to the specific facts, there had not happened any mischief, still delay was criminal, because it was highly probable that delay would have occasioned mischief. They should have taken the moment of peace and tranquillity at Portsmouth to satisfy the seamen. They must be ridiculously sanguine, if they expected that the seamen were not likely to be alarmed at the delay which took place. It has been said that we have not proved that the evil we complain of was owing exclusively to the delay of ministers. It is true we have no documents to this effect ; but the fact is notorious. I ask, what is the cause of our being in a state of comparative rejoicing this day, and why we have a dawn of hope among us? Is it not to be attributed to the measures which have taken place in Parliament? Certainly it is. Why then, I ask, if the case be so, is not that a proof that the want of these measures was the

cause of the evil? This I state without entering into the question, whether the representations are true or false to any certain extent. Ministers say that the evils are owing to misrepresentations of what happened in another place. Here let us pause. Take it for granted, for the sake of the argument, and for that only, that there have been gross misrepresentations, does any man believe there is a difficulty in finding out the remedy for such gross misrepresentations? Expedition on the part of ministers was the only remedy: had they done their duty, by bringing forward the Act of Parliament, the effects of misrepresentation would have been comparatively innocent. It is supposed, that persons of great authority said, in another place, that they did not know that they should have any orders from his Majesty to make any communication. That we all know, in Parliament, to be correct in point of form, considering the place in which it was spoken, because it is in this House that the measure must originate; this is another signal instance of the folly and ignorance of ministers, for they must have known what effect this would have on the uninformed. The minister talks of misrepresentation, and the effect of it ; was he ignorant of that effect? He who caused the Habeas Corpus Act to be suspended must surely be aware of the possibility of there being Jacobins, as he has called them,



in this country, who would be ready to misrepresent his intentions. I think there are not a sufficient number of such persons to make us shake in our determination to adhere to our constitution ; but although I do not think there are enough to do that, yet I think there may be enough to distribute a hand-bill. This he must know as well as any man ; then, I ask, was he not criminally guilty for neglecting to do that which would render vain all such attempts, by bringing forward an Act of Parliament without delay, which was the only effectual way to prevent the evil ?

There is another view in which this important question may be considered. I am not going to give any opinion on the negotiation between the delegates of the fleet and the Admiralty, at Portsmouth ; but that measure having taken place, it ought to be considered as a negotiation in which there were certain stipulations. No man can be satisfied in a negotiation until the stipulations of it are performed. Why then, I ask, Was it not essential for the public benefit, that this negotiation should be made as short as possible ? Has that been done ? If you tell me this was only a promise, and time must be taken to perform it, and that the seamen ought to have been satisfied that it would be fulfilled, I answer, that a promise is, in its nature, an incomplete act, and the longer you are in performing it,

the more reason do you give for doubting your sincerity. Delay, therefore, upon this occasion, considering all the circumstances, amounts to guilt on the part of the ministers. But it is said, ministers were sincere—I never doubted it ; I never thought of making any accusation against them that they did not intend to make good their promise to the sailors ; what I complain of is, that they delayed the performance of that promise unnecessarily, in consequence of which some of the best blood of the country has been spilt. Then comes the general answer: Ministers cannot be guilty of any crime on this occasion ! What interest have they in being so ?—I know not what interest any man can have in guilt—I know not what interest any ministers can have in being bad ministers ; and yet we know that men have been guilty, and that ministers have been bad ministers ; that they have appeared in this world, and I am afraid will continue to appear, and unless there is some controlling power exercised over them, they will continue to do, as they have done, much mischief to mankind. I say that ministers have discovered an incapacity which renders them quite unfit to manage the affairs of this country, and which they will ruin unless this House interposes its authority over them. Will any gentleman opposite to me deny that ministers have heaped upon this country mis-

fortune upon misfortune—that they have committed blunder upon blunder—and that they have very nearly accomplished the ruin of this country? There are disasters and disgraces which, after a long succession, destroy the faculties of the human mind. I take that to be the case of the minister; he is, to use a vulgar expression, “beat blind.” That is now his only excuse, his only apology. Who but a man who had been so disgraced could have been blind to the consequences of the delay of which he has been guilty upon this occasion? I know I am accused of speaking with too much warmth on many subjects; all I can say in answer to that charge is, that I feel for the situation of this country with warmth, and I speak from feelings of which I think no man ought to be ashamed. Look at what has been done in point of fact in this business. I stated formerly, that on the 23d of April a letter arrived from Portsmouth. The minister states it to be the 24th. He states, that in one day the memorial was made to the Lords of the Admiralty, and here the minister is correct literally rather than substantially, because the news was known early in the morning, so early, that a memorial might have been presented on the very day the news arrived; but it appears that it was not presented till the 26th, and the order in council does not issue

until the 3d of May. Here is one day entirely lost in this stage of the proceeding—I mean the memorial. In short there is a delay of seven days upon unnecessary points of form, which did not require the delay of as many hours, no, nor of as many minutes. The delay in all is full fourteen days; and reflect on the circumstances that have happened,—nay, what every prudent man saw was likely to happen; and then, I ask you, whether you think that delay was criminal? But it seems this was all matter of chance, for the fleet might have sailed before the last disturbance took place, had it met with a fair wind. Suppose this be granted, then I would ask, ought you not to provide against chances? It was your duty to do so. Had you done so, you might have converted into a blessing that interposition of Providence, which, under other circumstances, might have been considered as a disadvantage, by retarding the operations of your fleet. By this the evils would have been avoided, and the sailors would have been completely satisfied. But if they had sailed, what would have been your situation? They would have sailed without having been satisfied; and what would have been the effect of insinuations to them against your sincerity in that situation, I do not choose to conjecture.

There is another point which makes this matter distressing to

me. I do not know how far this business may be said, even now, to be settled. That is a circumstance also of which I cannot help complaining, because we have not a clear fair account of this transaction. We ought to know how far the parties have come to an understanding upon this subject ;— what has been granted of what was asked, and what denied or what relinquished. Let us remember that the public have a right to know these facts, because on them depends the question of our future security. The people have a right to insist that we should act with wisdom, which we shall not, unless we insist on seeing the real danger of our situation. We should therefore show our vigilance and our earnest desire to serve the public, by marking the conduct of ministers with our censure. Look at the situation of this country. I have been accused of looking at that situation with a desponding eye ! I can say that, looking at the situation of this country six months ago, with the very worst opinion of ministers and the state of the nation, with much diffidence as to the soundness of the constitution after what had been done to destroy it, I thought we were then in the pit of despondency, I could hardly conceive that anything could be worse ; but is there a man now alive who does not think that was a state of prosperity compared with the pre-

sent ? Is there a man who, however gloomy and despondent he might have been then, is not much more so now ? Look at the state of the country ! Look at the Bank ! Look at Ireland ! Look at your last best hope, your national bulwark, and then reflect on your situation. To what is it owing ? Is it not to this,—that the popular part of the constitution has been sacrificed to the executive ? Is it not owing to the too successful endeavours of the servants of the Crown to change the popular branch, from vigilance and jealousy to supineness and confidence in the monarchy ? To prevail upon you to think or act, as if you thought that secrecy is better than publicity ? To prevail upon you to act, as if you thought that the road that had conducted you to greatness, must be abandoned, and that you must now pursue another, which will inevitably conduct you to meanness ? That your course would have been so rapid in this new road, is what no man would have thought some time ago, but you see such is the fact. If you think that there was no fault in ministers, vote against the question. But if you think there has been any unnecessary delay in this business, it is your duty, your country demands it of you, to throw away any attachment you may have to ministers. If you do not, the most sanguine hope of the most sanguine man in the kingdom

cannot even flatter you that you can retrieve your own honour.

Mr Dundas said: The honourable gentleman who spoke last, in the conclusion of his speech adjured the House to lay aside all partiality for individual men, all views of party interests in the decision they were about to pronounce upon the present. I confess, however, that I think it would have been fair, if the right honourable gentleman had likewise cautioned the House against being actuated by animosity or by rivalships; if he had desired them to lay aside every narrow view of seizing upon what they may consider an error in those who conduct public affairs, in order to avail themselves of it for the purpose of serving party designs. Had he done this while he urged the other, his caution would have been more complete, and his conduct more impartial. Upon the subject of the transactions which have been the object of discussion, I feel as much at ease as can be connected with the consciousness of no blame. That the affair has given me great concern is undoubtedly true. Not a day has passed since the events have taken place in which I myself, and I dare answer for those with whom I act also, felt not the deepest anguish and regret at the situation in which matters stood, but ground for remorse certainly I had none. The right honourable gentleman applied

to the delay which has taken place the epithet of extraordinary; but in this he quickly corrected himself, and changed it for unnecessary—extraordinary delay certainly there was none. The despatch employed was as great as could be used upon an occasion on which it was not thought necessary to overleap all the ordinary forms of business. Whether there was any extraordinary delay is the question, and it is upon an impartial consideration of the situation in which the affair was thought to stand that I desire the judgment of the House. What has unfortunately since occurred is not to be viewed as a proof that previously any circumstances existed to require extraordinary modes of proceeding. The right honourable gentleman himself never hinted that he conceived it necessary to deviate from necessary forms. The object of his repeated inquiries was to know, not when anything relative to pecuniary arrangements was to be brought forward, but when an opportunity would be afforded of discussing the subject on a large scale. The right honourable gentleman himself cannot deny that this was the object to which his questions pointed; and from the line of conduct pursued in another place, where pecuniary arrangements could not be in view, from the general system upon which gentlemen upon the other side act, which this uniformity evinces, it is evident that neither the honour-

able gentleman nor those with whom he thinks ever imagined that any extraordinary despatch was necessary with regard to the pecuniary part, and that they apprehended no danger from the delay. Indeed all the reasoning of the honourable gentleman, and of the honourable mover, were as applicable to the situation of affairs a fortnight ago as now, except as to the facts which have intervened. What is the conclusion? Not that the right honourable gentleman and his friends were to blame, but merely that they themselves, till enlightened by the fact, never apprehended the smallest danger, since now they cannot assign one reason for despatch, which did not equally apply a fortnight ago. I certainly do not mean to depreciate the talents of the right honourable gentleman, much less to say that there is any one more disposed to criticise the proceedings of administration than he is. But take him as a critic, take him as an adviser of Government, and a rough one enough certainly he sometimes is; but in either capacity, his conduct, as well as that of those who act with him, proves that they entertained no apprehension. The honourable gentleman, all through his argument, completely begged the question. When the fleet dropped down to St Helens, the transactions, as far as they were settled by the vote of Monday last, and the act of last night, were finished; but it is said the

disturbances might have arisen again. Certainly it is impossible to reduce within mathematical rules what is likely or what is not likely to take place; what may or may not be foreseen; but assuredly Government did not foresee such an event. If the right honourable gentleman had any grounds of information upon which he could foresee, or if even he had reason to suspect, surely if he had so far deviated from his usual practice as to hold any private communication, and forewarn them of the danger, he would not have been guilty of a very great impropriety. The only conclusion I can draw from his proceedings then is, that he had no ground for suspicion; Government thought the matter settled, the admiral at Portsmouth and the officers there thought so too; everything then was done that appeared necessary, while no reason existed for believing that everything was not adjusted. But the right honourable gentleman says, we ought to have been on our guard against the machinations of a French party. I confess I am rather puzzled to know how to treat this argument; I do think that there are many very wicked people in this country, and I have been blamed by the right honourable gentleman for the extent at which I rated the danger to be apprehended from them; now we are blamed for not attaching to them sufficient importance. I hope the right honourable gentleman (Mr Sher-

idan), who last night expressed himself so strongly on this point, will not be offended with my panegyric. He reprobated the meanness and baseness of the treason that could secretly sap the bulwark of our strength; praised the open line of conduct, and thought that there might be some apology for the treason in the shape which it assumed; but in all the proceedings which have taken place in the fleet, I ever felt, and often expressed it as the highest satisfaction, that even in the hottest period of the proceedings at Portsmouth, and when the seamen expressed themselves most warmly, not the smallest spirit of Jacobinism appeared. Their expressions, on the contrary, were most ardent for the honour of the Crown and the interest of the country. I believe, in fact, that such were their sentiments that they were incapable of giving way to the doctrine of Jacobinism, and that if any propositions of that nature had ever been made to them, they would have rejected them with indignation. The attack, however, was not made in the way that would rouse their resentment and provoke their indignation. After the transaction with the Lords of the Admiralty was settled, the only point which remained was his Majesty's pardon. No jealousy ever appeared, however, till some, for whose extreme wickedness I can find no name sufficiently descriptive, insinuated to the seamen that the

pardon which had been issued in their favour was a forgery. When the conversation which took place on the subject got into the public papers, a new mode of misrepresentation presented itself, and the diabolical malice which laboured to renew disturbance changed its mode of attack. It was represented to them, with the most abominable wickedness, that their bill had been thrown out by Parliament; but no idea that it was the intention of the executive Government to deceive them was ever entertained. Ministers, who upon such an occasion had every motive to vigilance, and who were not less vigilant than other men would have been, saw no reason for suspicion. But even had the vote taken place, who will say that some other ground of misrepresentation might not have been employed? Who will say that the same malice, that could so grossly misrepresent what was done, might not have employed other diabolical arts to effect its purpose? The vote of the House would produce a good effect, because it proved to the seamen that they had been the dupes of gross imposition. The negligence of ministers, therefore, was a common error, for they as well as others entertained no suspicion of danger. Nor could any extraordinary despatch have been of any advantage, but as it might have prevented misrepresentation, for the sailors could not entertain a doubt of

the intentions of the executive Government. The agreement was already acted upon, and they immediately entered into possession of what it bestowed. If it can be shown that ground of suspicion did exist, I do not contend that there is not reason for censure ; but till that can be established there can be no ground for blame. The honourable gentleman says that it would have been better for the fleet to have put to sea with the conviction that everything was settled. But this is merely begging the question. Were they not going to sea on this conviction? What afterwards arose was occasioned by the gross and wicked misrepresentations of diabolical incendiaries.

Mr Whitbread made reply to the arguments against his motion. It was said, he remarked, that the mutiny was at an end, and the association dissolved after the agreement with the Admiralty was concluded. But was this the fact? When the fleet was under way on the 28th of April, were there

not three ships that remained in a state of disobedience? Had not delegates arrived from Plymouth, and did not the association subsist? It was the duty of ministers, therefore, to have put an end to the combination, as soon as possible, by ratifying the transaction. If sooner ratified, misrepresentation would have been prevented, and if the fleet had sailed, attempts to deceive them would have been in vain. As to the form of his motion, he was decided. It was principally directed against the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as he was the prime mover and director in his Majesty's councils : the rest he considered as subordinate and subservient to him. Ministers then had neglected their duty, and the House would shamefully neglect their duty if they allowed such conduct to pass without censure.

The house then divided :

For the motion, . . .	63
Against it, . . .	237

Majority against, . . .	174
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## CHAPTER XL

### HAPPY TERMINATION OF THE MUTINY AT SPITHEAD.

NEITHER the resolution, nor the Act of Parliament, nor both together, succeeded in soothing the irritation of the crews at

Spithead ; but the speeches of Fox and Sheridan did. These were quite after the sailors' own hearts, who seemed, for the

time, more delighted with them, and more busy reading them, than concerned or exciting themselves about the long expected redress of grievances, and settlement of their just claims. This naturally put them in a better temper, and softened their animosity towards Admiral Colpoys and Captain Griffiths. When this became known, the fears which had been entertained regarding the fate of these two gallant gentlemen gave way to hope; and the hope was seen to be well founded shortly after, when they were released from their confinement and sent ashore.

How great was the fear, or rather the terror, with which this second outburst of the mutiny inspired the authorities on shore, will be seen by the precautions which were taken. The gates of the garrison at Portsmouth were shut, and the drawbridges taken up; at sunset field-pieces were planted at the Point gates, to flank the landing-place at the new Sally-port; and every measure thought necessary was adopted to defend the garrison, as though a siege had been apprehended. An affecting circumstance at this time occurred, opportunely in a very sorrowful sense, of which the Government took wise advantage, and which did much to induce the sailors to consider favourably the step towards conciliation which had already been determined on. The bodies of three seamen, who died in Haslar hospital in con-

sequence of the wounds they had received, on Sunday, on board the *London*, were buried in Kingston churchyard, after the coroner's jury had sat upon them, and returned a verdict of "justifiable homicide." The authorities threw no obstacles in the way of the sailors, to prevent their paying all honours to the dead. Every opportunity was seized of proving to the seamen the regard in which they were held by the nation. The bodies were brought from the hospital to the Common Hard in the *London's* launch, with the colours half-mast high; they were carried thence in solemn procession to the churchyard, through an immense concourse assembled at Portsea, Halfway House, and other places, to witness the proceedings. Two colours preceded the first coffin, and one each of the others, half-struck; fifty of the shipmates of the deceased followed two and two, together with nearly as many women in black; and six women walked on either side of each coffin. Such were the funeral honours paid to the three first victims of the mutiny.

After this event a rather submissive spirit, at least, a spirit happier and more tranquil, seemed to influence the mutineers. Deputations from several of the ships went on shore, with invitations to their officers to return and resume their command. These were warmly extended to Admiral Alan Gardner, to induce him to comply



with their wishes ; but as objections were made to his three lieutenants, he refused, until these officers should be permitted to accompany him. At last the only man in the country who was qualified in every respect—by personal character, by the halo of heroic deeds which shed brilliancy on his career, by the affection entertained for him all over the fleet, and the men's childlike admiration—appeared on the scene. On Wednesday afternoon Government sent Lord Howe to Portsmouth, charged with extraordinary powers from the king, for the final settlement of the whole dispute. The success of his mission was confidently relied on by all who heard of the Government's playing this, which may be reasonably regarded as their last card in a game which they played badly, and which they dealt after much doubtful shuffling. The men whom he would have to conciliate had been his companions in arms, the sharers of his dangers, and the participators in his triumphs. His name was associated with proud and gallant recollections ; the glorious victory of the 1st of June 1794, was still fresh in the memories of all whom he would address ; and notwithstanding the temporary cloud and misunderstanding that had interposed between himself and the sailors, in consequence of his rejecting the round-robin petitions, yet it was justly anticipated, if he should appear as a

mediator between the suspicions of the seamen and the good intentions of the country, success must inevitably crown his efforts. The noble admiral, upon his arrival at Portsmouth, accompanied by Sir Peter Parker, Admiral Gardner, and other officers, embarked in a barge for St Helens, and immediately went on board the *Royal George*, Lord Bridport's flag-ship. He entered into conversation with the crew, and reasoned with them for three hours upon the subject of their grievances. He said that he had undertaken to interpose between them and his Majesty, for a pardon and oblivion of all that had happened, upon conditions just and necessary to the future order and strength of the service. These conditions were, a solemn submission to their officers, and an engagement, made through their accredited organ, the delegates, that they should hereafter co-operate with their commanders in enforcing subordination, and in checking the first appearances of mutiny.

The crew of the *Royal George* expressed themselves as quite satisfied with Lord Howe's explanations and promises. They, however, reminded his lordship of the obvious fact that they were only one crew, that they could not answer for the crews of the other ships ; and they suggested respectfully that he should visit each of them in succession. In the meantime, a fact already referred to, the

ship's company of the London stated to Admiral Colpoys their wish that he should leave the ship and go on shore. The barge was manned, and the admiral, together with Captain Griffith and the chaplain, the Rev. Mr Cole, stepped into it. The crew parted with their commander with a great show of respect, and many of them openly expressed a desire to see him soon back again.

All the men were not so easily conciliated as those of the Royal George. There was that little knot of the disaffected which had everything to lose by such a settlement as was proposed, and all of whose hopes were to be realised by maintaining insubordination both on land and at sea—the only state of matters in which they could possibly secure the personal interests which were dearer to them than the safety and honour of their country, or even the redress of the grievances of the fleet. Such men are always to be found mixed up with the most valiant struggles for sacred rights.

This reproach is not laid to the charge of the seamen of the fleet as a body. The delegates of the Royal George took a very decided step. They waited in a very orderly and respectful manner upon the captain of the Royal William, to entreat him not to suffer the frigates and smaller ships to be running backwards and forwards to St Helens, as had been the case for some days past, for that now

everything was quiet and peaceable in the fleet, with the exception of the Duke and the Mars, whose crews had been detected in the act of carrying on a traitorous correspondence with some people on shore. When this discovery was made all the crews which had returned to their duty sent and required those two ships to haul down the flag of defiance: this they positively, and in contempt of the whole fleet, refused to do, obstinately nailing the red colours to the mast-head.

The sailors on board the Duke requested a conference with the delegates, who complied with their wishes. They attempted to seduce the delegates into such further acts of disobedience as would have caused a third outbreak of the mutiny after the second lull. They did not succeed. Their proposals were rejected with surprise and indignation; and, after some bootless altercation, the delegates left the Duke, exhorting the crew not to provoke vindictive punishment by vexatious measures. These mutineers were bent on daring mischief. Finding that matters were in a train of adjustment, they sent two of their boats alongside several of the ships, with the design of exciting them to fresh disturbances; but none of the crews would permit them to get on board; and at the last, shouting and hissing, with a torrent of abuse, greeted them as they rowed through the fleet upon a fruit-

less errand. Guard-boats were immediately stationed around the Duke and the Mars, to cut off all intercourse with them, except such as might be allowed by orders of the admiral.

A second deputation from the crew of his ship waited upon Sir Alan Gardner, desiring his forgiveness, and requesting him to return on board the Royal Sovereign, with all his officers—thus justifying the admiral's firmness in standing by gentlemen of whose conduct he did not disapprove. He was received upon the quarter-deck with three cheers from the ship's company, whom he addressed in a very pathetic speech, telling them his determination to see all parties, both officers and seamen, treated with justice. He also expressed a hope that the future good conduct of the men would be the means of obliterating from his remembrance all that had passed.

The following address, as free from the restraint of the rules of grammar as it is from affectation or duplicity, was published, on Thursday, by the crew of the Robust. It is dated :

*"Robust, May 11, 1797.*

"The favours and goodness our officers confer upon us, are such as can be equalled by few officers in the fleet ; and that is our just and grateful sense of the officers of his Majesty's ship Robust. Is there a man so poor in spirit, that praises such as we have without imitating the actions worthy of them ?

"How pleasant would be the toils of war, did all employed in it meet with the same recompense ! It is our deeds alone render us worthy their indulgence, and preserve their good opinion. To inform you with how much ardency we wish to serve them, if ever accidents fall in our way, we are thoroughly resolved to lead them into the paths of glory ; and they might rest assured that all of us will rejoice in an opportunity of testifying our duty, affection, gratitude, and submission, which we flatter ourselves they will not hereafter disapprove.

"We are, with the utmost respect and submission, your honours' eternally devoted servants,

"ROBUST SHIP'S COMPANY."

Lord Howe visited most of the ships on Friday and his success was unmistakable. He disarmed the suspicious and prejudiced of all the crews he addressed ; and, with the view of arranging for a final adjustment of all difficulties, he made an appointment to meet the delegates next morning on board the Royal William. At eleven o'clock on Saturday morning, a signal was made to Sir Peter Parker, and that venerable admiral went at once on board the Royal William. He was followed immediately by Lord Howe. The delegates, who had been talking the matter carefully over in the gun-room when notice was given them, were received

by Lord Howe and Sir Peter Parker, who were attended by Captain Pickarone and the Secretary. This conference lasted for several hours; and the result was that the delegates promised submission and a return to duty, after assurance had been given them again of the king's pardon, and that the late transactions should not at any future time be made a matter of reproach against them. It was also stipulated that some few officers, mentioned by name, should not be forced upon the fleet; this point was maintained with great firmness by the delegates; and lastly, his lordship pledged his honour that in future any petition for redress of grievances, temperately stated and properly signed, should meet with serious and ready attention.

The fleet now only waited for his Majesty's pardon to put to sea; but, to the consternation of the admiral, a new difficulty suddenly presented itself in the appearance of Sir Roger Curtis' squadron off St Helens, from Torbay. It has before been stated that the delegates had despatched a frigate to Plymouth to order the ships at that port round to St Helens, and also that the Admiralty had sent instructions to Sir Roger Curtis commanding him to put to sea at all hazards. The delegates, however, outstripped the Government, and effected their purpose. Upon the arrival of the squadron, a deputation visited the seamen, and informed them of

all that had taken place. No dissatisfaction was expressed, only a desire to act in accordance with the terms already settled: at the same time it was represented that they, in common with Lord Bridport's fleet, expected to have certain obnoxious officers removed from command.

Four captains, eighteen lieutenants, one major, and four subalterns of marines, retired in consequence of the remonstrance of the delegates. Captain John Child Purvis was appointed to the command of the London; John Miller to the Terrible; John Eaton to the Marlborough; and George Shirley to the Megæra fire-ship.

The ship's crew of the Mars, finding all their designs frustrated by the unanimity of the rest of the fleet, issued an address in extenuation of their conduct:

"Our intentions," they said, "were to act with the fleet: nor had we any other intentions, being convinced our grievances would be redressed. As to our captains and officers, we esteem and respect them for their humane behaviour, and consider ourselves as happy with them as with any other men in the service. We also beg leave to remark, that no set of men in his Majesty's service are more attached to their sovereign and country, and to defend their cause to the last drop of their vital blood, than are the

"SEAMEN OF THE MARS."

The delegates had not carried out their mutinous measures by halves; and they would not depart from their thorough-going policy on the day of acknowledged submission. They requested leave after the king's pardon should have arrived, to row in procession to St Helens, attended by bands of music, and there to return Lord Howe public thanks for his services, and for his conciliatory behaviour while conducting this delicate business to a satisfactory result. On Sunday, at mid-day, we are told, Lord Howe went on shore in the port-admiral's barge, having entirely succeeded in effecting the wishes of Government. He was received by Sir P. Parker and an immense multitude with heartfelt applause and satisfaction. On the Parade he was met by Lady Howe, Sir W. and Lady Pitt, with several officers of the garrison, and the whole party passed on to the governor's house. At the door, Joyce, one of the principal delegates, approached Lord Howe, and requested to know at what hour the next morning he would be pleased to embark? His lordship replied their time should be his; and seven o'clock was fixed, as the tide would serve at that hour. Joyce, next turning to Lady Howe, begged to know whether she would honour them with her company, assuring her ladyship of perfect safety and freedom from apprehension. She replied, nothing would give her greater

pleasure than to accede to their request, which she did with the utmost confidence and satisfaction. Lord Howe invited Joyce into the governor's house, to drink a glass of wine, which invitation was readily accepted, "with a manly freedom, unaccompanied by the least particle of familiarity or rudeness." This seaman, whose politeness made a most favourable impression upon the writers of the day, had been a tobacconist at Belfast, where he was shipped on board a tender, with many others, by the order of Lord Carhampton, under an accusation, true or false, of treasonable conduct and seditious harangues. A brother delegate was a man named Evans, formerly an attorney, who had been struck off the rolls, on account it would appear, of various malpractices among his Wapping clients. Joyce and Evans were now heroes—among the crews of the fleet, at all events, where Belfast treason and knavish tricks at Wapping were of no account, if, indeed, they had ever been heard of. And as their names were rumoured abroad, everybody in Belfast would, doubtless, be proud of the name of Joyce; and all Wapping, except, perhaps, one or two unforgiving clients, would chuckle over the honours which Evans had attained as a prime leader of the grand mutiny, which had terrified the nation, cowed the Government, and compelled the king to pardon him and his

companions in the magnificent row, while, at the same time, he had helped to get the sailor's leave to pay more frequent visits to Wapping, and other such places of resort, with a little more money to spend.

The king's pardon arrived on Sunday evening. It read as follows :

"By the Commissioners for Executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, etc.

"Whereas his Majesty has been most graciously pleased to issue his royal proclamation, dated the 11th instant, and thereby to declare that all such seamen and marines on board any ships of the fleet who may have been guilty of any act of mutiny, or disobedience of orders, or neglect of duty, and who have returned, or shall, upon notification of such his Majesty's proclamation, return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, shall be discharged and released from all prosecutions, imprisonments, and penalties incurred by reason of any act of mutiny or disobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty previously committed by them or any of them.

"And whereas it is our intention, that on no occasion hereafter the minds of the seamen and marines to whom the benefit of the said proclamation has been extended, shall be disquieted by any reproof or re-

proach in respect of all or any such acts of mutiny, disobedience of orders, or breach or neglect of duty as before mentioned, but that a total oblivion of such offences should, as far as possible, obtain in consequence thereof: we have therefore thought fit, by these our orders, to signify such meaning and intention to the several flag-officers, captains, and commanders, and all the subordinate officers in the fleet; and they are hereby required and directed to conform to these our orders and intentions accordingly.

"Given under our hands the 14th day of May 1797.

"SPENCER.

"GAMBIER.

"YOUNG.

"To the several Flag-officers, Captains, and Commanders, of his Majesty's Fleet.

"By command of their Lordships,  
"MARSDEN."

Early on Monday morning the delegates landed at Sallyport, and marched up to the governor's with a band of music, playing alternately, "God save the King," and "Rule Britannia." They were instantly invited into the house, where they partook of refreshment, and appeared publicly in the balcony. In about an hour the boats were manned to receive Earl Howe; and at eight, his lordship, accompanied by Sir William Pitt, General Cayler, with their aides-de-camp, preceded by the ship and ma-

rine bands of music, embarked at the Sally-port, where they were received by all the boats' crews with three cheers, and

left the shore under a salute of ordnance from the platform.

The following was the order of the procession :

1st boat.—A union-jack at the fore, with a band of music.

2d.—The Royal William's barge, with Earl Howe.

3d.—The governor, lieutenant-governor, and their aides-de-camp.

4th.—Lady Howe, Lady Pitt, and other ladies.

5th.—The marine band of music.

On each side, a-head, a line of the ships' boats, the crews arrayed in their dress clothes.

When they arrived at St Helens, Lord Howe visited all the ships, and received such cordial thanks as grateful sailors know how to feel, whatever may be said of their mode of expressing them sometimes, for the services he had rendered them and the country by his timely and efficacious interference. On his return, he went on board the Prince, the flagship of Sir Roger Curtis' squadron. Some considered this a rather dangerous visit. Mischief was apprehended by many; but his lordship's confidence was justified by the result. He was received with the utmost respect, and a guard of honour attended him, while haste was made to display the union-jack and standard under a royal salute, as a signal that perfect order and obedience were restored.

At six o'clock in the evening Lord Howe landed at the Sally-port, amidst the acclamation of the largest concourse ever previously assembled at Portsmouth. The enthusiasm of the sailors exceeded all bounds—the venerable admiral, who was infirm under a weight of years and

honours, was carried on the shoulders of the delegates to the Government House, where he and his lady entertained them at dinner. This mission of peace was the last commission Lord Howe received from his king and country. It was a noble termination to a career which had been rendered brilliant by the glorious exploits of successful warfare. The still small voice of peace, by which he spoke in the feeble tones of an old man with a shattered constitution, was more worthy of his nature as a brotherly man, than ever was that dread word which set the death-dealing cannons at his command abelching destruction, and roaring with infernal fury over the dead and dying victims of their diabolical *feu d'enfer*.

Earl Howe did not long survive his peaceful triumph at Spithead. He had long been in feeble health, and the excitement caused by the mutiny, followed by the exertions he had to make for its suppression, while he was infirm and an invalid, no doubt hastened the already advanced decay of

nature. He died in August 1799.

The fleet put to sea with renewed alacrity, vigour, and good feeling on the 17th of May.

The conclusion of this account of the mutiny at Spithead shall be in the words of Mr Johnson Neale, to whom the indebtedness of the present editor has been, all throughout the story, freely acknowledged. He says: To this desirable, because just, termination arrived the mutiny at Spithead; and the fears it had excited at home were now to be transferred with redoubled zeal and courage to the legitimate enemies of the British empire. But no one who has attentively read the account of the proceedings, can fail to see how lasting and indelible is the blot this crisis leaves on the fame of the Prime Minister of the day, both as an upright and a great statesman. As it is notorious that Mr Pitt was the alpha and omega of his cabinet, there can be little injustice in holding him responsible for the deeds which his subordinates in form propounded: and if not, the greater then the treason his, if a master-spirit like his, at such a crisis, could trust to less able hands the imperilled helm. Either the seamen's demands were just or unjust. If the former, they deserved instant acquiescence; if the latter, refusal and punishment. Instead of this simple alternative, behold the childish

and timorous, nay even criminal behaviour of the Government, at a crisis of such awful magnitude to the country, and to the service itself. The indecision with which the remonstrances were first of all treated—then the weakness with which all demands were granted piecemeal, not because of their intrinsic justice, but from apprehensions of fatal disaster, if refused; the bartering, huckstering, and tampering system employed to quiet the commotion in the fleet, could not fail in shaking discipline to its centre, although the temporary expedient might be crowned with success. No disposition was evinced to meet the sailors upon fair and honourable grounds. No discussion of the justice or impertinence of their claims was provoked, but every concession was extorted by terror, when nothing should have been granted except upon the broad and intelligible grounds of reason, benefit, and right. But the *Mutiny at Spithead* was only the cloud, the size of a man's hand, compared with the tremendous storm which was about to blacken the horizon; and if we have hitherto found cause to blame the executive for dishonest folly, and to praise the seamen for moderation and forbearance, the subsequent pages of this history will perhaps raise the question, which party was entitled to this relative position, or if, upon the whole transaction, it can fairly be allowed to either.



# THE MUTINY AT THE NORE.



## CHAPTER I.

### INSIDE THE WOODEN WALLS OF ENGLAND.

IT may be as well, before proceeding to recapitulate the tragic story of the mutiny at the Nore, to try and realise the actual condition of British sailors during the latter half of last century. At the beginning of our account of the mutiny at Spithead, their grievances were pretty fully enumerated, as these had been brought within bird's-eye glance by Mr Johnson Neale. A very different, and in many respects more reliable, authority will now be quoted, who will not so much give an account of the disreputable treatment to which the gallant defenders of the British empire were exposed, as introduce us to the actors, and take us round behind the scenes. Tobias Smollett, novelist, poet, and historian—the first Scotchman who attained world-wide fame as a novelist—was appointed surgeon's mate on board a ship of the line in 1741. In 1748, he gave, under a very thin veil of fiction, an account of his experiences and observations in his immortal novel, "Roderick Random;" and there they are on record, still to be read, from the twenty-fourth chapter onwards. He tells the gloomy story over again, and with historical accuracy, in his "Compendium of Voyages and Travels," which he published in 1756. But the colouring of the earlier account is necessary for those who live a century later, if they are to be presented with a vivid idea of the ills and woes to which the men who adorned the most effective branch of the public service were abandoned by a vain-glorious, ignorant people, pampered by a haughty, selfish, unpatriotic Government, whose sole aim seems to have been to pamper the whims and flatter the vicious obstinacy of a stolid, superstitious, and, perhaps, childish king. Colourless narratives are a suppression of history. In both his accounts, Smollett wrote that which he did know, and testified what he had seen; and it is only when

a writer of his abilities, freedom, and opportunities, comes forward and bears truthful witness, that any reliable insight is obtained into such iniquities as were practised on the seamen, afloat during the great naval wars of the eighteenth century. Fifty years, no doubt, had elapsed since the publication of Smollett's well-deserved castigation of naval oppression; the effect had been partially forgotten; it was the interest, not only of the officers of all grades in the navy, of Government, of the mercantile classes—especially those who made haste to be rich by wronging the helpless victims cooped up inside the wooden walls of England, and of the irrepressible tax-payer, to whatsoever rank of society he belonged, to deny the faithfulness and truth to fact of his pictures; so that few of those who blamed the unfortunate seamen who mutinied at the Nore in 1797, could have believed that they suffered under aggressions and oppressions little less outrageous than those which are depicted in "*Roderick Random*" as occurring in 1741.

The first tableau presents to view the tender mercies of the press-gang, an exhibition of very frequent occurrence in those days. "*As I crossed Tower Wharf,*" *Roderick Random* says, "*a squat, tawny fellow, with a hanger by his side and a cudgel in his hand, came up to me, calling 'Yo ho! brother, you must come along with me.'*" *As I did not like his appearance,*

*instead of answering his salutation,* I quickened my pace, in hope of ridding myself of his company: upon which he whistled aloud, and immediately another sailor appeared before me, who laid hold of me by the collar, and began to drag me along. Not being in a humour to relish such treatment, I disengaged myself of the assailant, and, with one blow of my cudgel, laid him motionless on the ground; and perceiving myself surrounded in a trice by ten or a dozen more, exerted myself with such dexterity and success, that some of my opponents were fain to attack me with drawn cutlasses; and after an obstinate engagement, in which I received a large wound on my head, and another on my left cheek, I was disarmed, taken prisoner, and carried on board a pressing tender, where, after being pinioned like a malefactor, I was thrust down into the hold among a parcel of miserable wretches, the sight of whom well nigh distracted me. As the commanding officer had not humanity enough to order my wounds to be dressed, and I could not use my own hands, I desired one of my fellow captives who was unfettered, to take a handkerchief out of my pocket, and tie it round my head, to stop the bleeding. He pulled out my handkerchief, 'tis true, but instead of applying it to the use for which I designed it, went to the grating of the hatchway,

and, with astonishing composure, sold it before my face to a bumboat woman then on board, for a quart of gin, with which he treated his companions, regardless of my circumstances and entreaties.

"I complained bitterly of this robbery to the midshipman on deck, telling him at the same time, that unless my hurts were dressed, I should bleed to death. But compassion was a weakness of which no man could justly accuse this person, who, squirting a mouthful of dissolved tobacco upon me through the gratings, told me 'I was a mutinous dog, and that I might die for anything he cared!' Finding there was no other remedy, I appealed to patience, and laid up this usage in my memory, to be called at a more fitting opportunity. In the meantime, loss of blood, vexation, and want of food, contributed, with the noisome stench of the place, to throw me into a swoon, out of which I was recovered by a tweak of the nose, administered by the tar who stood sentinel over us, who at the same time regaled me with a draught of flip, and comforted me with the hopes of being put on board of the *Thunder* next day, where I should be freed of my handcuffs, and cured of my wounds by the doctor." Next day, Roderick, with other pressed men, was put on board of the *Thunder* lying at the Nore—ominous selection of a station

by a literary artist! The hero of the story shows another of those scenes, which proved for a generation and more the very reverse of dissolving views. "When we came alongside," he tells his readers, "the mate, who guarded us thither, ordered my handcuffs to be taken off, that I might get on board the easier; this circumstance being perceived by some of the company who stood upon the gang-boards to see us enter, one of them called to Jack Rattlin, who was busied in doing this friendly office for me, 'Hey, Jack, what Newgate galley have you boarded in the river as you came along? Have we not thieves enow among us already?' Another, observing my wounds, which remained exposed to the air, told me, my seams were uncaulked, and that I must be new payed. A third, seeing my hair clotted together with blood, as it were into distant cords, took notice, that my bows were manned with the red ropes, instead of my side. A fourth asked me, if I could not keep my yards square without iron braces? And, in short, a thousand witticisms of the same nature were passed upon me before I could get up the ship's side. After we had been all entered upon the ship's books, I inquired of one of my ship-mates where the surgeon was, that I might have my wounds dressed, and had actually got as far as the middle deck (for our ship carried eighty guns) in my

way to the cockpit, when I was met by the same midshipman who had used me so barbarously in the tender : he, seeing me free from my chains, asked, with an insolent air, who had released me? To this question I foolishly answered, with a countenance that too plainly declared the state of my thoughts, 'Whoever did it, I am persuaded did not consult you in the affair.' I had no sooner uttered these words, than he cried (after swearing at Roderick, and using abusive language), 'I'll teach you to talk so to your officer.' So saying, he bestowed on me several severe stripes, with a supple jack he had in his hand; and, going to the commanding officer, made such a report of me that I was immediately put in irons by the master-at-arms, and a sentinel placed over me." There were gentlemen among the officers whose souls revolted when they were compelled to become aware of the conduct of such brutes as this midshipman. It is pleasant to be told of one of them as follows : "The master-at-arms came to the place of my confinement, and bade me follow him to the quarter-deck, where I was examined by the first lieutenant, who commanded the ship in the absence of the captain, touching the treatment I had received in the tender from my friend the midshipman, who was present to confront me. I recounted the particulars of his behaviour to me, not only

in the tender, but since my being on board the ship, part of which being proved by the evidence of Jack Rattlin and others, who had no great devotion for my oppressor, I was discharged from confinement, to make way for him, who was delivered to the master-at-arms to take his turn in the bilboes. And this was not the only satisfaction I enjoyed, for I was, at the request of the surgeon, exempted from all other duty than that of assisting his mates, in making and administering medicines to the sick." In fulfilment of his new duties, or rather the duties of the profession to which he had been trained—for Smollett paints his own portrait when he depicts Roderick Random as a physician and surgeon—he "descended by divers ladders into a space as dark as a dungeon, which, I understood, was immersed several feet under water, being immediately above the hold. I had no sooner approached this dismal gulph, than my nose was saluted with an intolerable stench of putrified cheese and rancid butter, that issued from an apartment at the foot of the ladder, resembling a chandler's shop, where, by the faint glimmering of a candle, I could perceive a man, with a pale, meagre countenance, sitting behind a kind of desk, having spectacles on his nose, and a pen in his hand. This (I learned of Mr Thomson) was the ship's steward, who sat there

to distribute provision to the several messes, and to mark what each received." The following incident informs us regarding the food thought fit for educated gentlemen of the medical profession—navy doctors of the time. "We heard," writes the pictorial autobiographer, "the boatswain pipe to dinner; and immediately the boy belonging to our mess ran to the locker, from whence he carried off a large wooden platter, and, in a few minutes, returned with it full of boiled peas, crying 'Scaldings' all the way as he came. The cloth, consisting of a piece of an old sail, was instantly laid, covered with three plates, which by the colour I could with difficulty discern to be metal, and as many spoons of the same composition, two of which were curtailed in the handles, and the other abridged in the lip. Mr Morgan himself enriched this mess with a lump of salt butter, scooped from an old gallipot, and a handful of onions shorn, with some pounded pepper. I was not very much tempted with the appearance of this dish, of which, nevertheless, my messmates ate heartily, advising me to follow their example, as it was banyan day, and we could have no meat till next noon. But I had already laid in sufficient for the occasion, and therefore desired to be excused: expressing a curiosity to know the meaning of banyan day. They told me, that, on

Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, the ship's company had no allowance of meat, and that these meagre days were called banyan days, the reason of which they did not know; but I have since learned they take their denomination from a sect of devotees in some parts of the East Indies, who never taste flesh." One more tableau will tell its own story: "In the morning after the captain came on board, our first mate, according to custom, went to wait on him with a sick list, which, when this grim commander had perused, he cried with a stern countenance, 'Blood and oons! sixty-one sick people on board of my ship! Harkee, you sir, I'll have no sick in my ship.' The Welshman replied, 'he should be very glad to find no sick people on board; but, while it was otherwise, he did no more than his duty in presenting him with a list.' 'You and your list——' said the captain, throwing it at him with an oath; 'I say, there shall be no sick in this ship while I have the command of her.' Mr Morgan" ("the Welshman," first surgeon's mate) "being nettled at this treatment, told him his indignation ought to be directed to Cot Almighty, who visited his people with distempers, and not to him, who contributed all in his power towards their cure. The bashaw, not being used to such behaviour in any of his officers, was enraged to fury at this satirical insinuation, and,

stamping with his foot, called him insolentscoundrel, threatening to have him pinioned to the deck, if he should presume to utter another syllable."

"The good-natured Welshman was soothed down by the second surgeon's mate, and was not pinioned to the deck; but, shortly afterwards, he received a message from the surgeon, to bring the sick-list to the quarter-deck, for the captain had ordered all the patients thither to be reviewed. This inhuman order shocked us extremely, as we knew it would be impossible to carry some of them on deck without imminent danger of their lives; but, as we likewise knew, it would be to no purpose to remonstrate against it, we repaired to the quarter-deck in a body, to see this extraordinary muster, Morgan observing by the way, that the captain was going to send to the other world a great many evidences to testify against himself. When we appeared upon deck, the captain bade the doctor, who stood bowing at his right hand, look at these lazy lubberly sons of bitches, who were good for nothing on board but to eat the king's provisions, and encourage idleness in the skulkers. The surgeon grinned approbation, and, taking the list, began to examine the complaints of each as they could crawl to the place appointed. The first who came under his cognisance was a poor fellow just freed of a fever, which had weakened him so

much that he could hardly stand. Mr Mackshane (for that was the doctor's name) having felt his pulse, protested he was as well as any man in the world, and the captain delivered him over to the boatswain's mate, with orders that he should receive a round dozen at the gangway immediately, for counterfeiting himself sick; but, before the discipline could be executed, the man dropped down on the deck, and had well nigh perished under the hands of the executioner. The next patient to be considered, laboured under a quartan ague, and, being then in his interval of health, discovered no other symptoms of distemper than a pale meagre countenance and emaciated body; upon which he was declared fit for duty, and turned over to the boatswain; but, being resolved to disgrace the doctor, died upon the fore-castle next day, during his cold fit. The third complained of a pleuritic stitch and spitting of blood, for which Doctor Mackshane prescribed exercise at the pump to promote expectoration; but whether this was improper for one in his situation, or that it was used to excess, I know not, but in less than half-an-hour, he was suffocated with a deluge of blood that issued from his lungs. A fourth, with much difficulty, climbed to the quarter-deck, being loaded with a monstrous ascites, or dropsy, that invaded his chest so much, he could scarce fetch his breath;

but his disease being interpreted into fat, occasioned by idleness and excess of eating, he was ordered, with a view to promote perspiration and enlarge his chest, to go aloft immediately. It was in vain for this unwieldy wretch to allege his utter incapacity; the boatswain's driver was commanded to whip him up with the cat-and-nine-tails; the smart of this application made him exert himself so much, that he actually arrived at the futtock shrouds; but when the enormous weight of his body had nothing else to support it than his weakened arms, either out of spite or necessity, he quitted his hold, and plumped into the sea, where he must have been drowned, had not a sailor, who was in a boat alongside, saved his life, by keeping

him afloat, till he was hoisted on board by a tackle."

The heart sickens at reading such horrors; and there are things more abominable put on record by Smollett, especially in the twenty-fifth chapter of "Roderick Random," with which these pages must not be polluted, but which unveil the reeking, stewing, noisome *Inferno*, to which the bold, brave, and reckless, yet generous, sons of the ocean were assigned during their weary weeks of sickness and disease. Let what has been given suffice. Nor let the evidence adduced be undervalued. The details given, if not just to the letter, are true in a higher sense. They are truer than the naked truth. They are truth idealised—that is, in them truth is rendered articulate and expressive.

## CHAPTER II.

### CAUSES OF DISCONTENT.

THE account given, in our narrative of the mutiny at Spithead, of the manner in which the royal navy was manned, is true of all the divisions of the fleet. At the various stations there were booty of the press-gang; broken lawyers, and broken clergymen too; bankrupts, spendthrifts, clerks, whose unsteady hands and habits disqualified them from keeping

books and writing business notes, *et hoc genus omne*. It is more than was to be expected that such brethren should not be ambitious to gain some such glory as was shed on Joyce, Evans, and the other triumphant delegates at Spithead. The power and pluck displayed by the latter, the ready acquiescence of the nation in their demands, and a certain envy

natural to such men of the pre-eminence acquired in the fleet by the division at Portsmouth, because of their having fought and won the battle for the rights of all crews in the entire navy. These, and many other such considerations, were more than sufficient to create disturbance and agitation at the other stations, and to goad on to active mischief those feelings of restlessness and discontent which toilsome service in a long and trying war inevitably engenders. As might have been looked for, symptoms of mutiny showed themselves at intervals on various stations; but they were soothed out of sight by a timely admixture of reason and firmness.

There was, for some time, an apparent growing disaffection in the division of the fleet stationed at Sheerness, on the estuary of the Thames. Mutiny broke out there on that critical Sunday, May 10, when Admiral Bridport, hearing that the French fleet was ready to leave the harbour at Brest, ordered his ships to sail from Spithead, but dared not enforce his orders on two or three recalcitrant men-of-war. At first it was confidently—with the foolish confidence of selfishness, ignorance of the actual state of matters, and the supineness which results from such a state of heartlessness and vacuity—it was confidently expected that this so thought, insignificant rising, would be effectually

extinguished, whenever the mutineers were informed of the result of the transactions at Spithead, which had terminated in a full and complete acquisition of all that had been claimed. The day during which such hopes could be realised was past.

It was on board the *Inflexible*, 74 guns, which was lying in the Medway, that the first symptoms of mutiny were discovered, and were suppressed by the conciliatory conduct of the officers. The crew of the *Sandwich* broke out into open mutiny on that 10th of May already referred to. Mr John-son Neale notes here as a singular coincidence, the fact that both this mutiny and that at Spithead broke out on board ships distinguished for having borne the flags of two of Great Britain's most celebrated admirals—the latter, on board the *Queen Charlotte*, Earl Howe's flagship, on that 1st of June which crowned him with glory; the mutiny of the *Nore*, on board the *Sandwich*, Lord Rodney's flagship at the taking of St Eustatius, where her flag-captain, and captain of the fleet, Captain Walker Young, lost his life.

When mutiny broke out on board the *Sandwich*, she was flying the flag of Admiral Buckner. It showed its horrid front when orders were given to clear the hawse preparatory to unmooring for sea. Then the crew gave that sign of mutiny with which those who have read



the story of 'Spithead' are familiar. They mounted the rigging, gave three cheers, as a signal that they refused to obey their officers, and were now the controllers of their own lot, and also of that of their superiors.

Having taken this decisive step, the crew held a council and appointed delegates; the latter ordered Mr Justice, the first lieutenant, as well as another officer of the same rank, and two masters' mates, to quit the ship for the shore. These orders being complied with, the delegates next proceeded to the man-of-war lying next to the Sandwich, and having called all hands, and requested them to point out the most obnoxious officers in command, these immediately received orders to land. Delegates were then appointed throughout the fleet, and the crews remained possessed of the authority on board every man-of-war on the station. Among the officers thus dismissed from their post, were the first, second, and third lieutenants, with the master and surgeon of the *Inflexible*, together with the master and boatswain of the frigate *Asturia*, and a lieutenant and master from the *L'Espion*, together with numerous others against whom similar objections were entertained by the seamen.

It is not to be wondered at that one of the first steps taken by these and the other mutineers of that dark year 1797, was to send some of the officers

ashore. Senseless, heartless, tyrannical, and cruel, these *gentlemen* were the curse of the naval service. The Articles of War, written in blood, by which the discipline of the navy was regulated, were odiously severe in their penalties, and were administered by the officers. The only court known to naval law by which wrongs could be redressed, and injuries punished, was a court-martial. Under the blood-thirsty enactments of the Articles of War, these courts-martial were composed exclusively of admirals and captains, and if the accused was of this rank, there naturally arose a prejudice of the court in his favour. On the contrary, if the party complaining was beneath this rank, there naturally arose a prejudice of the court against him. The whisper of justice was never listened for in such a court of law, any more than in the tortuous avenues which led to it. The man who had to complain of a superior had often to transmit his demand for redress through the hands of the very superior who had wronged him. But there was a darker grievance still which rendered unworthy officers hatefully obnoxious to the crews. When by a rare and extraordinary effort of justice, one of the privileged and pampered minions of heartless tyranny was cashiered as a culprit from the rank he dishonoured and disgraced, the convict retired for a time. But some Parliamentary or other in-

fluence was always ready to be made with a corrupt minister ; and after a temporary secession and most inadequate punishment, he was restored to that honourable post which he had so infamously abused, and in which he was again placed to enjoy the opportunities of torturing one of the most valuable, best-disposed, and ill-requited classes in the kingdom, to goad forward courageous men to acts of mutiny, treason, and disgraceful death—and to place the empire of Great Britain in a state of peril.

In addition to the strong discontent excited by the tyranny of certain officers, the difficulty of bringing them to punishment, and the forced return of those officers into command, after that punishment had been tardily pronounced, another fertile cause of complaint, originating from the same spirit of favouritism, had long been existing in the service. This was the unequal distribution of prize-money ; and that it may not be supposed that either the one cause of complaint or the other is overrated, our trusty authority gives a few notorious instances of the abuses of power to which allusion has been made.

A captain, in the spirit of uncurbed authority, the natural result of the odious system of the navy, had thought fit to turn one of his crew on shore on an uninhabited island. In all human probability and reasoning this was an act condemning

the unfortunate wretch to one of the most slow and cruel deaths which it is possible for the mind of man to conceive—either a death by want and destitution, or by the claws of any savage animal of the spot, that might make the unhappy being its food. Had the deserted man died, there can be no doubt that the laws of England would have treated and executed the captain as a murderer. Will future times then believe, that this officer, after being dismissed the service, was reinstated in that rank which he had turned to such a purpose ? Yet such a reinstatement did take place.

A captain and a first lieutenant were broken for cruelty, the captain in ordering and the first lieutenant in executing outrageous punishment on the scamen. Both these officers, to the disgrace of the minister, were restored to their rank ; the first lieutenant was employed again ; and it is unnecessary to add, that, unreformed by experience and punishment, his habits and conduct were as tyrannical and unjust as ever. Two officers, a captain and a master, tried each other by a court-martial, for various causes ; by the sentence of the court both were dismissed from the service. The captain in the course of the day was reinstated in his rank, but on the master repairing on shore, he found a pressgang waiting to receive him, and impress him as a seaman before the mast of

that ship in which he had lately served as an officer ; from this outrage he was only protected by a timely warning of the intended violence, and the consequent production of his appointment as a captain of a merchant vessel with which he had fortunately provided himself.

A captain of a man-of-war, being incensed with his crew for not reefing topsails within the exact moment which his impatience desired, ordered down from the yards the whole of a set of topmen, and flogged them every one by lantern-light—it happening to be night when the reckless passions of this despot were thus allowed to find free vent, and not even the few hours till the usual time of punishment, the next forenoon, were allowed to intervene !

Yet these are but a few out of numerous other instances which

speak for the manner in which naval officers could be tempted with impunity to outrage their authority, and the way in which such outrages were countenanced and encouraged by the ministers under whom they served. With regard to the other portion of complaint in the fleet, it will perhaps suffice to show what cause the seamen had for being dissatisfied, if we instance the distribution of the Parliamentary grant of money with which the battle of Navarino was rewarded, in more modern and, therefore, we may suppose, more reformed times of the navy : and which was ordered to be distributed in the usual proportions of prize-money—namely, as follows :

To the admiral	
commanding,	£7800 0 0
To the able sea-	
man, . . .	0 19 0

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE FIRST MANIFESTO.

It was ten days after the flagrant outbreak of the mutiny on board the Sandwich that the mutineers at the Nore published their first manifesto—that is, it was on the 20th of May, five days after the mutiny was quelled at Spithead, the 15th having seen the termination of that business in the landing of the joyous and leal-hearted deputies

at Portsmouth. This manifesto read as follows :

“Article 1. That every indulgence granted to the fleet at Portsmouth, be granted to his Majesty’s subjects serving in the fleet at the Nore, and places adjacent.

“2. That every man, upon a ship’s coming into harbour, shall have liberty (a certain number

at a time, so as not to injure the ship's duty) to go and see their friends and families; a convenient time to be allowed to each man.

"3. That all ships, before they go to sea, shall be paid all arrears of wages down to six months, according to the old rules.

"4. That no officer that has been turned out of any of his Majesty's ships shall be employed in the same ship again, without consent of the ship's company.

"5. That when any of his Majesty's ships shall be paid, that may have been some time in commission, if there are any pressed men on board, that may not be in the regular course of payment, they shall receive two months' advance to furnish them with necessaries.

"6. That an indemnification be made any men who have run, and may now be in his Majesty's naval service, and that they shall not be liable to be taken up as deserters.

"7. That a more equal distribution be made of prize-money to the crews of his Majesty's ships and vessels of war.

"8. That the Articles of War, as now enforced, require various alterations, several of which to be expunged therefrom; and if more moderate ones were held forth to seamen in general, it would be the means of taking off that terror and prejudice against his Majesty's service, on that account too frequently im-

bibed by seamen from entering voluntarily into the service.

"The Committee of Delegates of the whole Fleet assembled in council on board his Majesty's ship *Sandwich*, have unanimously agreed that they will not deliver up their charge until the appearance of some of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to ratify the same.

"Given on board his Majesty's ship *Sandwich*, by the Delegates of the Fleet, 20th May 1797."

The fleet at the Nore, by the delegates on board which the foregoing articles of demand were signed, was composed of the following vessels of war—*Sandwich*, *Montagu*, *Director*, *Inflexible*, *Belliqueux*, *Standard*, *Lion*, *Nassau*, *Repulse*, *Monmouth*, *Isis*, *Tisiphone*, *Swan*, *Inspector*, *Grampus*, *Proserpine*, *Brilliant*, *Champion*, *Comet*, and *Pylades*.

These articles should be considered carefully by any student of history who wishes to know the spirit these fresh mutineers were of, and to feel what weight of wisdom regulated their counsellors, and swayed their councils. The first article was superfluous. The indulgence conceded to the fleet at Portsmouth was granted to the entire navy of Great Britain; and a direct message had at once been sent by the delegates at Spithead to the Nore to this effect, sent by some of their own number, who sailed round to deliver it. This

first article, therefore, exercises a depressing influence on the mind of one who looks at it in the light of the subsequent tragedy. Were the mutineers at the Nore wilfully ignorant of facts? Were they wantonly reckless of the consequences of ignoring what they knew when engaged in so grave a struggle as was their controversy with the dreadful power of Government, so obstinately upheld by its supporters as Mr Pitt's administration was? Or did they foolishly think that the number of the articles which set forth their grievances would add to their force? It is always quite the reverse. Besides, they, in thus claiming what had already been conceded, fell from the promise made by their brethren at Spithead, to the effect that no further grievances should be listened to after their first demand, in order, as they said, that the country might see that they knew when to pause as well as when to ask. The result on the public mind, which is always most influenced by the first blush of calamity, in this case it was the first article of the manifesto of the Nore mutineers. It was apprehensively asked by the public, When are these demands to cease? This question obviously does not cast a glance in the direction of justice and equity, but it is a fair representative of the *vox populi* in all similar circumstances.

The second article stipulates,

that on the arrival of men-of-war's men in the harbour, they should obtain leave of absence to visit their friends and families whenever the convenience of the service would allow of such an indulgence. This claim was based on a crucial grievance, the infliction of which was a crying sin.

The period for which a man-of-war was, by general custom of the navy, originally commissioned was three years; by mutual consent, this term was often extended into four, and a great latitude was afterwards certainly taken by the Government in converting the three stipulated years into six; but what were the facts of the case in the long war during which this mutiny arose? The seaman entered the navy for three years; from that period his own will was as completely forfeited as if he had been sold into bondage. He was drafted from ship to ship, and from station to station; every representation he might make for a discharge was treated as an act of the greatest contumacy, even after ten, eleven, and twelve years had elapsed since his entry. It would not, indeed, be difficult to produce instances in which one ship was in commission thirteen years, and when on the point of returning from a distant and unhealthy climate, all her best hands were drafted out of her into other ships, whose term of service was only commencing, while the original vessel was

carried home by a comparatively invalided crew.

The interest of the public service was the standing plea for this scandalous breach of faith, perpetrated by all the power of Great Britain against the long-suffering and proverbially jolly crews of her navy. By a brutalising of barbarity, the more valuable a seaman became, from his knowledge and experience, the more hopeless was the probability that any captain would spare him from the service or his ship—the more distant the scene of that transportation to which he had been condemned for no fault but devotion to his country, the greater were the obstacles thrown in the way of his return! Were their oppressors afraid that a few days' residence on their native soil would restore them any share of that freedom which, by some monstrous anomaly in our boasted constitution, every Englishman appears to have lost from the moment that he consented to serve the State upon the sea? In many instances vessels came into port, and divisions of the fleet anchored in harbour, and their commanders knew quite well that weeks or months must elapse before they would have to put to sea again. What inconvenience could possibly have arisen if relays of men from these vessels had been allowed to taste the "sweets of home?" Three or four days might have been granted to each relay, and

thus the just ground of complaint, on which this second article rested, would have been removed. As matters were conducted by the wisdom of his Majesty, his Majesty's Privy Councillors, and the Board of Admiralty, when seamen entered any port, they saw all the joys of shore tantalisingly near, and at the same time provokingly beyond their reach. At longest they were only allowed to partake of them for a few hours at a time, and that at rare intervals, when their buoyant spirits were misguided by the whims of uncontrolled passion and appetite, which hurried them into conduct that, had it not been explicable by the rigidity of their usual confinement, would otherwise have been most humanely attributable to insanity. The wages of years of privation and suffering were squandered in the madness and debauchery of a few hours; leave was exaggerated into the grossest licence; and that which should have proved a relaxation of the mind, as well as of the person, was converted into an opportunity of destroying the health of both.

To those whose families lived at a distance from the seaports, this system was virtually as complete a sentence of excommunication from all further intercourse, as any exile of Siberia could sustain; while to those relatives who possessed money enough to visit their connections on board the fleet, nothing

but the contamination of a man-of-war's lower deck was open.

Further remarks on this second article of the manifesto is unnecessary, unless it be the obvious one that the experience of the happier and more reasonable times, for which these mutinies prepared the way, exposes the folly on which the grim wisdom of our fathers batten, waxed fat, and kicked. It may also be added that even at the time of the mutinies at Spithead and the Nore, some commanders were far enough in advance of their day to see the prudence of acting towards their men in the spirit of the demands made in the article under consideration.

The third article, claiming that ships before they go to sea shall be paid arrears of wages down to six months, according to the old rules, is of the same supererogatory and unsatisfactory nature as the first, and may be passed over without further remark.

The fourth, that no officer once discharged for misconduct should be forced back on his old crew, was one of vast significance. The seamen have suffered unheard-of cruelties from the return of tyrants whose infamous conduct had occasioned their dismissal from the service. The captain of a man-of-war was at that time, and still is, as despotic a sovereign as ever the sunny, sultry, lazy climes of the East engendered. And how few ordinary mortals could

withstand the contamination of despotic power in their own hands, while they were cheered, almost hounded, on to make a merciless use of it by those who had conferred this power upon them? If criminality should be charged less against culprits than against the system which corrupts them, what is to be said of the naval administration of this country during those weary years of a reign of terror over the crews of our unconquered fleet? The seamen had deep and desperate cause for their complaint in this article—number four.

Number five, demanding that pressed men, not in the regular course of payment, should receive two months' pay in advance, to furnish them with necessaries, referred to a wrong which had always intensified the iniquity of the press-gang system. Smollett drops one or two remarks which illustrate the working of this oppression. Roderick Random, speaking of the irritable, good-natured Morgan, says, "Perceiving how much I was reduced in point of linen, he made me a present of two good ruffled shirts, which, with two more of check which I received from Mr Thomson, enabled me to appear with decency." Of Mr Thomson, again, he says, "Before he left the ship he made me a present of a chest and some clothes." Roderick was a lucky pressed man. He was an officer and an educated gentleman. But

what of the nameless, noteless thousands, emptied from the jails, or pressed on the wharves, streets, and highways into the lowest drudgery of the service, whose lives were held cheapest when danger was at its worst? The Morgans and Thomsons knew nothing of them, and, had they met them, would have thought their ruffle and check shirts, as well as other under and over clothes, something far too good for such waifs, such chaff before the wind; while their comrades had not a rag to spare.

As the grievance implied in this article was a monstrosity, to the hideous nature of which time had gradually accustomed the sufferers, it might fairly be supposed that the most strenuous supporters of impressment would admit the propriety of the sailors' modest and simple request.

That any man, suddenly taken from other ties and occupations, should be dragged on board a ship to risk his life, limbs, and liberty, without a moment's notice, is sufficiently revolting; but public feeling must have reached the last and most degrading pitch of selfishness, when any doubt could be entertained that such outraged beings were entitled to an advance of pay to equip themselves with a few necessaries: a more moderate or more just demand than this article was never yet put forth by any set of men, however slightly wronged they might be.

The sixth article is feeble, and also superfluous. The descent which mutineers make when they put in a serious plea for deserters who had returned or been brought back to their posts, is almost ridiculous; it is, at least, ludicrous.

The last few lines of the previous chapter of this story of the mutiny at the Nore are the best comment that can be made on the seventh, in which a more equal distribution of prize-money is demanded.

Article eight, containing the last demand made by the mutineers at the Nore in their first manifesto, in its immense scope, embraces more or less every demand that precedes it. We here find the seamen of a large fleet, who had never before been known to complain in direct terms of the cruelty of their punishments, proclaiming to the world the severity of the system to be such, as not only to distress and irritate the immediate sufferers, but to spread a terror of its working throughout the only class by which the naval service of the empire was to be supplied. That the system did really produce the terror attributed to it in this article no one can doubt, since the British fleets were manned by the aid of press-gangs, the ill-fated victims of which were torn from every tie at home, to meet with privation, suffering, and injustice abroad.

Overlooking, then, the first, third, and sixth articles, the



cause of the mutineers needs no defender, as it was set forth by their delegates in the other five. Truly we have reason in these days to blush for the blind bigotry of a despotic period, and for all those who still point to the dogged administrators of its ignorant absolutism as models of statecraft—statesmanship is out of the question.

## CHAPTER IV.

### HOW THE ADMIRALTY REPLIED.

THE Lords of the Admiralty replied to the manifesto of the mutineers on the 22d of May, by means of a letter signed by Admiral Buckner. This supinely supercilious note is only another evidence of the incapacity which seems to have left Government, after it had lost its head, stumbling in front of the beginnings of that new order of things in the navy which was inaugurated by these mutinies. The same high hand was raised with arrogant solemnity at the beginning of the transactions at Spithead. It is raised again, but will have to drop rather abruptly. Admiral Buckner addressed the following letter to his fleet :

*"Sheerness, May 27, 1797.*

"In pursuance of orders communicated to me by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, I am directed to acquaint the crews of his Majesty's vessels at the Nore and Sheerness, that after the very liberal attention

of his Majesty in increasing the wages and provisions of the seamen and marines in his Majesty's service, for which they have in general expressed themselves not only satisfied, but highly grateful, their lordships are extremely surprised to find the seamen and marines of his Majesty's ships at the Nore and Sheerness should be still in a state of disobedience, and bringing forward further requests; their lordships have therefore commanded me to inform you, that since all that could reasonably be expected by the seamen and marines has already been granted them, their lordships cannot accede to any such request.

"With respect to the first article of the conditions presented by the seamen and marines at this port, their lordships direct me to inform you, as has already been explicitly declared, that all additional allowances of wages and provisions, and every other regula-

tion announced at Portsmouth, have been established by his Majesty's order in Council, and by Act of Parliament, and extended to all seamen and marines in his Majesty's service. That, with respect to the second article of the said conditions, the nature of the service in time of war does not admit of the men having leave to go to their families, except under very particular circumstances, of which the captains, or other superior officers, alone can judge; that with respect to the third and fifth Articles, the ship's company shall be paid in the manner pointed out by the several Acts of Parliament at present in force for the encouragement of seamen and marines employed in his Majesty's service, as they always are, unless some very urgent necessity prevents it; but as it ever has been the practice of the service to show attention to those who, with the true spirit of British seamen, voluntarily stand forth in defence of their country, their lordships are desirous of giving every possible encouragement to volunteers; and it is not their intention to direct that advance should be paid to impressed men.

"With respect to the fourth article, all arrangements concerning the officers to be employed in the ships of the squadron must be settled by the admiral or commanding officer for the time being, conformably to the instructions of

their lordships, according to the circumstances of each particular place.

"With respect to the sixth article, if it should be his Majesty's pleasure to pardon all who may have deserted from his service in the navy, it must be the effect of his Majesty's royal clemency alone, and not of any requisition; that, although their lordships thought proper to go to Portsmouth for the purpose of obtaining more perfect information of the grievances which the seamen and marines in general might have to represent, and of adopting most expeditiously such measures as might be necessary, and granting such further indulgences as might render their situation more comfortable, and enable them better to provide for the support of their families, no similar reason exists for their taking such a step on the present occasion.

"That the representations made at Portsmouth have been fully considered, and the regulations made in consequence have already been extended to the whole fleet, and established by the highest authority. Their lordships therefore direct that it is to me and to the officers under whom you serve, that ships' companies are to look up, to whom their petitions are always to be presented, and through whom their lordships' determinations are to be expected.

"It is their lordships' direc-

tion that I should also inform you that, notwithstanding all that you have done, his Majesty's most gracious pardon, and their lordships' order to all the officers to bury in oblivion all that has passed, are now offered to you, which, should you refuse, you will have to answer for all the melancholy consequences which must attend your persisting in the present state of disobedience and mutiny.

"When the seamen and marines at the Nore and at Sheerness reflect that the rest of the fleets have returned to their duty, and have proceeded to sea in search of the enemies of their country, their lordships have no doubt that they will no longer show themselves ungrateful for all that has so liberally been granted to them, but will strive who shall be the first to show his loyalty to his king, and his love to his country, by returning to that state of obedience and discipline, without which they cannot expect any longer to enjoy the confidence and good opinion of their country.

(Signed) CHARLES BUCKNER,  
*"Vice-Admiral of the White,  
 and Commander of his  
 Majesty's Ships and Vessels  
 in the River Medway and  
 at the Buoy off the Nore."*

So frivolous a letter on such a momentous occasion! Was the like ever written before or since? It must have received Mr Pitt's most statesmanlike

consideration, if, indeed, it was not his own production. Take one sentence: "As it has ever been the practice of the service to show attention to those who, with the true spirit of British seamen, voluntarily stand forth in defence of their country, their lordships are desirous of giving every possible encouragement to volunteers; and it is not their intention to direct that advance should be paid to impressed men." The men who joined the service with their eyes open, and made for themselves the requisite provisions for clothing and other individual comforts, were to be provided for; but the unfortunate wretches who were dragged by legalised miscreants into the pandemonium which is euphoniously called the service,

"Unhoused, disappointed, unaided,"

are to shift for comfort with such clothing, under and upper, as they happened to have on their bodies when they fell into the merciless fangs of the press-gang! Put it beyond the man's power to help himself, and then don't help him!—crowning the iniquity with the impious ejaculation, God help him! The order to make bricks without straw was a joke to this. The annals of the darkest night of confessed slavery record nothing more cruel than the sentence to which attention is being called. The whole epistle is of a piece. Fine words are "loyalty to his king," and "his love to his

country," to charm a mutineer with at the close of such a letter! It possessed neither the virtue of austerity, nor the magic voice of conciliation.

Admiral Buckner, having delivered this precious answer to the delegates, allowed them, according to some authorities, only ten minutes to decide on its adoption or rejection; but instead of returning to their allegiance, the seamen rowed into the harbour, seized all the armed boats, and took care as they returned past the forts at Sheerness to discharge the contents of their separate bow-guns against the batteries, by way of defiance. In addition to this step, they not only took no heed of the summons on their "love of country," affectingly as it was urged, but landed from time to time to parade their strength through the neighbouring shores of Sheerness.

On the 24th of May, Admiral Buckner, perceiving how completely his first document had failed in its object, put forth in the name of the Government a second, which was nearly an echo of the former; to which, certainly, the least justice that can be done, is to allow such eloquence and argument to speak for themselves — to say nothing of the conciliatory nature of bad grammar in a "benevolent Government."

"To the Seamen and Marines of his Majesty's ships at the Nore and at Sheerness.

*"Sheerness, May 24, 1797.*

"Pursuant to directions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, which I received this afternoon, I am again to call the attention of the seamen and marines on board his Majesty's ships and vessels at the Nore and Sheerness, to the gracious offer already made to them, and to declare that I am instructed and authorised by their lordships to repeat the offer of a pardon, which will include all offences committed by the seamen and marines during the disorders that have and do prevail, on condition of their returning to their duty; and when the seamen and marines above mentioned shall reflect that they have pledged themselves to be perfectly content with, and abide by, the determination of their friends at Portsmouth, who, sensible of the indulgences granted to them, have returned with alacrity to their duty, and are now in pursuit of the enemies of their king and country; it is hoped that the seamen and marines at this port will no longer show themselves ungrateful for all that has been so liberally granted, and which have so completely satisfied the companies of his Majesty's ships composing the Channel Fleet; but on the contrary, that they will be forward in following so laudable an example, and cheerfully express their readiness to accept his Majesty's most gracious pardon, now offered to them a second time, and to return to

their duty like British seamen : and I have also their lordships' commands further to inform you that they do not see the propriety or expediency of their holding a Board of Admiralty at Sheerness ; and that they do not mean to encourage a repetition of demands by any further concession ; also that it now rests with the seamen and marines of his Majesty's ships and vessels at the Nore and Sheerness to decide whether it may not be for their interest to return to their duty, and thereby avail themselves of his Majesty's most gracious pardon, rather than expose themselves to those consequences which must follow from their continuance in a state of disobedience.

“(Signed) CHARLES BUCKNER,  
*“Vice-Admiral of the  
 “White, etc. etc.”*

On receipt of this second letter, the delegates held a consultation, at which the resolution of Government to grant them no particle of their demands, was received with extreme anger and dissatisfaction. They unanimously came to the determination to reject those offers of pardon which seemed to rely so much on their loyalty for a sovereign, and love for a country, which demanded every sacrifice from them of privation and even life, yet seemed bent on remunerating them on terms more niggardly and nefarious than ever a British, Spanish, or American planter offered to the

sooty, woolly chattels who made up the most valuable portion of the fixtures in their domestic institution.

If the Government thought the demands of the mutineers exorbitant and arbitrary, and could give good reasons for this opinion, Parliament and the country were only too willing to listen to their statement of the view they took of the situation. Posterity would rather defend a good Government than plead for rebels who defied it and its efforts for the good of all sorts and conditions of men. But Mr Pitt did not take into consideration the complaints sent from the Nore on their merits. His argument, a very puerile one, was that because the seamen at Spithead were contented with what had been already granted, the crews of the Nore fleet were criminal in asking more than their brethren had secured.

The mutineers at Spithead knew their own grievances, and judged for themselves to what extent they might hopefully press their demands. Not knowing how far they might succeed, being the first to venture with their lives in their hands, with nooses on their necks, on a dangerous, novel experiment, they were comparatively timid, and preferred to err on the safe side. They certainly kept far within the limits of redress, which they were fairly entitled to claim. But this was no reason why a larger and more

important portion of the fleet, observing the ease with which the first demands for justice were conceded to, should merely repeat the limited requisitions made in an outbreak with which they had no connection, when they seized the opportunity of making known the wrongs they groaned under, and exacted reparation.

The claims for redress advanced by the mutineers at the Nore, fell far short of what both justice and political expediency should have anticipated, before the long-suffering seamen, slow and low on the average in intellect, found it necessary to save their country by rising in wrath, and driving them out in the thunderous tones of patriotic mutiny.

Let us suppose that they had insisted on the total suppression of all impressment—had held out for the impropriety of filling the fleet with the refuse of jails—and had declined to lift an anchor until a regular system of naval registration was instituted in England, by which the whole kingdom should fairly

stand its chance of the perils of defending the community at sea, or of sending substitutes, as in the case of the militia, to discharge this rather arduous service—who would deny that demands even so extensive and important as these, amount to nothing more than an equitable claim? Yet compared with such an organic change in the constitution of the country, the emendations which the seamen of the Nore asked, and the Government refused, at the peril of the empire and the sacrifice of life, were only such trifles, as makes one wonder as much at the modest forbearance of the victims of a wicked system of naval administration, as at the despotism of an iniquitous oligarchy, and the wonted, not to say wanton, folly of a sovereign who so far forgot his own interest, his supreme station in society, and the duties he owed especially to the navy of Great Britain as to put himself obtrusively at the head of that despotic clique, composed as it was of an oligarchic coterie.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE SHADOWS LENGTHEN.

THE delegates elected Richard Parker as their President. This was a post which required signal daring and bravery; and, whatever may be said of his

other qualifications for the bad pre-eminence which was conferred on him, and which, no doubt, he coveted, no one dare deny that he possessed, in a high

degree, these qualifications. His whole career, from this time down to the manly, brotherly spirit with which he faced the death he knew his office and action in it exposed him, proves him to have been a martyr to the cause he cast his desperate die upon—a mutineer martyr.

Parker was, according to one account, a Scotchman, and at one time he was a small tradesman in Edinburgh. He found, to his loss, that too close attention to politics was not at all favourable to trade, especially during the era of the French Revolution; and, as he did attend very closely to politics, the result was, that he had to flee the city, leaving his wife behind him. Like so many of his degree of intelligence in those stirring times, Parker entered on board a man-of-war as a common sailor. He had received a Scotch parish school education, and was a man of self-improving habits; and he had acquired considerable sharpness and readiness of intellect by attending and taking part in debating clubs and reform associations.

Another account of his antecedents says he was descended from a respectable family in Exeter. He received a good education, entered the navy when he was twelve years of age, and about the conclusion of the American war was an acting-lieutenant in one of his Majesty's ships. At this time he came into possession of some

property, and shortly afterwards went to Scotland, where he married a farmer's daughter in Aberdeenshire, with whom he received a decent patrimony. Having no employment, he fell into extravagant habits, squandered his fortune, became involved in debt, was cast into the jail at Edinburgh, where he was lying at the time when the counties were raising seamen for the navy. Upon this, he enrolled himself among the Perthshire volunteers, received the bounty, and obtained his release from prison by paying the detaining creditor a part of the money he had received. He was now put on board the *Tender*, then in Leith Roads, commanded by Captain Watson, who conveyed him, with many others, to the *Nore*. On the passage, the captain was struck both with his activity and polite address, and showed him that degree of kindness which Parker did not forget during the mutiny, as the readers of his trial will learn. It seems, from a letter written by his wife, that he was subject to fits of temporary derangement. In his passage from Leith to Sheerness, he attempted to destroy himself by jumping overboard.

Parker directed that a committee of twelve should be appointed for every ship; and these committees decided upon all affairs, keeping, especially, a sharp collective eye upon the individual delegates and

their merits or demerits. In many of his minor arrangements, the president proved that he had been an attentive student in the school of his Edinburgh clubs.

While the events described in the previous chapters of this story were taking their course on board the fleet, the whole nation was thrown almost into convulsions, so intense was the all-prevailing anxiety. The people, low and high, knew that the navy was their only defence against the invasion, of which they were in daily fear. On this account, the proceedings of the seamen were closely watched, the interest in them being as deep as life and death, slavery or freedom, to all the helpless onlookers. All hearts were oppressed with one subject, and every lip gave utterance to the sense of this oppression.

Mr Pitt stood ingloriously alone. In the haggling spirit of a slave merchant, he cheapened the cost of human lives. It was his imperious policy which led to the many fatal issues of this disastrous mutiny, which procured for Parker a martyr's crown.

It may be as well here to turn and look at the proposed policy of an eminent statesman who was endowed with accurate insight, and with the courage of his convictions. During the short interval between the close of the mutiny at Spithead and its violent outburst at the Nore, the country was inundated with

pamphlets, written in the name of the mutineers, although obviously not emanating from them, which seemed to aim at arousing a conflagration of rebellion over the whole kingdom. One of these pamphlets, entitled "An Appeal of the Sailors on board Lord Bridport's Fleet," had attracted general attention, from its pointed allusions to Mr Sheridan, and to the part he had uniformly taken in attempting to redress the corruptions and hardships of the service, with an especial reference to his speech and proposition in the debate on the 9th of May.

When matters had arrived at such a fearful state of hazard to the public safety, that distinguished orator considered it to be his duty to make a proposition upon the subject to the House, and gave notice accordingly; but upon communicating the nature of his proposition to the Government, reasons were urged which induced him to withdraw from his first intention. In explaining the case to the House, on the 26th of May, he said his proposition was intended to have been of a conciliatory nature; for he could not retract his former sentiments—that the seamen had been subject to the most foul and mischievous misrepresentations. It was a matter to be lamented, but he was convinced both by the style and matter, that the manifesto to which he referred did not originate with the sailors; but that it



either was a forgery, or else the sailors had been made the dupes to the mal-purposes and artifices of others. Those persons, therefore, who believed it to be the spontaneous production of the seamen, might not be astonished that the seamen should continue in a state of suspicion and insubordination. But it smacked more of a circulating library than a fore-castle. There was nothing in it of the British sailor. The rough, honest, manly conformation which characterised the former publications of the seamen was entirely extinct. With regard to that part of the manifesto which related to himself, Mr Sheridan observed that it was plain he had never been misrepresented, for he had said that the concessions were no more than an act of justice; that he regretted they had not been granted sooner, because above all he regretted the mode of application. It was true also, he said, the seamen had not been acting from their own feelings, but from the foul treachery of others; and in this opinion, however he might be abused, he still persisted. For his own vindication, however, he thought it necessary to state, that in the year 1786 he did twice bring in a bill, to which there were some reasonable objections, for the benefit of seamen; and the general plan of that bill he should perhaps at a future opportunity renew. All he had to state upon it at present was an

opinion that, if that bill had been passed, the late disorders in the navy would have been prevented. So far was he from interposing any obstacle to the interests of the sailors, that he had always been their friend, and never more than now, when he desired to give them warning against the secret machination of the enemies of their country. If they expected the nation to be in safety without order and subordination among themselves on board the fleet, they might as well expect their ships to sail without a rudder, or they might as well pull down their shrouds and masts, and lay them on the deck.

There are always thousands of clever individuals who think they see their way into a happy haven, if they can manage to keep scrambling to the crests of any sort of waves of rebellion. These, therefore, Mr Sheridan rightly denounces. He believed that the position of the seamen in mutiny was unnatural, and was occasioned by accidental circumstances. These were partly the work of the advisers to whom the sailors gave attentive and obedient heed; but mostly the mass of intolerable abuses, hardships, and miseries to which the service was subjected. And, therefore, Mr Sheridan arrived at a conclusion as sound as it was simple and clamant for acceptance, that the restoration of health, order and vigour to the right arm of the national greatness, was only to be ac-

complished by removing the festering sores of privation and ill-treatment, with a firm reliance upon the honesty, faithfulness, and loyal affections of the sailors, as their characteristic qualities.

This, it has been wisely remarked, would seem to have been his correct decision upon the subject eleven years before the elements of evil had gathered strength enough to convulse the nation by a sudden and impetuous rupture. But unfortunately for the country and for the untarnished honour of the navy, his keen and statesmanlike perception was allowed to be wasted in pointing out dangers and in suggesting preventive remedies. The argument employed to baffle the clearness of his demonstrations was against the extent of reformation required, rather than a denial of its necessity; that the vast machinery of our service afloat would be deranged by the wholesome changes demanded; the constitution of our navy would sink under the appliances necessary for the restoration to its natural vigour; and thus, by a wretched and narrow policy, the crying abuses of a monstrous

system were permitted to make head without obstruction, until they forced a remedy through a general convulsion, effusion of blood, and the retributive justice, as it was termed with mock gravity, of the unsullied majesty of the law. But we are not to suppose that the originators of this enlightened policy did not deplore the illegal measures of intimidation and mutiny, by which the sailors were endeavouring to wrest their redress from the reluctant hands of the executive; on the contrary, they were more than usually alive to the disgraceful necessity of supporting Government with all moral and physical aids in their power, in the re-establishment of authority, and for the discomfiture of treasonable designs. Nevertheless, with a rare combination of eloquence and truth, they insisted upon the inherent justice of the claims advanced, while they condemned most emphatically, as destructive of all prosperity and fraught with infinite danger, the spirit of insubordination, by which the British nation was sought to be driven into compliance with demands, in themselves reasonable and just.

## CHAPTER VI.

### VIGOROUS CONDUCT OF THE DELEGATES.

THE following is Parker's reply to Admiral Buckner's second letter: "To the Lords Commissioners for executing the office of

Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, etc.

"I am commanded by the delegates of the whole fleet assembled in council, on board his Majesty's ship *Sandwich*, to inform your lordships that they have received your letter from Admiral Buckner, which informs them that it is not your intention of coming to Sheerness: the same has been communicated to his Majesty's ships and vessels lying here, and the determination of the whole is, that they will not come to any accommodation until you appear at the Nore, and redress our grievances.

"(Signed) RICHARD PARKER,  
"President.

"By order of the Committee of Delegates of the whole fleet.

"*His Majesty's ship Sandwich,*  
*May 25, 1797."*

The delegates in the meantime proceeded to put the different ships in a defensive position. They first unmoored them all, and moored them again in two lines of battle, evincing by this movement their determination to resist any attempt which might be made to force them into submission. In this menacing attitude they awaited passively the course of events. They were in hopes of an accession of strength from other quarters. The North Fleet, Admiral Duncan's, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, was lying in Yarmouth roads;

seventeen delegates, therefore, sailed from the Nore on the night of Wednesday the 24th, with the view of inducing that powerful armament to make common cause with their brethren, and to join the mutinous fleet. On Saturday the 27th, fourteen delegates were commissioned to enter the Thames and to secure the co-operation of any ships which might be lying in Long Reach. As they passed up the river the guns of Tilbury Fort were fired at them, and two of the number were captured by the inhabitants of Gravesend, where they had effected a landing. Either by intimidation or from popular feeling, the two delegates were set at liberty after a few hours' custody, and succeeded in persuading the *Lancaster*, 64, to join the confederacy; this ship, however, failed in dropping down to the Nore, although she evidenced a disposition and spared no exertion to effect her purpose.

In consequence of the alarm produced by the eruption of the mutineers into the Thames, the state of things on shore was one of preparation, terror, and excitement. Gravesend was reinforced with a large body of marines, infantry, and artillery; the batteries there, and also at Tilbury, were all manned, and the furnaces heated so as to be prepared with a supply of red-hot balls if the mutineers should attempt to sail up the river. When the resistance made to their designs was communicated

by the delegates who had returned from Long Reach to the committee of the whole fleet at the Nore, the first impulse prompted them to send two line-of-battle ships for the protection of all vessels inclined to join the mutiny; but this design was abandoned, and the vessels at Long Reach lay unmolested, their crews not having the power, even if they had the will, to tide down the Thames and anchor at the Nore.

The panic which had seized the public mind penetrated the Governmental intellect at last, and aroused Mr Pitt and his lackeys—or rather those who preyed on the exceptional wisdom of King George III. And they began slumberously to think of how matters really stood. As the mutineers had made it a point to confer personally with the Admiralty upon the subject of their grievances, ministers were led to expect a favourable result from concession in this particular. "Lord Bridport's fleet," said the delegates, "were thought worthy of the presence of the board to investigate their complaints: are we of less importance to our country in the hour of danger, or are our grievances more insignificant?" To pacify this jealous spirit would be considered a step gained, and a basis for further negotiations. On Saturday evening, the 27th of May, Earl Spencer, Admiral Young, Lord Arden, and Mr Marsden, left the Admiralty for

Sheerness; and at twelve o'clock the same night an Admiralty-messenger followed, conveying his Majesty's proclamation, which offered a free pardon to all who might be induced to return to their duty.

In the meantime, on board the fleet the organisation was perfect. No man was permitted to leave his ship without a voucher, called a liberty-ticket, signed by one of the delegates; and if any sailor were found ashore without his ticket, he was put under arrest until he could explain by what means he had obtained leave of absence. In order also to prevent desertion, and to discover whether any seamen belonging to the fleet had been smuggled aboard, vessels of every size and description were overhauled on their voyage either to Chatham or London. Each man-of-war furnished two delegates, and each gun-boat one, to the general committee. Besides the general committee of the whole fleet, a particular committee in each vessel managed all affairs connected with its internal arrangements, and superintended the conduct of their respective delegates.

If any charge of drunkenness, neglect of duty, or treachery, was substantiated against a delegate belonging to a particular ship, the general committee both awarded and inflicted punishments in proportion to the magnitude of the offence. All the superior officers having been

deprived of their authority, and maintained indeed under a sort of honourable imprisonment, the efficient command of the vessel devolved upon the captain of the fore-castle, although nominally the management of the vessel rested with its committee.

The delegates issued a copy of Rules and Orders to be observed by the whole fleet. The following is a copy of them :

"1. Every ship shall diligently keep a quarter-watch; and every man found below in his watch shall be severely punished.

"2. Every ship shall give three cheers morning and evening.

"3. No woman shall be permitted to go on shore from any ship, but as many may come in as please.

"4. Any person attempting to bring liquor into the ship, or any person found drunk, shall be severely punished.

"5. The greatest attention to be paid to the officers' orders. Any person failing in the respect due to them, or neglecting their duty, shall be severely punished.

"6. Every seaman and marine shall take an oath of fidelity,

not only to themselves, but to the fleet in general.

"7. No ship shall lift their anchors to proceed from this port until the desires of the fleet be satisfied.

"8. That there be no liberty given from ship to ship till all are settled.

"No private letters to be sent on shore."

Overlooking the rather dubious morality which seems to underlie the third of these orders, they show that the delegates were men of daring and nerve. Such qualifications accompanying superior skill in seamanship are just the attractions which procure moral ascendancy among sailors.

While communication with the shore was still open, the delegates assembled daily in the town of Sheerness, where they held their conference, and debated upon the position of their affairs. After the business had been despatched, Parker, who was now styled the "Admiral of the Fleet," preceded by a man carrying the crimson flag, the symbol of mutiny, paraded at his colleagues' head through the streets, in defiance of all power, civil and military.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE TURNING-POINT.

THE result of the visit of the Lords of the Admiralty was waited for by the nation with more of anxiety than of hope.

The first accounts were reassuring. It was rumoured that Earl Spencer and his brother commissioners had succeeded in allaying the mutinous spirit in the greater part of the disaffected sailors. This turned out, however, to be not so true as it was desired it should be.

On Monday, May 31st, the delegates had three several conferences with the Commissioners of the Admiralty. That was a fatal day for the mutineers. It will be observed by the readers of this account of the transactions at the Nore, that henceforth every step they took was towards utter defeat, and the ultimate doom of their leaders. The fault was their own. They managed a good cause badly. Emboldened by the concession made to the first announcement of their grievances, implied in the presence of the Lords of the Admiralty at Sheerness; and regarding this as a sign on the part of the Government, they are said to have conducted themselves insolently towards Earl Spencer and Admiral Buckner—taunting the Admiral with degradation and a want of authority, because his flag was struck, and representing his interfering with their concerns as a piece of impertinence. Besides, it is said that they framed additional articles supplementary to their original demands.

Earl Spencer informed them, that if they would embrace the provisions which had been

made for them by the legislature, and return to their duty, he would take care that they should enjoy all the benefits which had been secured by recent acts of parliament to the navy in general; but that, so long as they persisted in maintaining a mutinous attitude, no concession of any description could be yielded to their importunity.

Upon this declaration, the committee retired to consult whether they should hold out in their resistance, or throw themselves upon the mercy of their sovereign, and trust solely to the justice of their cause for ultimate redress. A violent debate ensued, in which the more daring and desperate alternative prevailed. They said that they considered themselves to be marked out for destruction, and they thought that they might as well die in that cause as in any other.

During the last interview, at six in the evening, the board informed the delegates that the king's pardon was all that could be granted them; indeed so much could not, unless they immediately made their submission. This ultimatum caused the greatest dissatisfaction, and it became evident that an arrangement, upon any possible terms, was not to be expected. The Lords Commissioners hereupon returned to London, having first ordered Sheerness to be put in a state of complete defence, and all communication to be cut off between the shore

and the fleet. For this purpose, artillery and ammunition were despatched from Chatham; the batteries were manned, and the furnaces heated for red-hot balls, to frustrate any attempt upon the part of the sailors to land. Any supply of fresh provisions to the fleet was prohibited; and in order to prevent more ships from being taken out of the harbour, all the pier-heads in the dock-yards which projected towards the mouth of the Medway were planted with cannon. The women and children, together with all persons whose business permitted them to leave, deserted the town, which, at every point, presented the appearance of a place besieged.

Adhesion to the mutiny was not universal among the crews at the Nore. Some were only overawed by the threats of the more impetuous; others would have been satisfied for the present with the results of the mutiny at Spithead. Besides, although set aside from command, the officers were still on board the fleet; and their presence would tend to reconfirm the wavering, and to strengthen the convictions of those who thought resistance had been carried already too far. It will not be wondered at, therefore, that the crews of several vessels were on the lookout for an opportunity of escaping from the double line of battle without damage. This was no easy matter, for the

instant a ship fell under the wakeful suspicion of the leaders, she was immediately ordered to take up a position, commanded by the heavy guns of the fleet. The Sandwich, 94 guns, Parker's ship, and the headquarters of the delegates, watched the motions of all of them with unwearied vigilance. Notwithstanding the precaution thus exercised, early on the morning of the 30th, the Clyde frigate sailed through the fleet and made her escape into harbour. On the same morning, when the usual signal was given by the Sandwich for the delegates to assemble in council, it was acknowledged and repeated by the rest of the fleet, except the *St Fiorenzo*, a vessel commissioned to carry out the *Princess Royal*, who had been recently married to the Grand Duke of Wurtemberg. About noon, when the boatswain's whistle piped all hands to dinner, the *St Fiorenzo* cut her cables, and got under way without loss of time. Notwithstanding the surprise of the moment, she was raked by the fire of all the guns which could be brought to bear upon her, as she passed through the fleet, and sustained considerable damage in her rigging and her main and fore chains.

Gallantly steering her course, undismayed by the curses and shot levelled at her, and answering the shouts of mortification with a volley of cheers, she sailed for Harwich with all her colours flying.

This defection of two powerful men-of-war from the fleet dismayed the delegates ; and for a short time threw confusion into their councils. They did not know which vessel to trust. Their confidence in the unanimity of all the crews regarding the mutiny was rudely shaken. But an event now occurred which they thought fortunate, and which helped, as they vainly imagined, to clarify the prospect, and to ensure success to their desperate attempt at coercing the Government to bend to their behests. It was a strong accession of force from the North Sea fleet. It has been mentioned that, on the 24th, a deputation was sent from the Nore to request the co-operation of the ships composing that fleet, which was then lying in Yarmouth-roads, under the command of Admiral Duncan. The mutineers seized upon the *Cygnets* sloop of war to carry them round, and arrived in the roads just as the fleet was putting to sea. The admiral took the delegates on board his own ship, and ordered the *Cygnets* to sail in company for the Texel. This wise measure, however, did not prevent the crew of the flag-ship, the *Venerable*, 74 guns, from breaking out into mutiny. They mounted the rigging, manned the yards, and gave three cheers. By the exercise of firmness, tempered with discretion, insubordination was speedily suppressed, but it was evident that disaffection had caught the other ships, and pre-

vailed extensively throughout the whole fleet. The admiral was becalmed outside the sands off Yarmouth, and gave the signal to anchor, which was obeyed by all the ships except the *Standard* and *Belliqueux*, each of 64 guns. These two returned into Yarmouth Roads ; and on the next day, when the signal was made to get under weigh, the *Agamemnon* cut her cable, and the remainder of the fleet set sail and stood out to the eastward, leaving the admiral with the *Venerable* and the *Adamant*, 50 guns, to proceed upon his voyage to the Texel. On Tuesday, the 30th, between the hours of two and seven P.M., the deserters from the North Sea fleet came dropping down to Sheerness, one after another in succession ; immediately upon their arrival within hail of the mutineers they hoisted the red flag, manned the yards, and signified their adhesion to the mutiny at the Nore by tumultuous cheering. The *Montague*, the *Standard*, and the *Lion*, with four or five others, were at anchor by night-fall.

This was a strong reinforcement, but it did not relieve the depression of the minds of the delegates. Their spirits were effectually damped by the loss of two of their confederates, and their distrust of several others. The formidable preparations for defence at Sheerness also abated their energy, cooled their ardour, and even evoked among themselves cruel-eyed jealousy and



mutual distrust. They vaunted less. Their terms of settlement with the Government became more moderate as the tone of their talk became lower. On the afternoon of the 31st, the delegates sent a boat with a flag of truce to seek an interview with Commissioner Hartwell, at his house in the dockyard, and there, in the presence of several officers, they agreed to return to their duty, upon condition of receiving two months' pay in advance, to supply them with clothing, of which they represented themselves to stand in great necessity, together with his Majesty's most gracious pardon. The commissioner, to test the sincerity of their proposition, accompanied the delegates on board the fleet, and having received the acquiescence of all the ships to the terms mentioned, left Sheerness for London with a promise to exert all his influence to procure the desired conditions, of which he entertained great hopes, from the favourable impression likely to be made upon the Admiralty by the altered language and demeanour of the seamen. Upon the arrival of Mr Commissioner Hartwell in town, a cabinet council, summoned specially for the purpose, sat for three hours in deliberation upon the course to be pursued. The course determined on was to make no further con-

cessions, and to exact unqualified submission.

Admiral Buckner's secretary, Mr Stow, who had accompanied Mr Commissioner Hartwell to London, returned to Sheerness with the reply of the Government to the terms offered by the humbled delegates of the mutineers. The resolution of the Government was received with satisfaction by the country, all classes and parties acquiescing in it, and tendering their support to the ministers in whatever measures for the suppression of the mutiny they might think proper to adopt. Melancholy and alarm, mixed with much obstinacy, pervaded all ranks of society, from the highest to the lowest; and although public feeling had not yet attained its climax of fear for the consequences, yet it was arousing itself to a sense of the danger to which the country stood frightfully exposed, with a powerful enemy on the alert, and the best portion of the fleet, the only sure defence of Great Britain in the circumstances, in open and reckless rebellion. The unpardonable faults of the ministry were now altogether overlooked; and the men who were fighting wrongly a righteous battle were to be crushed relentlessly, how bloody soever the measures taken to suppress them.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## GOVERNMENT GETTING THE UPPER HAND.

ON Thursday the 1st of June, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought down to the House of Commons a message from his Majesty, concerning the mutiny on board the fleet, which was read and ordered to be taken into consideration the next day. Mr Secretary Dundas also laid on the table a proclamation which had been distributed in the seaports of the kingdom. Lord Grenville presented in the House of Lords the same documents, which follow :

“ G. R.

“ It is with the deepest concern his Majesty acquaints the House of Commons that the conduct of the crews of some of the ships now at the Nore, in persisting in the most violent and treasonable acts of mutiny and disobedience, notwithstanding the full extension to them of all the benefits which had been accepted with gratitude by the rest of his Majesty's fleet, and notwithstanding the repeated offers of his Majesty's gracious pardon on their returning to their duty, have compelled his Majesty to call on all his faithful subjects, to give their utmost assistance in repressing such dangerous and criminal proceedings. His Majesty has directed a copy of the proclamation which he has issued for this purpose to be

laid before the House, and he cannot doubt that his Parliament will adopt with readiness and decision every measure which can tend at this important conjuncture to provide for the public security; and his Majesty particularly recommends it to the consideration of Parliament to make more effectual provision for the prevention and punishment of all traitorous attempts to excite sedition and mutiny in his Majesty's service, or to withdraw any part of his Majesty's forces by land or sea from their duty and allegiance to him, and from that obedience and discipline which are so important to the prosperity and safety of the British empire.”

“ *Proclamation.*

“ G. R.

“ Whereas it has been represented unto us, that notwithstanding the declarations made in our name, and by our authority—by our Lords Commissioners of our Admiralty, of our gracious intentions to recommend to the consideration of Parliament, to augment the wages and allowances of the seamen and marines of our fleet, which our gracious intentions and declarations have since been carried into effect by an Act of Parliament; and notwithstanding the communication made by our right trusty

and well-beloved cousin and counsellor, Richard, Earl Howe, admiral of our fleet, for the pardon of the offences by them committed, and our royal proclamation thereupon, bearing date the 11th day of May instant, and notwithstanding the sentiments of duty and gratitude with which the same were received by the seamen and marines of our other squadrons; yet the crews on board certain of our ships at the Nore, have not only, since the full manifestation of all these our gracious intentions and declarations, been guilty of divers acts of mutiny and disobedience of orders, but have even proceeded to other acts of the most heinous and treasonable nature by firing upon some of our ships, in order to compel them to submit to their direction—have threatened and taken measures for stopping the commerce of the kingdom passing to or from the port of London, and have, by terror of their force, compelled two frigates to desist from executing a particular service, which by our order they were directed to perform; we, thinking it right to warn all our seamen and marines on board the said ships, of the heinous nature of the offences by them committed, and of the dangerous consequences thereof to the spirit and discipline of the British navy, and to the welfare of their country as well as to their own safety, do hereby earnestly require and enjoin all our said seamen and marines,

immediately on the notification of this our royal declaration, to return to the regular discharge of their duty, as has already been done by the crews of our other squadrons and fleets stationed at Portsmouth and Plymouth, and elsewhere.

“And whereas we are well assured, that a great part of the seamen and marines on board the said ships at the Nore, abhor and detest the criminal proceedings which are still persisted in on board the said ships, and are desirous to return to their duty:

“Now we, being desirous to extend our gracious intentions of pardon to all such seamen and marines, so serving on board our said ships at the Nore, who may have returned, or shall return, upon the notification of this our royal declaration, to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, have authorised, and do hereby authorise and empower, our said Lords Commissioners of our Admiralty, or any three of them, to signify to all such seamen and marines who may have been guilty of any of the treasonable acts aforesaid, or of any mutiny, or disobedience of orders, or neglect of duty, and who have returned, or who shall, upon notification hereof on board their respective ships, return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, our royal intentions to grant to all such seamen and marines our most gracious pardon, and

the promise in our name, to all such seamen and marines, who have so returned, or shall so return, to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, our most gracious pardon accordingly. And we do hereby declare, that all such seamen and marines who shall have so returned, or shall so return, to their duty, and to whom the said Lords Commissioners of our Admiralty, or any three of them, shall so promise our pardon, shall receive the same accordingly, and shall be discharged and released from all prosecutions, imprisonments, and penalties, incurred by reason aforesaid, of any of the acts or by reason of any act of mutiny, or disobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty previously committed by them, or any of them; hereby declaring, at the same time, that all such seamen and marines, who shall not take benefit of this our gracious pardon, shall, from henceforth, be considered as liable, according to the nature of their offences, to such punishment as the articles of war and the law have provided for the same.

"Given at our Court at St James's, the 27th day of May 1797, in the 37th year of our reign.

"By his Majesty's command,  
"PORTLAND."

The reply brought to Sheerness by Mr Stow, containing the resolution of the Government to yield nothing to claims

of redress for grievances which were supported by a mutiny, had, in the meantime, almost as a matter of course, excited the delegates to that degree which borders on despair. They betook themselves to acts of desperation.

They proceeded to hold mock courts-martial for the trial of officers, and for the punishment of the refractory; vessels laden with provisions were stopped and eased of their cargoes: for since all supply from the shore had been prohibited, no other means were at hand for procuring fresh meat and water, of which latter necessary, the want was already beginning to be felt.

The authorities, on their part, were by this time aroused to put forth the exertions, which confidence that they had the game in their own hands, dictated. They placed every assailable, and, at the same time, tenable position in a state of strong defence. Sheerness was evacuated by its inhabitants to afford accommodation for the garrison; troops poured in from all sides; a chain was thrown across the mouth of the harbour, to close the entrance to the Medway; red-hot balls were ready to be used at a moment's notice, in case of any emergency; the public treasure-chest was removed to Chatham for safety; and the mutineers were publicly and officially branded with the title of pirates and rebels.

Two more of Admiral Dun-

can's fleet joined the confederate ships with red flags flying; and thus the whole number of ships-of-war, in mutiny, then lying off Sheerness exceeded the number of twenty.

## CHAPTER IX.

### DESPERATE MEASURES OF THE DELEGATES.

THE day after he had communicated his Majesty's message to the House of Commons, that is on Friday the 2d of June, Mr Pitt—in his place—moved that it be taken into consideration. That the seamen had been tampered with by seditious individuals, was the assumption he proceeded on, both in the statement of the case he made and in the remedies he proposed. He had diagnosed the case with blinders on. The bias under which he reflected on it, kept out of view the germinative element of all the portentous plague. He did not see that he was to blame, and next to him his colleagues, and over all, the purblind occupant of the throne, immeasurably more than all the seditious persons in the kingdom. Mr Pitt on this occasion took refuge in the sorry device of overlaying the character of the British man-of-war's man with a thick varnish of unintelligible adulation on account of his belauded loyalty, and boasted virtues of all sterling sorts, in order that he might drag in and belabour the suc-

cessful artifices of Jacobins and other men of straw, who, it was convenient to say, and was very naked and open to the bucolic understandings which caught a glimmering of its meaning, had traitorously manipulated a mutiny so determined that the mutineers challenged destruction in preference to decent and orderly submission. These Jacobins and their like were the source of all the evil, Mr Pitt said, and his followers believed him! The remedy was plain. Health, vigour, and content were to be restored to the navy, by enacting that greater severity of punishment than the existing law warranted be visited upon the crime of seducing any portion of his Majesty's forces, at sea or on land, from duty and allegiance. It was well for Messrs Pitt, Dundas, & Co. that all the seducers were not treated to the purring of the cat-o-nine-tails.

Mr Sheridan in a powerful speech turned the Chancellor of the Exchequer's position. He defended and magnified his own foresight. He asserted that whatever difference in poli-

tical opinion might prevail among gentlemen in that House, they had now arrived at an epoch, when his Majesty had an undoubted right to call upon all his subjects, of every class, rank, and description, for their zealous co-operation in maintaining the due execution of the laws, and in giving every possible efficiency to the measures of Government. However justly it might be contended that there did exist strong grounds of reprehension, and causes for future complaint, against the administration, yet such considerations were, in his opinion, at that moment completely out of the question; and the House was now called upon to unite most earnestly with his Majesty against the fatal effects that might be produced by the perseverance in mutiny, and the dangerous disobedience of those ships, mentioned in his Majesty's most gracious message. He once had intended to submit to the House a proposition, the efficacy of which appeared to his mind powerful enough, if adopted, to have prevented the subject of the present discussion from taking place. But such a measure was now become useless, and from the events which had since happened, improper to be applied as a remedy. He lamented that the proceedings of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty had not proved successful; but he was induced to believe that the failure arose in some degree from the manner in which

they were conducted. While some matters were granted, some were refused; and when a board of Admiralty had come down, after giving their refusal to the demands of the sailors in the first instance, nothing was, in consequence of such a compliance, apprehended as a danger on the part of the seamen, however extravagant their terms might be. In alluding to the proposition which he meant to have submitted to the House, it was his intention to have moved for the appointment of a commission, composed of men of all parties and descriptions, who might in their proceedings have been empowered to examine the claims of the seamen, to have acceded to those that appeared just and well-founded, and to have rejected those which were improper in their nature, and imprudent and dangerous to grant. Thus a commission formed in the way which he wished would have come at once to a definite conclusion, by expressly stating, "We have gone thus far in agreeing to your demands, and no further will we make concessions which we conceive both dangerous and unjust." Though he sincerely deplored that the proposition had not been carried into execution, he was ready to admit that it was now useless. He was at first induced to think that the mutineers had acted under the impulse of momentary delusion and mistake; but their subsequent conduct convinced him

that something more than delusion operated upon their minds, and that a rooted spirit of disobedience had taken the place of those manly and loyal sentiments, with which they had been on former occasions constantly animated. If there was, indeed, a rot in the wooden walls of Old England, decay and ultimate ruin could not be far distant.

In the House of Lords, on the same evening, Lord Granville moved an address to his Majesty, conceived in the terms of the message, which was carried unanimously.

A proclamation, of which the following is a copy, was sent to Sheerness to be distributed in the fleet, and to be posted on the walls of the town :

“By the King.—A Proclamation for the Suppression of the mutinous and treasonable Proceedings of the crews of certain of our Ships at the Nore.

“GEORGE R.

“WHEREAS, upon the representation of our lords-commissioners of our Admiralty respecting the proceedings of the seamen and marines on board certain of our ships at the Nore, we were pleased to command our said lords-commissioners of our Admiralty to signify to the said seamen and marines our gracious intentions, expressed in our royal declaration under our sign manual, bearing date at

St James's the 27th day of May instant; and whereas our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor, George John, Earl Spencer, our trusty and well-beloved Charles George, Lord Arden, of our kingdom of Ireland, and William Young, Esquire, Rear-Admiral of the White, being three of the lords-commissioners of our Admiralty, did cause our gracious intentions, expressed in such our declaration, to be signified to the crews of our ships at the Nore, and did require such crews to return to their due obedience accordingly; and whereas it has been represented to us, that some of the crews of our said ships have been desirous of returning to their obedience accordingly, but have been prevented from so doing by violence, and others of our ships in the actual discharge of their duty have been fired upon, and attempts have been made to prevent some of our ships from proceeding according to the orders of their commanders; and whereas such continued perseverance in rebellious and treasonable attempts against our crown and dignity, after repeated admonitions and offers of our gracious pardon, render it necessary for us to call on all our loving subjects to be aiding and assisting in repressing the same, we have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation, and we do hereby strictly enjoin all our admirals, generals,

commanders, and officers of our forces by sea and land, and all magistrates whatsoever, and all others our loving subjects, that they in their several stations do use their utmost endeavours, according to law, to suppress all such mutinous and treasonable proceedings, and to use all lawful means to bring the persons concerned therein, their aiders and abettors, to justice; and we do hereby strictly enjoin and command all our loving subjects whatsoever not to give any aid, comfort, assistance, or encouragement whatsoever, to any person or persons concerned in any such mutinous and treasonable proceedings, as they will answer the same at their peril; and also to the utmost of their power, and according to law, to prevent all other persons from giving any such aid, assistance, comfort, or encouragement.

"Given at our court at St James's, the 31st day of May, 1797, and in the 37th year of our reign.

*"God save the King."*

This proclamation was conveyed to the delegates by the admiral's barge. They did not make it known to the sailors until they had discussed it fully in committee. The sailors resented this as an undue and unwarranted assumption of authority on the part of the leaders. It does not seem at this distance from the time at which it was done to be anything of the kind; but it does indicate that

the seamen were casting longing, lingering looks towards deliverance from the control of the delegates. In their hearts the mass of the men seemed weary of the struggle, and this was an evil omen for Parker and his confederates. The jealousy thus speedily raised led to a serious quarrel. Discord and tumult prevailed for a time among the mutineers. These evil spirits were, however, temporarily allayed, and it was resolved to reject both the overtures of the Government and the terms of pardon.

Parker, addressing the admiral, denounced the proclamation as a foolish production calculated only to irritate honest men. He represented this as the sense and sentiment of the entire fleet.

It was, indeed, so for the time; and, accordingly, the plans of the delegates, so far unthwarted, were allowed to acquire method and consistency. These developed themselves in the following active measures: All ships, except two or three frigates, unfit for sea, were ordered to take up their station off the Great Nore, and to prohibit communication with the mouth of the Thames. With this design, the *Standard*, 64 guns, Brilliant frigate, 28, the *Inspector* and *Swan*, both sloops-of-war, extended a chain of prohibition across the Thames, from the Nore Sand to the town of Southend, and as effectually impeded the commerce of London as though an enemy's fleet, too strong for opposition, were



sweeping the channel, and maintaining a strict blockade. The fishing-boats, however, were permitted to ply; and a favoured merchantman, from caprice or a show of indulgence, was now and then allowed to sail up the river to her destination, under an order signed "Richard Parker, President."

The result of this bold measure was, that it paralysed the commercial world, and struck terror into the most stout-hearted for the consequences which might be naturally expected to follow. Merchandise of immense value, the export and import trade of the first city in the kingdom—vessels, cargoes, and crews—were in the hands, and under the guns of men driven into open rebellion, at the outset, by negligence, persecution, and injustice.

Under this threatening and frightful aspect of matters, the three per cent. consols fell down to and remained at forty-five and a half. The nation was for a few days panic-stricken. It was rumoured that the mutineers meant to surrender their division of the British fleet to the French or the Dutch; that an attack was going to be directed against the arsenals and the forts that lined the Thames and the Medway; that the enemy's fleet was about to put to sea, calculating that the disaffection prevailing so portentously at the Nore would guarantee France against any effective resistance. Rumour was the voice of terror.

Danger, disgrace, and everlasting misery to Great Britain was its ominous proclamation.

The desperate resolutions adopted by the delegates, and officially announced to the Admiral, were at once carried into execution. The *Grampus* store-ship, equipped for the West Indies, with a supply of naval and ordnance stores, was seized on her voyage; the stores were unloaded and distributed among the ships, by command and according to the award of the delegates. The *Serapis* store-ship, homeward bound from the West Indies, shared the same fate. On the other hand, Government issued orders to detain all outward-bound vessels at Gravesend; so that the river presented the appearance of a forest of sail held by contrary winds: while to seaward an immense assemblage of merchant-vessels, brigs, and colliers were anchored, spell-bound by the authority of the mutineers. In the meantime the condition of the officers, far from being enviable under these circumstances, received aggravation from the close imprisonment to which they were rigorously subjected, although a show of respect was freely accorded to the shadow of their authority. Impatient under the restraint imposed, the officers of the *Sandwich* applied to the men of that ship for leave to go on shore. To their request the following reply emanated from the admiral's cabin, the council-room of power:

"Sandwich, Nore, June 1.

"The committee of delegates of the whole fleet have finally determined that no officer whatever shall be permitted to go on shore, until the return of the people who are at present detained. We are well convinced of the good conduct of our officers who are on board.

"By order of the Delegates of the whole Fleet."

In explanation of this order, it should be stated that the Board of Admiralty, before they left Sheerness, directed that all persons visiting the town from the fleet, and suspected of aiding the mutiny, should be imprisoned. Two delegates and other seamen, who had ventured ashore after the promulgation of the order, were taken and committed to custody.

## CHAPTER X.

### LOYALTY AT LARGE AND LOUD.

THE King held a levee on Friday, June 2. At this fashionable assemblage, Mr Pitt presented an address to his majesty from the corporation of Trinity House. This corporation, to the members of which is entrusted the management of some of the most important interests of the seamen and shipping of England, and of which Mr Pitt was the master, was not likely to take a favourable or just view of the condition and conduct of the sailors. Trinity House has always patronised and been patronised by the members of high society — royalty and its surroundings; and the presenting by Mr Pitt of its address, on the glaring occasion of a levee, where so many decorations would affect dagger-looks at those dastardly advocates of

right and righteousness — the wronged and long-suffering seamen — would have a telling dramatic effect on the royal stage, where there were so many of "his Majesty's servants" engaged in the play. Mr Pitt made his "point" good. Trinity House expressed the deep concern which, in common with all his Majesty's faithful subjects, they felt at the present disgraceful conduct of some of the seamen of his Majesty's fleet, and declared their readiness to support with their lives such measures as his Majesty in his wisdom might think most expedient to adopt for the restoration of good order and subordination among the seamen.

Trinity House thus set a misleading example to the nation. It misdirected public opinion.

It aroused a universal spirit of animosity against the ill-treated sailors, who, if now they erred, were only contending for the right—their lives and liberties. So trying were their circumstances, and so crying their wrongs, that a tithe of their grievances would have aroused those sycophants of royalty and its butterflies to such a resistance as might have elevated George III. to a height, or rather sunk his Majesty to a depth, in the roll of martyrdoms somewhere near Charles I.; and it might have chanced to leave a collateral branch of the House of Stuart out in the cold among the representatives of the ill-starred direct line of that family, so brilliant in its fortunes and misfortunes.

A determination to put down the mutiny at all hazards, increased with the system of defence maintained by the delegates. On Saturday, June 3, Mr Pitt rose in his place to move, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for the more effectually restraining the intercourse with the crews of certain of his Majesty's ships, in a state of mutiny at the Nore, and his Majesty's subjects on shore, and for the better suppression of such mutiny and rebellion." Mr Pitt prefaced his motion by saying, that in consequence of the violent and disobedient conduct of certain of his Majesty's ships at the Nore, after the acts of hostility which they had committed, and the fatal measures

which they had pursued, for the purpose of intercepting all communication by sea with the port of London, and of intercepting the commerce of the country, it became the pressing duty of the legislature to interfere, and to prevent the mutineers from gaining any support from that country whose safety they were molesting, and whose dearest interests they were violating. Leave having been granted, the Bill was introduced. The following are the principal clauses: "Be it enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the Commissioners, for executing the office of the Lord High Admiral, to declare the said ships, or any of them, or any other ships, whose crews shall be guilty of the like offences, to be in a state of mutiny and rebellion; and by such declaration to warn all his Majesty's faithful subjects to abstain from all communication or intercourse with the crews of the said ships; and such declaration shall be forthwith published in the *London Gazette*, and be proclaimed in his Majesty's dockyards.

"From and after the date of such proclamation, it shall not be lawful for any of his Majesty's subjects to have any communication or intercourse with the crew of any ship so declared to be in a state of mutiny and rebellion, or in any manner to assist or supply such ship."

The Bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Monday. On that

day the measure was opposed, upon its principle, by several opposition members. Sir John Sinclair said, the right hon. gentleman, by recommending such rigorous proceedings, had not only drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard, but he had also pushed his punishments so far, that it appeared doubtful whether he would not expatriate the British navy. Another member asked whether it might not be advisable to bring back as many men as possible to their duty; and in order to effect this object, he suggested whether it might not be prudent to appoint commissioners to hear the grievances of such crews as might avail themselves of the terms offered in the Proclamation, and endeavour to redress them. This proposition, however, was received by the house with a general cry of No!

Sir F. Burdett described the bill as altogether repugnant to his feelings; it met with his decided objection, first, because the House had no better ground than an assertion for the presumed interference of other persons with the sailors to excite this mutiny, and he required something more tangible than assertions to authorise his support; next, because he thought the Act would produce evil rather than good. It would drive the sailors to desperate measures, and to a position in which no way would be left for a retreat.

Mr Sturt believed the Bill would not answer the purpose intended by ministers, and that conciliatory measures alone would avail. He referred the origin of the mutiny to the system of impressment, and enlarged upon the loyalty naturally belonging to the character of British seamen. He knew the nature of British seamen—he had had the honour of being in the service—there were no men who more dearly loved their country; no longer ago than yesterday, they honoured the monarchy of Great Britain by hoisting the Royal Standard and firing a salute of twenty-one cannon, in celebration of their Sovereign's birthday. He warned the House of the hazard of firing a single shot against the sailors.

Mr Pitt, in defence of his measure, avowed that he had a further intention than merely to cut off all correspondence with the disaffected. It was his design and his desire to separate the crews of those ships which had revolted, from all connection with the country. It was his wish to disunite them from their favourites and friends, and from all which they held dear; that if any of them did retain a spark of kindness and affection, if any valued a father or a brother, a wife, or any other of these beloved objects which are bound up in the co-relative connections of life, and make a part of its attachments, he might open a new

avenue to their hearts by which to introduce the sentiments of love and affection for their country; and if these were the only arguments to authorise the speedy passing of the Bill, he, in his own individual opinion, thought them strong enough. Mr Sturt was the only member who divided in the negative, and he was left by himself in the body of the House. As there were not two tellers upon his side, the speaker informed the other members, when they returned, that it was his duty to declare the majority in favour of the Bill, which was immediately read a third time and passed.

From this debate we learn what view Mr Pitt and his adherents took of the situation. He denied that the mutineers had any just ground of complaints. What they called severity and wrong was inherent in the system of naval administration, and was, therefore, irremediable. Any attempt to remove its defects—to improve the condition of its victims, to secure them the enjoyment of personal liberty, protection against impressment, justice at courts-martial, and bodily comfort—would bring about, they croaked, an instantaneous dissolution of the whole beneficent system, a complete wreck of institutions which had hitherto efficiently guaranteed obedience, which consisted in observing order, and submitting to discipline.

But those who were not either bought, or in some other way bound hand and foot to a despotic Government, men who had seen and experienced the paralysing influence exerted by tyrannical usage and severe regulations upon the habits, temper, and disposition of the seamen, were inclined to visit the present outrages with great leniency, if not with a show of justification. They distinguished between the grievance and the mutiny, and were ready to extend to the latter, the commiseration which they legitimately felt for the former. Thus they could not bring their minds to sanction measures for crushing infant rebellion with the strong arm of power, but mingled their pity for the cause with the offence.

An unremitting blockade of the Thames was kept up by the mutineers for some days. More than a hundred and fifty colliers were detained, while a few small vessels were allowed to proceed on their voyage under the protection of a passport, signed Richard Parker, President. A ship, bound from London to Liverpool, laden with gunpowder, was boarded by six men, who captured her, and told the captain that the delegates had certain information respecting her voyage and her cargo, and considered her to be an acceptable and seasonable prize. Considerable dearth of fresh provisions began now to be felt on board the fleet.

Parker, it is said, seized a fishing-smack, and after having appropriated the salmon, silenced the owner's remonstrances by placing within his hands a draft upon the Admiralty for necessities furnished to his Majesty's fleet, under the command of Admiral Parker. Besides unloading such small craft as this, the mutineers made inroads on the isles of Sheppey and Grain, and removed cattle, sheep, and other provisions to their vessels—thus indicating an unbending resolution to encounter every danger down to death, rather than yield an unqualified submission to their oppressors and detractors. The nation, on the other hand, equally blinded by reckless passion, rose against them with an increasingly dogged determination to crush the mutiny, regardless of justice or injustice. The majority in Parliament and the mass of the people were of one accord.

Government resolved to man ships of the line with volunteers, who were to put forth their strength and skill against the fearless veterans of a fleet in rebellion. Private individuals came forward and offered vessels of their own for this sagacious service. Sir Erasmus Gower was appointed to take command of the scratch fleet thus improvised, and he hoisted his broad pennant on board the *Neptune*, 98 guns. All the officers belonging to the East India Company's merchant vessels, who happened to be at

home, tendered their services. The military officers connected with the Company received orders to repair to Sheerness, and to place themselves at the disposal of Lord Keith; while those connected with the sea-service were directed to report themselves at Woolwich to Sir Erasmus Gower. The younger Brothers, and all persons acting under the authority of the Trinity House Corporation were required to send in their names and address, and to hold themselves in readiness for immediate service. The Watermen's Company, and other chartered bodies, sent down hundreds of volunteers to join the expedition. Nor was this zeal confined merely to the professional classes. The merchants and ship-owners of the city of London held a large and influential meeting at the Royal Exchange, when it was resolved: "First, that the disorderly and mutinous proceedings of part of the Fleet at the Nore were witnessed with extreme concern, indignation, and abhorrence; secondly, that no seaman who had taken part in the disturbance should henceforth be employed without a certificate of his having returned to his duty; thirdly, that a public subscription should be raised, to detect and bring to public justice such lurking traitors as may have excited and fomented the mutiny at the Nore."

Considerable sums were sub-

scribed and rewards offered, according to the terms of the resolution above described. A gratuity of two guineas was voted to each petty officer and one guinea to each seaman, who should volunteer to serve on board his Majesty's ships of war and gun-boats, under Sir Erasmus Gower.

Influence was brought to bear upon the sailors of Sir Roger Curtis's squadron at Spithead, in whose name the following echo of the sentiments of the Government and a gullible nation was penned :

"BROTHER SAILORS,

"It is with the utmost concern we see that several ships' companies continue in a state of disaffection and illegal proceedings, notwithstanding every demand made by our brethren in Lord Bridport's fleet have been most graciously granted to us, by his Majesty and both Houses of Parliament assembled. We shall lay some outlines of our proceedings before the public view. When we requested Sir Roger Curtis to go from Torbay round to Spithead, we were actuated by no bad principles ; there was no disaffection to our king and country—no fresh demands on our side, but what had before been made by our brethren of Lord Bridport's fleet ; as we had before been privy to all, we only wished to join our brethren, as in Torbay, where we lay, many reports prevailed which exaggerated matters greatly, and as reports can never

be relied on. It was never our intention to distress our country, or leave it exposed to the ravages of the enemy : no, should the enemy have dared to take the advantage of our situation, we were unanimously resolved to chastise their insolence. Our views were honourable, we were perfectly sensible that no state, no body of men could exist without proper subordination and discipline was maintained ; our general request was, our wages to be raised, our provisions to be augmented, and our private grievances to be redressed : all this was granted, the king's most gracious pardon given us, and an act of indemnity and total oblivion passed ; we returned cheerfully to our duty (which by-the-by we never neglected), and we believe when we say, should the enemies of our country dare to meet us they will be rougher handled than ever they have been yet, we not only speak the sentiments of our own squadron, but the unanimous voice of our brethren in Lord Bridport's fleet.

"There is no doubt but evil-minded and designing men wish to take advantage of our honest openness, intending to make us their tools to subvert our most excellent constitution, but we are above their devices—we think ourselves capable of judging for ourselves, without being led by the nose by any set of men from on shore whatever. We will never desert the coun-

try which gave us birth, and for which we profess a most sincere esteem. French principles and their agents, under whatsoever mask they may attempt to work upon us, we abhor; and should we ever get any such persons into our hands, we are resolved to bring them to justice. It is, therefore, our hope that all ships' companies who labour under any grievances will not forget their country, or by continuing in an unsettled state give our enemies any advantage; but should our enemies dare to lift up their heads, and come out of their hiding-holes, we hope our brotherseamen will unanimously agree to prefer the public good to their private interests, and unanimously agree to go, meet and chastise the insolence of our enemies, and to preserve the unsullied honour of the British flag.

"With this view we have drawn up this address, hoping it will have a desirable effect upon such of our brethren as are still in an unsettled state, which, should it do, will entail a perfect satisfaction upon the seamen in Sir Roger Curtis's squadron, as likewise upon all our brethren in Lord Bridport's fleet. We have wrote these lines while unmooring, and preparing to go out to sea, to face our enemies, and to protect the commerce of our country, which as seamen it is our duty to encourage to the utmost of our power. We have a full reliance that all our brother seamen, who labour

under any grievances, will make no unreasonable demands, nor delay an amicable settlement by standing out for trifling objects.

"That all differences may be happily and soon settled, is the sincere wish of the seamen in Sir Roger Curtis's squadron.

"*Prince*—John Lindsay, Wm. Horton. *La Juste*—Patrick Rowe, Michael M'Cue, William White. *Cæsar*—William Oliver, John Gilder. *Triumph*—Arch. M'Arthur, Jas. Maddock. *Cumberland*—Wm. Smedley, Thos. Bridges. *Formidable*—George Horser, David Nicholls. *Ganges*—Henry Edwards, John Howe. *Hector*—Ed. Cavenagh, David Parry. *Bedford*—Robt. Berry, X, Henry Hide, X—their marks.

"*Spithead, 4th June.*"

The delegates of the fleet at Plymouth had the following self-complacent and rather impertinent note, written in their names, printed, and distributed among the ships at the Nore:

"*Hamoaze, June 6, 1797.*

"Brother Seamen,—We on board the different ships at Hamoaze have consulted together concerning your present proceedings, and understand that you are still keeping forward your cause. We therefore wish to know the grievances that make you still dissatisfied, as we have had every grievance settled here with us, and that we can further assure you that the grand fleet is still at sea, and in greater spirits than ever



they were; and we your brothers expect that you will be satisfied with the same terms as we are, which are such as all true-hearted loyal British seamen should be satisfied with. We trust that you will immediately return to your regular duty, as we have done, and that you will be satisfied as we are; your present proceedings are a scandal to the name of British seamen. Immediately answer this to us whose names are hereunto subscribed, being the former delegates of the fleet in Hamoaze, in the name of all the ships' companies.

"(Signed) *Cambridge*—John Leeman, A. Mackenzie. *Leviathan*—George Hoggan, R. Mumford. *Magnanime*—J. Roberts, W. Morn. *Cerberus*—John Johnson, John Snowden. *Artois*—Thomas Mein, Nich. Pearce. *Gibraltar*—George Walker, J. Parkinson. *Galatea*—James Payne, X; M'Carthy, X, their marks. *Greyhound*—G. Elphinstone, J. Archison. *Zealand*—John Roberts, Ryan Reed.

"*To the Seamen of his Majesty's Fleet at the Nore.*"

These ill-timed assurances that the men who had first risen in mutiny were among their

enemies served as a bitter aggravation to the sailors at the Nore who had entered upon their labours, and were working out the result of their limited gains to a consistent issue. They had obtained redress for their grievances, and were there no other claims of right? Did the list of wrongs written out at Spithead comprise all the sufferings of the true British sailor? The remonstrants felt secure and proud of the triumph they achieved by extorting from King, Government, and Board of Admiralty the concessions they had pertinaciously struggled for. Was a similar obstinacy at the Nore, a folly which called for an officious expression of their grimacing, and smooth complacency with themselves, and their limited achievement? It is not pleasant to reflect on this aspect of the conduct of the squadron at Spithead. Heroism has evaporated at the south coast of Hampshire. The sailors there have become as sycophantish as the members of Trinity-House and other London shopkeepers. The whole thing is like so much that is to be encountered in any unheroic corner of the land, as well as in all the high places of Church and State.

## CHAPTER XI.

## THE TERRIBLE CRISIS.

THE determined spirit of mutiny did not inspire all the crews nominally under the control of the delegates. Of this the delegates and other leading souls of the rebellion were painfully aware, and matters did not proceed in a manner satisfactory to them. Distrust and fear of consequences were widely prevalent among the ships, and were steadily working towards the inevitable submission which was to prove so tragical. The malcontents with the mutiny were on the look-out for a chance of escaping from the double line of battle. The delegates, on the other hand, with wakeful suspicion, kept a vigilant watch over them, well aware that the heavy metal that they had at their command would render any attempt at escape which might be hazarded, perilous in the direst degree to the cowards who made it. Those who were tainted with dissaffection to the mutiny knew this only too well.

On the 6th of June, notwithstanding the vigilance of Parker and his trusty colleagues, the *Serapis*, 44 guns, Captain Duncan; and the *Discovery*, a sloop-of-war, daringly braved the fire of the whole fleet and escaped, but not before suffering considerable damage. Just at this critical moment, however, four

more ships arrived at the Nore from Admiral Duncan's fleet, and reassured many wavering spirits which had begun to despond. The *Agamemnon*, the *Ardent*, the *Leopard*, and the *Isis*, anchored at the Nore late on the evening of the 6th, under the entire command of the quartermasters and delegates, the pilots taking charge as usual. As they came to their station, the whole fleet was directing a heavy fire of great guns and musketry against the deserting *Serapis*.

The excitement and irritation among the mutineers at this time is beyond description, and it expressed itself in a manner quite natural in the circumstances, as has been made manifest in all angry outbursts of popular passion. They strung up at the yard-arms of some of the ships effigies of Mr Pitt, and discharged volleys of musketry at them while they were hanging. Others of their enemies, in effigy, were also run up, as was Pitt's, in the smoke of the guns, in the manner usually exercised at naval executions.

The people on shore seeing day by day from a distance these mock executions, fancied that the delegates were in reality punishing with death certain refractory seamen, and accounts full of indignation and outrage.

ous detail were forwarded to the newspapers in London. Among other reports it was asserted, with a fair show of probability, that the delegates were watching for the Princess of Wurtemberg, whom they proposed to detain as a hostage if she should pass the Nore in the *St Fiorenzo*, on her voyage from Harwich to Germany, as was the general expectation.

Sir Erasmus Gower had by this time collected a considerable number of ships of all classes, and was only waiting for orders to sail against the mutineers. Since savage obstinacy and unqualified denial of every concession, with hostile threats and Acts of Parliament, calumny, and abuse, had failed to lure or terrify the seamen back into the bonds of discipline, the ministry now began to sound the note of still stronger measures of coercion and punishment against men whom the guilt of Government alone had forced into the position of the empire's most dangerous enemies.

Accordingly, in terms of the Act of Parliament recently passed for a more speedy suppression of the mutiny, the seven Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty signed a declaration that the fleet at the Nore was in a state of open rebellion. Every exertion was put forth to prevent them from obtaining supplies of fresh water, of which the mutineers were known to be in great want. This was a dexterous move on the part of the

Government; and the delegates, knowing that it was backed by a time-serving nation terrified out of all reason, once more made overtures for terms of pardon and other concessions. They knew that their position was critical.

A convenient opportunity for offering to treat with the Government occurred. Lord Northesk, captain of the *Monmouth*, had represented to the delegates his anxiety to discharge his duty as a peer in the House of Lords. His request was granted without hesitation. On Tuesday, June 6, however, before leave of absence was officially notified, the two delegates of the *Monmouth* were rowed on board that ship, and informed Lord Northesk that it was the pleasure of the committee to demand his lordship's presence on board the flag-ship, as they had proposals to make for an accommodation of existing difficulties. His lordship immediately attended, with only one officer. He found the convention, composed of sixty delegates, sitting in the state-cabin, with Parker at their head. Before he entered upon business, the president asked the individual in attendance upon Lord Northesk who he was.

He replied, "An officer of the *Monmouth*, who accompanied his captain in the capacity of secretary, from a supposition that his services might be required upon the present occasion."

"Who knows him?" demand-

ed the president, directing his question to the committee; "say, delegates of the Monmouth, what kind of man is he?"

The two delegates answered, "that he was a worthy good man;" on which it was unanimously resolved that he might attend the conference.

Lord Northesk was then addressed by Parker, who told him, "that the committee had resolved upon a declaration of the terms by a concession of which alone, without the smallest alteration, they could give up the ships; and that they had sent for him, as a known seaman's friend, to be charged with their transmission to the king, from whom he must pledge his honour to return on board with a clear and positive answer in fifty-four hours." Parker next read the letter, which was said to contain some rough compliments on his Majesty's good qualities, and many coarse strictures on the evident demerits of his ministers.

His lordship was a brave naval officer, and spoke his mind freely to the committee. While he assured them that he would faithfully deliver their letter at the destination they desired, he did not hold out to them any ground for hope that it would be successful in their interests. In return they uttered a threat that, in case of refusal, they would put out to sea with the whole fleet. Lord Northesk was then rowed on board the Duke of York, Margate Packet,

with three cheers from the Sandwich, and with the following state paper to ratify his credentials:

"Sandwich, June 6, 3 P.M.

"To Captain Lord Northesk.

"You are hereby authorised and ordered to wait upon the king, wherever he may be, with the resolutions of the committee of delegates, and are directed to return back with an answer to the same within fifty-four hours from the date hereof.

"R. PARKER, President."

This letter to the king contained two conditions which the mutineers at Spithead had during their struggle urged in vain: (1.) "That no punishment should be inflicted on board a king's ship until the offender had been previously tried and convicted by a jury of seamen;" and (2.) "that three-fifths of all prize-money should be shared among the seamen and petty officers."

The noble lord who bore the message of the mutineers to the king, immediately upon his arrival in London had an interview with the Admiralty, and was accompanied by Earl Spencer to an audience with his Majesty. The result was a prompt and resolute refusal of any further concessions. Captain Knight, of the Montague, who had obtained leave of absence from his ship for four days, was charged with the king's reply; he also conveyed two proclamations, which had been issued by the Admiralty in conformity with

the Act lately passed for the suppression of the mutiny. The first was from the king in council:

"At the Court of the Queen's House, June 6, 1797. Present the King's most excellent Majesty in Council.

"Whereas, by an Act passed in the present session of Parliament, intituled, 'An Act for more effectually restraining intercourse with the crews of certain of his Majesty's ships now in a state of mutiny and rebellion, and for the more effectual suppression of such mutiny and rebellion,' it is enacted that it shall be lawful for the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, or any three or more of them, being thereto authorised by order of his Majesty in council, to declare the crew of any of his Majesty's ships who have been guilty of acts of mutiny and rebellion, and who still persist therein, and also the crew of any other of his Majesty's ships who shall be guilty of any of the like offences, to be in a state of mutiny and rebellion; and by such declaration to warn all his Majesty's faithful subjects to abstain from all communication or intercourse with the crews of the said ships; and it is further enacted that it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners, or any three or more of them, in such manner as his Majesty shall authorise and require, to accept the submission of the

crew of any ship which shall have been so declared to be in a state of mutiny and rebellion, or of any person or persons, part of such crew, or of any person or persons on board of any such ships, or to declare any such person or persons to have returned to their duty, and thereupon to declare the person or persons, whose submission shall be so accepted, or who shall be so declared to have returned to their duty, to be exempted and relieved from all or any of the penalties and forfeitures in the said act contained, in such manner and under such terms and restrictions as his Majesty shall think fit: and whereas the said Lords Commissioners have represented to his Majesty that it appears to them that the crews of the ships hereinafter mentioned—that is to say, the Sandwich, Montague, Director, Inflexible, Monmouth, Belliqueux, Standard, Lion, Nassau, Repulse, Grampus, Proserpine, Brilliant, Iris, Champion, Comet, Tisiphone, Pylades, Swan, and Inspector, have been guilty of acts of mutiny and rebellion, particularly by taking the command of the said ships from his Majesty's officers, by combining to obstruct the trade and navigation of the port of London, and by other acts of the most heinous nature, and that some of such crews had actually fired on divers of his Majesty's ships, and that all the said crews still persisted in such their mutiny and rebellion.

His Majesty, in pursuance of the powers vested in him by the above-recited act, is hereby pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to authorise, and by this his order in Council doth authorise, the said Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, or any three or more of them, to declare the crews of the said ships to be in a state of mutiny and rebellion, and to warn all his Majesty's faithful subjects to abstain from all communication or intercourse with the crews of the said ships in the manner directed in the said Act.

"And his Majesty is hereby further pleased, with the advice aforesaid, to authorise and require the said Commissioners, or any three or more of them, to accept the submission of the crew of any of the said ships, or of any person or persons part of such crew, or of any person or persons on board any of the said ships, or to declare any such person or persons to have returned to their duty, and thereupon to declare the person or persons whose submission shall be so accepted, or who shall be declared to have returned to their duty, to be exempted and relieved from all or any of the penalties and forfeitures in the said Act contained, in such manner and under such terms and restrictions as his Majesty shall think fit. W. FAWKENER."

The second has been already alluded to.

"By the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, etc.

"By virtue of an order of his Majesty in council, bearing date the 6th day of June instant, and in pursuance of the provisions of an Act passed in the present session of Parliament, intituled, 'An Act for more effectually restraining intercourse with the crews of certain of his Majesty's ships now in a state of mutiny and rebellion, and for the more effectual suppression of such mutiny and rebellion,' we do hereby declare, that the crews of his Majesty's ships hereinafter mentioned—that is to say, the Sandwich, Montague, Director, Inflexible, Monmouth, Bellicieux, Standard, Lion, Nassau, Repulse, Grampus, Proserpine, Brilliant, Iris, Champion, Comet, Tisiphone, Pylades, Swan, and Inspector, having been guilty of acts of mutiny and rebellion, and persisting therein, are, and are to be deemed and taken to be, in a state of mutiny and rebellion: and, in further pursuance of the provisions of the said act, we do hereby warn all his Majesty's faithful subjects to abstain from all communication and intercourse with the crews of the said ships; and we do hereby notify, that by virtue of the said act, any person who shall wilfully and advisedly have any communication or intercourse, whether personally or by letter, message, or otherwise, with the crew of any of the said

ships, or with any person or persons being part of such crew, or with any person who shall, after this day, remain on board any of the said ships, will on conviction thereof be adjudged guilty of felony, and suffer death; and also, that any person who shall wilfully and advisedly in any manner supply and comfort or assist such crew, or any part thereof, or any person remaining on board the said ships after this day, will, on conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of felony, and suffer death: and also, that any person who shall wilfully and advisedly in any manner supply and comfort or assist such crew, or any part thereof, or any person remaining on board any of the said ships, after this day, will, on conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of felony, and suffer death: and also, that from and after this day, all wages and other allowances payable to the crews of the said ships will cease and determine, and be no longer payable, and that they will respectively from thenceforth forfeit and lose all wages, and other allowances, and all shares of prizes then due to them respectively, and all benefits and advantages to which they might otherwise be entitled from Greenwich Hospital or the Chest at Chatham, and all other benefits and advantages whatsoever to which they might otherwise be entitled in consequence of their having served as seamen or marines on board

his Majesty's ships; and that all persons voluntarily remaining on board any of the said ships, after having knowledge of this declaration, will, on conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of piracy and felony, and will suffer death.

“And whereas the penalties of the said Act do not extend to such communication or intercourse with the said crews as may be carried on by our order or authority, or by the order and authority of such person or persons as may be authorised by us to grant permission, and give directions in that behalf, we do hereby notify, that we have authorised Charles Buckner, Esq., vice-admiral of the White, and Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the river Medway, and at the buoy at the Nore, to hold communication or intercourse with the said crews, and to grant permission and give directions in that behalf. And we do further notify and declare that we are authorised by his Majesty, in pursuance of the said act, to accept the submission of the crews of any of the said ships, or of any person or persons on board of such ships, and to declare any such person or persons to have returned to their duty, and thereupon to declare the person or persons whose submission shall be so accepted, or who shall be so declared to have returned to the duty, to be exempted and relieved from all or any of the pen-

alties and forfeitures in the said act.

"Given under our hands, and the seal of office of Admiralty, this 7th day of June 1797.—Spencer, Arden, Charles S. Pybus, H. Seymour, Ph. Stephens, I. Gambier, W. Young.

"By command of their Lordships, EVAN NAPEAN."

The tide of affairs on the Thames had now turned in favour of the Government. The Lancaster, lying off Pasfleet, it will be remembered, had been effectually tampered with by delegates from Sheerness, and was only prevented from dropping down the river and joining the fleet at the Nore by unremitting vigilance on the part of the Government officials, who would have opened a destructive fire from the cutters upon her if she had offered to weigh anchor. The crew thus got time to reflect on their position; and observing that day after day passed without a decisive blow being struck by the mutineers, their ardour cooled, and afforded Captain Wells a favourable opportunity of trying to lure them back to obedience. He signified a desire to address the men, to which they cheerfully acceded. He informed them of the decisive steps for the speedy suppression of the mutiny which the Government had taken; that these were sanctioned by Parliament, and supported by the nation unanimously. The men appreciated their captain's

motives, and apprehended the danger which overhung them, if they persisted in their mutinous attitude, as well as the consequences they must abide. In the course of the evening, and at night watch, a poll was taken, which resulted in a considerable majority, requesting Captain Wells to convey proposals for submission to the Admiralty. They petitioned for the king's pardon, for the release of such of the crew as were in confinement, and for a change of certain officers. Upon these conditions they promised to return to their duty. Captain Wells executed his commission, and placed their overtures before the board, at which Mr Pitt was present. A compromise was effected, and the Lancaster hauled down the red flag.

A move was now made by Government which cut off all means of escape from the doomed and desperate fleet. At the suggestion of a member of Trinity House, Government adopted a bold measure, indicative of perilous extremes. It was to take up all the buoys and pull down all the beacons in the three channels leading to the Thames. The fertile idea which led to this finally effectual measure is by some ascribed to Mr Sheridan. The following notice was issued by the Trinity House:

*"Trinity House, London,  
June 8, 1797.*

*"His Majesty having thought*



fit, by his order in council, to direct the buoys in the several channels to be removed, and the beacons to be cut down ;

"Notice is hereby given, that the several buoys in the North, Nub, and Queen's Channels are removed, and the beacons cut down accordingly : and further notice will be given as soon as it is judged proper to replace the same."

This order was executed on Wednesday the 7th, although not without danger to those employed on the service, for the master of one of the Trinity boats, in removing the beacon nearest the Nore, was surprised by a row-galley, manned by forty sailors, who had almost succeeded in taking him and his crew prisoners.

The delegates had to endure the terrible mortification of yet another desertion. The gun-boat *Firm*, commanded by Captain Price, escaped by cutting both cables in the dead of night, in a heavy gale of wind. She managed by good seamanship to make Sheerness. This vessel had been ordered to proceed with the fleet against Tilbury Fort ; but the report of the furnaces heated with red-hot shot disconcerted the plan.

In order to prevent the recurrence of similar escapes, the disposition of the ships was changed ; they were spread in an uninterrupted line across the channel, with the most determined crews placed at the extremities, or stationed at regular

distances throughout. The line was double, running nearly east and west from the great Nore Sand ; the *Sandwich*, with the red flag flying at her main, was moored next to the shore, and closed the lines to the westward, while a chain of frigates guarded the opposite extremity.

Captain Knight, who had been entrusted with the reply of the King in council to the committee of the mutineers, and also with the two proclamations given above, went on board the *Montague* on June 8th. He was received with a great show of respect, the yards of all the ships being manned. The delegates took possession of the documents he brought, and proceeded at once to hold a council on their contents. They were in doubt whether all the information contained in them should be communicated to the fleet ; and they decided that the president should visit each vessel and make known to the crews the general purport of the measures directed against them, omitting such points as it was considered inconvenient for their designs to communicate. There was no letter in reply to the committee's letter to the King ; only a verbal message. The two proclamations were the only documents entrusted to Captain Knight.

Parker, accompanied by the principal members of the committee, proceeded on board each ship in the fleet, and read the extracts sanctioned by the

committee, omitting, however, all mention of the pardon offered to those who should return to their duty within the prescribed time.

The following scene is said to have taken place on board the *Monmouth*, after he had finished reading the extracts. He addressed the sailors in these terms: "Brothers, I have told you the contents of the King's proclamation, which ought to excite our indignation. It calls us rebels—are we so? (a cry from all sides, No! no!) Why, then, our countrymen are rebels to us in calling us so: I say we are all honest men; I and my brother delegates are all united, and acting in the cause of humanity; and while life animates the heart of Dick Parker, he will be true to the cause." When Parker had finished his speech, Gregory, another delegate, commented upon the terms of the proclamation in strong and vehement language. On board the *Ardent*, Parker alluded to the report that he had made a private purse of the money entrusted to the delegates by the seamen for common services. It is said he remarked, "That is false; the fact is, I owe my washer-woman eighteenpence, and have not even money to pay her." Upon which one of the men shouted, with more truth than discretion, "Why, then, you are a precious admiral indeed!"

The game was now all but up for the mutineers. The

fearful drama was drawing to its tragic close. The critical hour had arrived. The attitude assumed and maintained by Government: the silence of the King to their letter of remonstrance; the assembling of an armed force, manned by crowds of volunteers, and commanded by officers celebrated for their skill and intrepidity; the menacing aspect of the batteries on shore; the concentration of a large body of military prepared to act at every point; the cutting away of buoys and beacons;—these manifest symptoms of a fixed resolve to put down the mutiny at all hazards, while an attack by sea and a repulse by land awaited the least movement upon their part, indicated to the mutineers that the time for an unconditional submission was at hand, unless some master-stroke of policy or some daring exploit should be called in aid to extricate them from a position in which humiliation and destruction threatened them from every side.

It was now an anxious question with the delegates, how they were to secure self-preservation. Success to their overtures was beyond hoping for. The committee deliberated with all the solicitude which life in the balance prescribes. Ireland was, at the time, disaffected, and almost in open rebellion. Would they sail to the shores of the green isle, and seek co-operation with the impatient Irish, who might extend

to them their sympathy? The prevalence of easterly winds rendered this proposal abortive. Would they carry the whole fleet into one of the French ports? British seamen revolted at this proposition. They would not equip their natural enemies with that power which had so often triumphantly crushed their own most magnificent armaments. America next presented itself for the consideration of the desperate mutineers; but pride forbade them to seek shelter in that quarter, and to deliver the British flag into the hands of a revolter from the mother country. Then the possibility was discussed of running into some foreign port, and selling the ships to any government which might be disposed to purchase them; but here again the same arguments prevailed as before. Such an act would tarnish the honour of British seamen, no less than a deliberate and open surrender of the fleet, without pay or reward, to the enemy. Last of all, it was determined to break up and separate: the *Standard* to be ordered to Cherbourg; the *Monmouth*, *Lion*, *Nassau*, *Sandwich*, and *Director*, to the Firth of Cromarty, in Scotland; the *Proserpine*, *Hound*, *Inflexible*, and *Comet*, to some colony, which was not mentioned. This was the suggestion most favourably received. If the plan were carried into execution it would distract the attention of the Government; and who knew

what happy chance might put it in their power to extract from Mr Pitt and his confederates their own terms after all? The vain longing of lost men! The buoys had been taken up, and several of the ships had expressly declared they would not stir from the Nore, with the certainty of running aground and suffering shipwreck, if they should weigh anchor in the absence of pilot, buoy, or beacon, to conduct them safely through the channel.

Perplexity and disunion were dominant in the council of the delegates. Still ruin was impending, and "something must be done"—last articulate utterance of the desperate. They resolved to order the fleet to sea. The Nore was no place for further plotting. Once free from the toils which were being coiled more closely round them every hour they delayed, they would decide upon and adopt the measures which would most effectually secure them the victory. Still hoping against hope!

On Friday morning, the 9th of June, Parker made the signal for sailing. The fore-top sail of the *Sandwich* was loosed; a gun was fired; the signal was answered by all the ships; the wind was favourable—it was blowing a fresh breeze from the south-east. The signal was answered; but that was all. It was not obeyed. Not an anchor was weighed, nor a sail unfurled. President Parker was powerless. He and his committee were no

longer in command of the squadron at the Nore. The charm was dissolved. The spirit of the mutiny had fled ; and woe to those who had quaffed the deepest, longest draughts of its inspiration ! The terrible crisis had come, and fortune seemed now to frown on them.

## CHAPTER XII.

### DISHEARTENING DESERTIONS FROM THE MUTINOUS FLEET.

THE delegates made a fatal mistake when they attempted to suppress the proclamations. It was an error of short-sightedness, the same in kind as those often advocate who cry down the free discussion of important questions in popular assemblies. It was a sin which always finds out those who commit it. The passages which it was thought inconvenient to communicate to the crews gained general circulation in the fleet ; and when the sailors learned that pardon had been offered to all who should return to what was termed their duty they became incensed at the delegates for keeping back this vital element of information. They had become acquainted with this double-dealing of their leaders before the signal to put out to sea had been made ; and that proposition aggravated their dissatisfaction, and it now developed into distrust and disunion.

There was a frightful deficiency of water and provisions, and the means of obtaining fresh supplies had been rigor-

ously cut off. The most deplorable misery and confusion prevailed on board the Sandwich. A little biscuit and junk was her whole stock of supply in the shape of the necessaries of life ; her water had become putrid ; and this liquid poison was so scarce that two sentinels were appointed to guard it from waste or from any disproportionate supply. Order was maintained also by sentinels posted in every quarter of the ship ; and lamentable cries raised by women and children who had not been allowed to go on shore were a continuous doleful refrain to all the other strains of misery. Such being the terribly harrowing condition of the flag-ship, what must have been the woe-stricken and demoralised state of the others ?

The crews were now utterly heedless of the doings of the delegates. Their own voices must be heard. Some of them thought that to reinstate the officers in command was their only safety ; and they longed eagerly for a favourable juncture to give effect

to their wishes. Others made all the arrangements requisite for desertion, and determined to leave the guns under control of the delegates rather than endure their yoke any longer.

The *Leopard*, 50 guns, in absence of the captain, who had been sent on shore, was the first, under the command of Lieutenant Robb, to abandon the fleet after the signal to sail had been made. This vessel had hitherto been among the foremost in violent and unquestioning attachment to the delegates. There were spirits zealous in the cause of mutiny on board it still. But Mr Robb, collecting the officers of the ship and a few seamen on whom he could depend, in the ward-room, he turned the aftermost guns forward, primed and loaded, and placed trusty men by them ready to fire, should it unfortunately prove necessary; the ward-room door was then thrown open, and while it thus unmasked his battery which commanded the main deck, himself and his followers, well armed, rushed forward among the people, and ordered them to surrender; some little resistance was at first offered, but soon subsided. Lieutenant Buchanan, an officer loyal to the Government, was mortally wounded in the fray by a seaman named John Stanton. The *Leopard* was conducted by Lieutenant Robb up the Thames, beyond the range of gunshot from her former companions; and when she came to anchor,

he put eighteen of the most daring of those who had resisted the desertion in close confinement.

The *Repulse*, 64 guns, soon followed the example of the *Leopard*. This ship ran for Sheerness, as she lay too far westward to weather the Nore Sand and gain the Thames. The tide was unfavourable to her purpose. It was about three o'clock in the afternoon, and there was not sufficient water to carry her over the shoal: this the pilot in vain represented to the seamen, who in this ship were mostly in favour of Government, and who, flying from one extreme to the other, insisted on the cables being cut and sail made; this was done, but, as the pilot had foretold, the ship grounded very soon after, and lay exposed to the fire of the whole fleet for the space of one hour and twenty minutes. Every ship in the fleet, whose guns could be brought to bear, fired on the stranded *Repulse* for two hours, as she lay aground, not returning a single shot. It is said, however, that the guns of the *Agamemnon* were purposely so pointed as to send every shot wide of the helpless deserter, whose officers and crew, in the meantime, were not idle. The water in the hold was started, her casks were stove, and a strong party was placed at the pumps. In this manner the ship was lightened, and being floated off by the rising tide, she ran into the

harbour in a very disabled state. Lieutenant Delano was the only person wounded, although the vessel received upwards of fifty shot in her hull, one of which passed through her.

The Ardent, 64 guns, cut her cables and drifted in the midst of the confusion caused by the desertion of the Repulse and Leopard. She set her fore-top-sails, which materially assisted her progress; but as soon as her intentions were discovered, the Sandwich, Inflexible, and other ships, opened a tremendous fire upon her as she passed; the damage, however, which she sustained in successfully accomplishing her object, was trivial, compared with the attack directed against her.

These desertions dealt a blow to the spirits of the mutineers, which it was vain in them to attempt to conceal. They could not recover from it. Confidence gave place to doubt and despair. Triumph receded further from them every hour; and the hopes they had cherished faded fast away. The cry of duplicity became loud against the delegates. Former accusations were revived; and when it was again proposed to carry off the fleet and deliver it over to the French, reprobation almost universal hooted the project.

Hopes of the co-operation of Sir Roger Curtis's squadron were blasted by the address from the fleet at Spithead. The murmurs of the seamen at the suppression of the whole truth in late Acts

of Parliament, and in the king's proclamation, broke out into bitter recrimination. The penalties announced in those documents frightened them. The mass of the men now discovered that they were branded as rebels and traitors, while they had hitherto regarded themselves simply as remonstrants against grievous wrongs, and claimants of righteous redress.

The tempest of discord beat more fiercely against Parker and the delegates of the Sandwich, than against any other section of the committee. The greatest disorder soon prevailed; of the twenty vessels remaining off the Nore, not more than one-half kept the red flag flying at the main; while others hoisted the union colours. The crews voted a want of confidence in Parker and his brethren of the Sandwich, and desired the committee to leave that vessel to itself, and henceforth to hold their deliberations on board the Montague. These proceedings on the part of the fleet excited tumult and disunion in the Sandwich; a complete division took place, and the headquarters of the delegates and their opponents were distinguished by the names of Royalists and Republicans. Orders and counter-orders were issued; and as each prevailed, so the red flag and the union colours were alternately hoisted and lowered. In the end, however, after a personal conflict of some duration, the republican faction gained the ascendancy,

and the signal of defiance was left to proclaim the sentiments of the majority. One result, however, was ascertained beyond doubt, that the royalists were acquiring strength both in numbers and in hatred to Parker and his adherents, who, if they had never betaken themselves to flight, would have availed themselves of their last chance of safety.

A committee met on board the Montague, and took into their most grave consideration the king's proclamation, and the terms held out by it. It was not, however, a committee of abject cowards, ready to purchase the safety of its members and their adherents at any price. When they took into account the exceptions specified in the pardon; that the delegates were to be surrendered by their crews as peculiarly guilty ringleaders in the revolt; that they alone were to be tried for the acts of rebellion which all had been parties to, the committee hesitated to submit. The crews also acquiesced in this gallant feeling, to stand out at all risk, rather than purchase immunity at the expense of their companions' safety. It was deemed advisable, therefore, to despatch Captain Knight and Captain Cobb, under a flag of truce, to Sheerness, that they might convey fresh overtures to Government for reconciliation. They offered to resign the command of the ships to the Admiralty on condition of receiving a general

and unqualified pardon; they also required that none of the officers who had been dismissed by the seamen should be retained in the same vessels. These propositions were accompanied by a determination to leave the redress of their grievances to the clemency and discretion of the king. The red flag was again unanimously hoisted, until the reply of Government should reach the Nore.

It was too late. The Ministry knew well that the snake of mutiny was, at all events, effectually "scotched," if it was not yet killed. They were well aware of their advantageous position. They had found out that the delegates had no man of far-seeing genius, and organising intellect equal to the great occasion, among them. Every move made recently by Government had been a check to them, and now was the time to move a checkmate. The spirit of insubordination could and would now be finally crushed. Severity of punishment would put an end to dangerous outcry against grievances, whatever might be its plea in justice.

Unconditional submission was the only ground on which the board of Admiralty would treat with any representatives of the fleet. At the same time, it was intimated that his Majesty's gracious pardon would be extended to the crews of all the rebel ships, which should be voluntarily surrendered; but it

was distinctly laid down, that to compromise with Parker and the more notorious delegates, would bring disgrace upon the country, and serve as a premium for future mutiny. If invitations to obedience should fail, force was to be applied. The Neptune had taken in her guns at Long Reach, and Sir E. Gower was ready in the Thames with an armament consisting of five or six ships of the line, several frigates, and between twenty and thirty gun-boats, under the command of Lord Keith. Activity, energy, and zeal animated both officers and men in completing the preparations necessary for the expedition. The Warrior was fitting out with all possible dispatch, having bulk-heads built into her, for the purpose of preventing the seamen from boarding her. Sir Roger Curtis's squadron had been ordered round from Spithead to co-operate with Sir E. Gower. The dockyards were busy with preparations, and the smiths, instead of forging anchors, were employed in making grape and bar shot. Thus the unhappy fleet at the Nore, menaced with destruction from without, and torn by dissension within, was left to ride helpless and hopeless. Their tyrants would not negotiate with them except on terms which foreclosed every loophole of escape, and doomed to death beforehand the men whom they had elevated to direful eminence on account of their

intelligence, bravery, and excellent seamanship.

Nothing but mortification and defeat visited the mutineers after the defection of the Leopard and the Repulse. Their blockade was now defied and broken through in a manner which caused them the utmost chagrin. The Dromedary, from Lisbon, having on board upwards of £40,000 in specie, appeared off the Nore. She was ordered to heave to and surrender; instead of which, she gallantly made for the river, sailing through the fleet, and running the gauntlet of an incessant fire from the Sandwich, Inflexible, and Proserpine, for at least half-an-hour.

Indeed, so rapidly was the mutiny drawing towards its dissolution, that the victualling office received orders for fresh beef and other provisions, for the supply of each ship which might desert from the confederacy.

Flags of truce were continually passing between the Nore and Sheerness. There was a panic in the fleet, and it evoked the most urgent desire to come to terms with the Government. Point after point was conceded by the mutineers; and at last they addressed themselves to Admiral Buckner, soliciting his influence and mediation on their behalf. The delegates professed in writing an earnest and sincere desire for the restoration of order and discipline, while, at the same time, they



asked for a list of the names of those prominent mutineers who were marked out by the Admiralty for punishment. They struck the red flag previous to forwarding this request; but the Government was inexorable, and refused to treat with them on any other ground than unconditional surrender. No crew still in rebellion need address that Government, which had so much to answer for in the circumstances of gloomy horror which surrounded those brave men with stricken hearts, who had risen in wrath to assert their right to say that they had souls of their own, and that their bodies needed nourishment, clothing, and some small degree of comfort.'

The delegates further proposed to yield upon the simple condition of a general pardon; but this offer also met with prompt rejection by their tyrants.

The crews of the fleet became aware, in the meantime, of the active measures which Government was taking against them. This spread dismay amongst them. The Admiralty was in constant communication with the fleet, for the liberation of the officers before the dreadful alternative of a general attack should be forced upon the Government. This was an excellent indirect way of supplying the men with intimidating information. Twenty officers were, in this way, under the pressure of the threats implied in the flags of truce which kept

passing and repassing, set at liberty. Some officers, belonging to the war-sloop *Inspector*, had been turned on shore by the mutineers, in addition to these twenty.

On Monday evening, June 12th, strange signs of despair and irresolution were made on board the mutinous ships. The Union flag was hoisted several times, and as often struck and superseded by the proud signal of contumacy; as though resolution wavered between submission and disgrace. But every hour diminished even the slender expectation of immunity; and delay, further protracted, might bring down upon their unsteady councils the stern purposes of Government, enforced by the formidable power under the command of Sir Erasmus Gower.

The delegates were hastily summoned to consultation, and the signal of mourning or distress was displayed from most of the ships for upwards of an hour. All night and till morning the greatest dismay prevailed; a tumult of opinions raged amongst the several crews, and in many instances extended to personal violence and scenes of bloody collision. The desperate question of even then attacking Gravesend, and of perishing under the guns of the batteries, was agitated and urged by the uncompromising; but a unanimous decision upon the best course to be pursued was, under the circumstances, not to be expected.

Next morning early, that is, on the 13th of June, further disheartening desertions appalled the remnant of the mutineers. The *Agamemnon*, *Standard*, and *Vestal* slipped their cables and stood up the river Thames. The *Nassau* and *Iris* shortly afterwards followed their example. Not a show of opposition was made, nor a gun fired, to impede their progress; the secession was too formidable to provoke hostility, and this terrible blow paralysed the courage, while it instantly shattered the remains, of a combination which stands without parallel for boldness and duration in the annals of the British Navy. The *Lion* adopted the same course late in the evening; and that night five ships of the line and three frigates lay off Gravesend, for ever detached from the dangerous confederacy at the Nore. Fourteen men-of-war of different rates still remained at anchor, but not a single red flag was flying; some were evidently attempting to make *Sheerness*, and others were shaking out their sails, with the design, it appeared, either of sailing into harbour or the Little Nore.

No general order was issued by the delegates, and the independent crews of the several ships were thus left to interpret in their helpless ignorance the movements they saw taking place. The men of the *Standard* and the *Iris* imagined that the object of their brethren of the *Agamemnon* and the *Vestal* was

to attack Gravesend—a project which had been under debate. They seconded the movement heartily, and did not find out their mistake till they found themselves irrecoverably in the Government's snare. The rage of the disaffected portion of the crew of the *Iris* knew no bounds. They lashed themselves into fury, and prepared for a deadly conflict with the submissive party on board. The royalists took possession of the fore, and the mutineers of the after part of the frigate; thus situated, they turned the great guns on each other, and began a most terrible fight, in which, however, the mutineers were worsted. This disposition to further acts of insubordination was only quelled by taking ashore from the *Standard* the refractory part of her crew, and placing her under the guard of a strong military force. Still the greatest repugnance continued to be exhibited at the demand for a surrender of the delegates; while the request for a general pardon to all men concerned in the mutiny was only stifled by coercive measures, and a seizure of their persons. The *Lion*, finding the hope of forgiveness short of unqualified submission futile, set sail again for the Nore, and endeavouring to pass the batteries, was fired upon and brought to. All was over now. There remained for Parker and the trustiest of his colleagues on the committee, *Nemesis* and nothing more.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## THE SNARES OF THE FOWLER.

PARKER was no longer President. His authority evaporated along with his office. His influence, personal and official, was gone. He naturally looked about for a way to escape, and he made an unsuccessful attempt. The royalist portion of the crew of the *Sandwich* kept a watch upon him, and foiled his designs for leaving the ship.

Government, too, was on the alert. A usual police precaution was taken in the publication of the following reward :

"Whereas there is reason to believe that Richard Parker, now or late a supernumerary seaman on board his Majesty's ship *Sandwich*, at the Nore, and who stands charged with divers acts of mutiny, treason, and rebellion, will attempt to make his escape from the said ship, his Majesty, for the better discovering and apprehending of the said Richard Parker, is hereby pleased to promise a reward of five hundred pounds, to be paid by the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, to any person or persons who shall apprehend, or cause the said Richard Parker to be apprehended, and brought before some of his Majesty's justices of the peace or chief magistrates of the county, town, or place where he shall be ap-

prehended, so that he may be dealt withal, and proceeded against according to law.

"PORTLAND.

"Richard Parker is about thirty years of age ; wears his own hair, which is black, untied, though not cropt ; about five feet nine or ten inches high ; has rather a prominent nose, dark eyes and complexion, and thin visage ; is generally slovenly dressed in a plain blue half-worn coat, and a whitish or light-coloured waistcoat, and half-boots."

On Wednesday morning, in sign of unconditional surrender, the white flag replaced the red in nearly all the ships. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the *Sandwich*, with a white flag at her main-top, drifted into Sheerness harbour, when it was announced by those who now exercised authority on board that historical man-of-war, that they had come to deliver up to the authorities Parker and his comrades of the committee. She dropped anchor within gunshot of the great battery, and Captain Moss, on boarding her, immediately resumed his command. Shortly afterwards, Admiral Buckner hoisted his flag at the fore, amid the hearty shouts of the crew. Lieutenant Mott, with a party of eight or

who never came—their comfort, their support? Did they ever hear of his fate? We do not know. But a man of his iron resolution must have been related to hearts that could break. Martin was a hero of the old Roman type. As has been written of another—

“ He was manly and fair,  
Lived above selfish gloom,  
Till a gloom of despair  
Laid him low in the tomb :  
Laid him low in the tomb 'neath  
a cold, cold sod,  
Led to merciful doom from his  
Saviour and God.”

The poor suicide of whom this was written received Christian burial. He was one of the notable. Martin was buried in a cross-road with a stake driven through his body !

Two Lords of the Admiralty went down to Gravesend to examine the officers and crews, with the view of selecting for exemplary punishment such as they might deem deserved it. When Parker was searched, his pockets were found to be full of papers; but nothing material could be elicited from them, as they consisted principally of a diary of the proceedings which had taken place on ship-board. Upon his examination before the Commissioners, he conducted himself with coolness and decorum. He expressed a confidence that he should be able to justify himself in all particulars, adding that he hoped he had behaved in no respect dishonourably, nor was he conscious of having acted with

wrong intentions. The investigation lasted three hours, at the conclusion of which he was committed to Maidstone jail, charged with acts of piracy and high treason. A night's reflection in prison had the effect of lowering his undaunted demeanour. On the Thursday morning he was visited by two magistrates of the county of Kent, with the object of tracing the origin of the mutiny, and also of ascertaining whether any, and if any, what persons disaffected towards the Government, had excited the fleet to rebellion. He asserted, however, in the most positive terms, that the mutiny originated and was conducted altogether on board the ships; he said he knew he should suffer the penalty of death, and that he was quite resigned to his fate. At the same time, he asserted that before an impartial tribunal he could give such an account of the transactions, in which he performed a principal part, as might ensure an escape from punishment, if not a free pardon.

The country was now jubilant. Nothing could exceed the joy with which the news of the suppression of the mutiny at the Nore was hailed throughout the land. There was no time to think of mercy, so merry had the mass of true Britons become. The most importunate clamour was raised for vigorous measures and a vigorous display of relentless severity against the men who had presumed to frighten

the whole empire in the way they stood up for their rights. Magnanimity was out of the question, as it commonly is with reassured tyrants and cowards.

True to the line of policy they had pursued all through this reign of terror, the opposition warned Mr Pitt, in no measured language, against carrying his tyranny into the courts of justice, which must now decide the fate of the victims of his cherished system of naval administration. They ascribed the threatened ruin which the state had escaped to his ignorance and folly; the averting of it to no wisdom of his or of his colleagues. There was many a glance aside at the bucolic obstinacy of the king, whose will was the ministry's pleasure. Sir Francis Burdett displayed his best powers in the resistance he offered to the arbitrary proposals of the Prime Minister. Mr Sheridan, however, fell on this occasion to a lower elevation than he has hitherto occupied in this story of hopeless heroism. He, too readily, acceded to the extraordinary powers demanded by Government for the purpose of crushing the heroes of violent failure, without the slightest guarantee that the wrongs of the services would be taken into generous consideration when these should have gone to their doom.

It was at first resolved to hand Parker over to the civil power, and to issue a special commission for his trial at

Maidstone. This resolution was departed from. Why? Mr Johnson Neale discusses this question with the acumen of an English lawyer; and the present writer, who has followed his guidance, stands entirely aside that his readers may enjoy Mr Neale's reasoning.

"Richard Parker," he says, "after an examination of three hours before two Lords of the Admiralty, was committed to Maidstone jail charged with acts of piracy and high treason. As the latter is by far the more 'solemn and terrible' charge of the two, let it be inquired if such a crime is known to the laws of England on shore? The reply is ready—HIGH TREASON is the heaviest crime the British laws can know; it is one which has, beyond all others, occupied our legislators and judges, and is the most carefully guarded in its ingredients, the most dire in its penalties and punishments, and the most humanely protective in its opportunities for defence.

"Reverse this question. Is high treason known to naval martial law? Not in the most remote degree; no instance has ever occurred of naval martial law having been empowered to take the slightest cognizance of it. Throughout the whole Articles of War such an offence is never even named. Then why let it be again demanded? Why was the prisoner so especially made amenable for treason by an Act of Parliament passed

after his offence had been partly consummated? Why was this offender against the laws of treason, for which, after a protracted examination before two Lords of the Admiralty, he had been committed to a county jail—why was this man snatched away from the civil power, that possessed every jurisdiction over this terrible offence, and given up to martial law, which could not recognise his declared crime even by its title? Why was he taken from the protection and custody of that law by which he would have received the most impartial and fair trial known among men, and given up to that code, of all others the most bloody—the most prejudiced—the most partial? The answer is too obvious to admit the slightest doubt—Parker's death was pre-resolved upon, and the only question studied was that of getting at this merciless revenge in the speediest manner. The minister knew what was required of him, and with his usual cunning achieved it. Had his only object been the furtherance of justice, he needed not to have recourse to any such glaring inconsistency, any such unmistakable act of arbitrary power and revenge, as brand the withdrawal of a criminal especially charged with treason, from the trial by jury, settled again and again by Act of Parliament, to place him for a minor offence before an inferior tribunal ignorant of what treason meant; nominated and removable at

the minister's despotic pleasure, where every species of evidence, heresay or not, was to bind the halter round the neck of the victim, whose death was pre-judged before he had pleaded to his charge. Inheriting a commanding intellect, as the second Pitt undoubtedly did, though with principle to guide it far inferior to that of the great statesman from whom he descended, it cannot be attributed to any error, that the head of the cabinet pursued this course with Parker and the other mutineers at the Nore. It arose from the deliberate adoption of those means chance threw in his way, of biassing, at least, if not of perverting, justice. After the long series of most gross blunders that had disgraced Pitt's policy at the outbreak of the mutiny at Spithead, it would indeed have been a climax to his shame and confusion, had an English jury pitied the wrongs that drove their naval defenders into crime, and availed themselves of any doubtful point to acquit the ringleaders. Had Parker been tried for treason, he would, as a matter of right, have been able to address his equals, his jury, by the lips of two successive counsel (7 & 8 W. III., c. 3, s. 1). Mr Pitt—himself a barrister of Lincoln's Inn—could not have lost sight of this marked difference between the two tribunals of judicial and martial law, when selecting one for the execution of the man

who had so obstinately defied his power.

"There was, moreover, at this time a name upon the lists of the English bar not altogether unknown to fame—that of the Hon. Thomas Erskine. Three years before the period of Parker's trial, Mr Erskine had defended Horne Tooke and others against a charge of treason, and by the acquittal of all his clients, gained a series of triumphs against the cabinet of Mr Pitt, which was not only the most severe defeat that despotic and unconstitutional minister ever received in England, but which proved the greatest blessing and support ever rendered to the laws of Britain, in preserving the then much endangered rights of English juries from the insidious arts of assailants no less powerful than determined.

"Is it or is it not probable that Mr Pitt had glanced at the eligibility of allowing Erskine an opportunity of addressing a jury on behalf of Parker?—of laying bare, with all the terrible

fire of an eloquence never surpassed at any bar, and all the zeal and determination of the truest worshipper of national freedom, those crying iniquities, those bloodthirsty punishments, those heartrending impressions, those maddening acts of cruelty and oppression—those mean, endless, and unpitied hardships of food, of clothing, and of pay, which, aggravated by long years of the most brutal and cold neglect, had at last festered into so deadly an outbreak, that the safety of the empire and the continuance of society under its existing form were owing only to the accidental absence of sufficient genius among the malcontents to carry out their own gigantic power?

"View the case as leniently as possible, no minister who for long weeks had been lying on the gridiron of so torturing a public catastrophe as this mutiny must have proved to the responsible head of the state, could have failed to see the possibility here considered."

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE TRIAL OF PARKER.

WHATEVER may have been Mr Pitt's reasons for resolving that Parker should be tried by a court-martial, instead of by a

jury, he took pains in the selection of the members of that court to appear just and impartial. The show of impartial-

ity might be thought rather ostentatious. A number of captains, whose vessels had not been implicated in the mutiny, were ordered to assemble at Sheerness, and proceed with the trial of Parker, his brother delegates, and such of the ring-leaders as had been marked out as obnoxious to punishment. This order was agreed on at a cabinet council held on Friday the 16th of June; and according to it, Parker was sent from Maidstone back to Sheerness for trial on board the Neptune, lying in the Thames, off Greenhithe.

#### FIRST DAY.

At eight o'clock on Thursday morning, June 22, the signal gun of the Neptune was fired; at ten the court was opened, and the fallen "admiral" was placed at the bar of a court-martial composed of the following gentlemen: President, Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley, Bart.; Commodore Sir Erasmus Gower of the Neptune; Captains Stanhope of the Neptune, Markham of the Centaur, Williamson of the Agincourt, Wells of the Lancaster, Lane of the Acasta, Sir F. Laforey of the Hydra, Sir T. Williams of the Endymion, King of the Sirius, Pierrepont of the Naiad, Riou of the Mary Yacht, Ramage of the Prince Frederick.

The witnesses were all called into court to hear the charges read. These were contained in the order from the Lords of

the Admiralty for the constitution of the court-martial. The prisoner was charged with making, and having endeavoured to make, a mutiny amongst the seamen of his Majesty's ships at the Nore; with having caused assemblies of these seamen to meet frequently; and with having behaved himself contemptuously towards, and disobeyed, his superior officers.

A great many incidents were referred to during the trial which refresh the memory regarding this rueful story of the Nore, and throw cross-light upon it. The authority we have followed devoted considerable labour to this part of his work, in order to procure a full and clear report of the trial by a careful collation of contemporary accounts. It is the privilege of his successors to enter upon his labours, and this privilege is here taken as full advantage of, as it is freely and gratefully acknowledged.

At the court-martial, Captain Moss, of the Sandwich, was the prosecutor.

The first witness called was Admiral Buckner. He was requested to state what he knew of the prisoner's conduct, in respect to the offences with which he was charged. The admiral then gave the following account: The first time I observed anything particular in the prisoner's conduct, further than parading about on shore with a number of people and a red flag, was on or about the 20th



of May, when I went on board the Sandwich for the purpose of making known to that ship and others, his Majesty's most gracious pardon, provided the crews should return to their duty, upon the terms granted to their brethren at Spithead, which the men styling themselves delegates, with the prisoner Parker at their head, had previously declared they would be satisfied with.\* On my going on board with my flag in the boat, there was no preparation to receive me, nor respect shown me. The officers, I understood, were without their side-arms, and had no command in the ship. Unwilling to return on shore without speaking to the people in the ship, I waited a considerable time, when Parker, with others, came on the quarter-deck and said that none others but themselves—meaning, I presume, the ship's company—should be present there. He then tendered me a paper, containing what he called a list of grievances, saying, at the same time, that until these were redressed, and until the members of the Board of Admiralty attended in person to redress the same, they would not give up the power they had in their hands. Finding that everything I had to say was of no avail, I went on shore. On or about the 22d, my flag

\* The admiral—to whom Heaven seems to have much moderated the gift of genius—must here be mistaken.

was struck on board the Sandwich, I do not know by whom, without my orders. About that time, or in some part of the same day, while I was examining into complaints alleged against two marines who had been brought in by a party of the military, the prisoner and a man whom they called Davis, with three or four others, came abruptly into the commissioner's house, and demanded "why these men, the marines, had been taken into custody?" He told me my flag was struck, that I had no authority, and that the power was in their hands. They then took the men away, to try them, as they said, for being on shore. Another expression Parker made use of at that time was, "that he was not to be intimidated." About the 4th of June, I received a letter from Parker, to the best of my recollection, styling himself President; it was signed Richard Parker, and stated "that the administration had acted improperly, in stopping the provisions allowed to the men, and that the foolish proclamation was calculated to inflame the minds of honest men." I have nothing particular to relate beyond this, as a narrative. I have had frequent conferences with the prisoner at the head of many others, with the hope of bringing them to a sense of their bad conduct, but without any good effect. The prisoner Parker in general took the lead as their spokesman, and some-

times addressed me with a degree of insolence; frequently appealing to the persons around him, as though he were haranguing for the rest; he even put it to them whether he should be their mouthpiece, and prevented with threats one man in particular from answering a question I had put to him. He said to this man, "If you don't hold your tongue, I'll take care of you." I have to add, while I was on board, I once endeavoured to prevail on those who styled themselves delegates, to remove the disgraceful ropes, called yard-ropes; their answer was that the ship's company would not suffer it.

In reply to a question by the prosecutor, the admiral admitted that although Parker was frequently insolent in the conversation which passed between them, yet he often displayed a great deal of modesty in his deportment, and apparent respect.

Upon this, a letter was read which had been written by Admiral Buckner to the Board of Admiralty, informing them of the mutiny at the Nore, and of the mutineers having taken possession of the ships. Another letter was also read, which had been sent from Captain Moss to Admiral Buckner, giving an account of the sailors' disobedience to orders on board the ships at the Nore. The letter signed "Richard Parker," alluded to above, was next produced. The substance of the letter cor-

responded with the evidence of the witness.

When cross-examined by the prisoner, the admiral declared that he could not say whether Parker was the person who caused him to be treated with disrespect. He admitted that Parker came to him and said it was a mistake that he had not been received with the honour due to his rank; also, that some attempts were made to man the ship, and to pay him the usual tokens of respect, although the movements of the crew were slow, and conducted with reluctance.

Lieutenant Justice, first lieutenant of the Sandwich, was next called and examined.—I knew the prisoner as a supernumerary on board the Sandwich, but I cannot tell how long I have known him. When he joined I was at the Admiralty. On the 12th of May I was sent ashore, but by whose orders I cannot tell; it was in consequence of a paper thrown on the quarter-deck. At eight o'clock I gave orders to pipe to breakfast; at half-past nine, to clear the hawser, when the ship's company gave three cheers, which were immediately answered by the crew of the Director. They rove the yard-ropes, and brought the fore-castle guns to the quarter-deck. I asked what it was they wanted? They all answered, "they wanted their grievances redressed." I knew nothing of the prisoner except in the general meeting; I never

saw him till the day before. When he came to me afterwards, his behaviour was perfectly respectful; on that day no one seemed to take a leading part in the mutiny. On the 11th, as commanding officer, I read to the crew an official paper, sent off by Admiral Buckner, representing the vote of the House of Commons, which granted the sum of £372,000, to answer the expenses of the requisitions which the seamen had been promised at Portsmouth. The information was received with three cheers.

The prisoner observed, that as the witness said he did not know him, he would ask him no questions.

The Judge-Advocate said he thought it his duty to call the captains of other ships in a state of disorder, for the purpose of showing whether they were acquainted with the prisoner or not. The captains of the *Nassau*, *Agamemnon*, *Lion*, *Standard*, *Iris*, and *Leopard*, upon being questioned, denied that they had ever before seen or known the prisoner, although it was reported he had been on board their respective ships.

Mr Snipe, the surgeon of the *Sandwich*, was the next witness, and deposed as follows: I know the prisoner. I do not recollect him before the 14th of May, on the afternoon of which day I was ordered to attend the punishment of one of the seamen, whose name was Campbell. When I went upon deck,

the prisoner was standing upon the gangway. As soon as the man was tied up, the prisoner made a speech to the ship's company, acquainting them with Campbell's crime. He said he had violated the laws laid down by the committee, and that if any among them acted in the same way, he must expect to share the same fate. By the committee, he meant the committee of delegates, of which he was one. Two or three days after, one of the ship's corporals, whose name I believe is Wilson, came to me in the ward-room, and gave orders that I should go immediately between decks and visit a man in irons, sick of a fever. I sent the ship's corporal to the committee, to say that it was absolutely necessary that this man should be taken out of irons, and be put in the sick berth. The corporal returned, and said the committee desired me to make my report first. I then went to the star-board side of the lower gun-deck, and there found a vast crowd of people assembled. I asked whom I was to address. The prisoner Parker requested me to address him. I told him it was necessary to remove the man in irons. The prisoner then said: "It is not our intention to interfere with you at all; you may do with the sick whatever you think proper." When I entered what they called the committee-room, one of the people, whom I supposed to be a delegate, said, "Take off

your hat, sir." I do not know who he was, but it was not Parker. Another person, not the prisoner, said, "Begone." I was two or three times with the committee about persons under confinement; I cannot say by whose orders they were confined—certainly not by the ship's officers. I generally received a civil answer from Parker, who begged me to do as I pleased with the sick. On the 3d of June, I sent to the committee for leave to go on shore. I was ordered by Davis, who was commanding on the deck, to attend the committee then sitting in the captain's cabin; I asked their permission to go on shore. The prisoner recommended the committee to suffer me to go on shore, provided that I would return next morning, and use all my influence with Admiral Buckner to obtain leave for all the sick on board to be landed. I went ashore and did not return again till the ship was under the command of Captain Moss. One day after the mutiny began, the prisoner was speaking to Captain Moss on the quarter-deck, about the many improprieties which the delegates were charged with having committed. He said he was certain, if their grievances were not redressed, that none of them would shrink, or words to that effect; and if they did, he was certain they would be run up to the yard-arm by the ropes that were then rove.

By Sir Thomas Pasley.—

When the man was punished, Parker gave the order; after he had made his speech, he ordered the boatswain's mate to do his duty. The prisoner was generally understood to be the president of the committee. He sat at the head of the table as president upon every occasion when I saw him; he appeared to be the leading man. I did not hear him give any orders to assemble the people on deck. The sick person was confined by order of the mutineers, who called themselves a committee. The offence was drunkenness. When Captain Moss was remonstrating with the prisoner, he, the prisoner, stood with his hat on.

Cross-examined by Parker.—Mr Bray, the master, was somewhere on deck, but I do not know whether he was upon the gangway at the time of Campbell's punishment; nor do I recollect any consultation with Mr Bray about the punishment of that man, for getting beastly drunk with small beer.

Parker then put the following question: You mention my pointing to the yard-arms and saying I was sure no one would shrink; that if they did, they would go to the yard-arm. Did you suppose that I meant anything else than that, if the people called delegates were to propose such a thing to the ship's company, they themselves, the delegates, would be the sacrifice alluded to?

A member of the Court observed that the prisoner should be cautious what questions he put, as they might criminate himself: the question was consequently withdrawn.

Captain Surridge of the *Iris* said: I have seen the prisoner, but have had no conversation with him. I understood from my first lieutenant that Parker had been on board my ship. When I saw the prisoner, he was in a boat, with a red flag flying; I also saw him parading through Sheerness with several other seamen, with music and a red flag; he and another appeared to be at the head of them. I saw Parker once at the commissioner's house, in Sheerness, in conversation with Admiral Buckner, and, as near as I can recollect, I heard him say, he envied no officer the command they held, having experienced a great deal of difficulty and trouble in the situation in which he himself was placed. Parker at that time was apparently respectful. I saw the prisoner afterwards come to the commissioner's, accompanied by two delegates, one from the *Nassau*, and one from the *Standard* — Martin, who has since shot himself. Parker took a paper from his pocket, and gave one to each delegate, and asked if they did not contain the demands of the seamen belonging to the North Sea squadron? They said it did. Parker then gave the paper to Commissioner Hartwell, who,

after reading it, told the prisoner that he was sorry to find it contained so much fresh matter, and that he could not think of going to London with it; but that, had he confined himself to the articles which they had shown him on that day, he would have gone to the Admiralty with them; and he told the prisoner it would be needless for him, the commissioner, to take any more trouble in the business, if they were determined upon persisting in these articles.

By the Court.—At the time I saw the prisoner passing in a boat with the red flag flying, other persons were sitting with him in the stern-sheets; but whether the band of music was in that boat or another I cannot tell.

The prisoner then asked the witness whether he heard him desire the commissioner to speak to the delegates of the North Sea Fleet, concerning the four last articles, which had been presented by them, and not by the Nore delegates. He meant the articles objected to by the commissioner. The witness answered, he did not recollect to have heard the prisoner speak to that effect.

Captain Dixon, of the *Espion*.—I remember, on or about the 20th of May, accompanying Admiral Buckner to the Nore: his flag was hoisted on board the *Sandwich*. He went thither for the express purpose of noti-

fyng his Majesty's pardon to the crews of the several ships under his command. On going on board the Sandwich, he was not received with any of the respect due to his rank as a flag-officer. Parker the prisoner held in his hand several new propositions under the head, "Grievances to be redressed." The admiral was detained on board upwards of three hours, because the ship's company had not arrived at any determination respecting the propositions. At last they were presented by Parker to Admiral Buckner. The admiral returned on shore, and was suffered to depart without any show of respect; the man-ropes were on the yards, and the yard-ropes rove. The officers were extremely concerned, but had no power to compel the crew to treat the admiral differently. I considered the crew to be in a high state of mutiny. Several days afterwards, I cannot recollect the precise day of the month, I was at the commissioner's house. It was reported to the admiral, who was there, that two marines were brought in by the soldiers for examination. As I advanced to the fore-door, I saw the prisoner, who asked if the commissioner could be spoken with. I said I believed he could. The prisoner came in, accompanied by one Davis, and demanded to know the reason why the soldiers had brought the marines there. Admiral Buckner

asked what right he had to make the demand? The prisoner said, "I am not to be interrogated by you; your flag is struck; you have no authority here; I or we, I do not recollect which, command the fleet." Parker took out a pencil, and put questions to one or both the marines. In the last interview between Admiral Buckner and the prisoner, the latter behaved with the most daring insolence and contempt. I have frequently seen the prisoner, heading a body of men called delegates, pass and repass the commissioner's house, with a red flag displayed in their procession. These are all the particular circumstances which I can bring to my recollection.

By the Court.—I remember Admiral Buckner saying to the prisoner, that as he and the rest of the delegates of the fleet had pledged themselves to abide by the same regulations as their brethren at Spithead, he was astonished to find new propositions advanced which could not be granted. I think the prisoner, with five other delegates, replied, that it was the determination of the ship's company to abide by the latter propositions.

With this evidence the first day's proceedings closed.

#### SECOND DAY.

The Court met between nine and ten o'clock on Friday morning. Immediately after the President had taken his seat, the prisoner said he did not

wish to give Lord Northesk or Captain Knight the trouble of attending as witnesses on his behalf. Their evidence could only go to prove his general good behaviour, a point not materially affecting his case. It was observed upon this, that although the prisoner might declare then that he would not call any particular witnesses, yet he had it in his power to call them afterwards, if he chose; and the consequence would be, the trial must be stopped until they were forthcoming. The Court was then cleared to determine the question; when strangers were re-admitted, the decision was read, to the effect, that as the prisoner had only said he could dispense with the evidence in question, and as he did not say the evidence would be useless, the Court held that the Earl of Northesk and Captain Knight should appear as witnesses.

The prisoner asked whether fresh witnesses could be allowed to come forward who had not been summoned on the trial previously to the assembling of the court-martial.

Captain Moss replied, that no witnesses would be produced, who had not been summoned long before the trial; but at the same time the opposite course would be perfectly legal. The President and the admiralty solicitor concurred in this opinion, adding also, that the same privilege would be extended to the prisoner.

Captain John Wood, of the Hound sloop, was then sworn and examined.—I know the prisoner perfectly. I cannot say for how long, but he was in the Hound in April last, and was transferred to the Tender on the 9th of that month. I saw nothing of the prisoner subsequently till the second of June, on which day he came on board the Hound upon her arrival at the Nore. He then told me he had the honour of representing the whole fleet, an honour which he should never forget; that he understood I had been very violent with some of the delegates, and that he advised me not to be so violent, or I must take the consequences. He then told me he did not like the ship's company; that he knew they were attached to me, for which reason he should put the ship in a safe berth, whence she could not make her escape. He ordered the pilot to put the ship under way, and carry her as close to the Sandwich as possible. The pilot told him it was an improper time of tide. He replied, that if the pilot did not choose to put her under way immediately, he could find means of making him, pointing at the same time to the yard-rope. The pilot got her under way, and laid her close to the Sandwich, when the prisoner ordered the anchor to be let go. We were hailed from the Sandwich and told that we were too near. The prisoner answered, "I think we are, Mr Davis."

He immediately turned to the pilot and used threatening language. "You have committed one mistake, mind you don't commit another; if you do, I'll make a beefsteak of you at the yard-arm." He ordered him to get the ship under way again, and to moor her between the Sandwich and the Inflexible. This was done, and she was laid under the Sandwich's quarter. The prisoner then turned up the hands, and harangued them forward. What passed I cannot exactly remember. In the course of his speech I heard him say that he found my people were not hearty in the cause, and that he should be obliged to shift them. He asked if they had any complaints against their officers, promising to send on shore the obnoxious, and to retain those whom they liked on board. After this, about ten o'clock, I was taken out of the ship. I asked by whose orders it was done; a man, who called himself a delegate from the Sandwich, said, by the order of Parker, the president. I saw the prisoner rowing about the fleet with the red flag and a band of music; others were sitting along with him in the stern sheets as he went from ship to ship and harangued the crews, who cheered him as he passed. A man on board the Hound was put in irons; I inquired by whose orders, and was informed by those of Parker. I sent two letters on board the Sandwich, one on service to the

Admiralty, the other a private one. The letters were brought back again to me with the remark that they could not be suffered to reach their destination without being first opened. I took my private letter, and told Parker he might open the other if he pleased. One of the men standing by desired him not to open it; the prisoner said, "Hold your tongue, you scoundrel, or I'll hang you at the yard-arm." He then told me he would open the letter, and send it ashore in the sick-boat. I did not see him open it. The prisoner did not confine me nor any of my officers; but he told me I must have nothing to do with the ship. He also told me and the other officers that he pitied our situation, but he must persevere for the good of the cause in which they were all embarked. The prisoner advised me, as a friend, not to be insolent to the delegates, as he understood that I had driven some of them out of the ship, by threatening to put them to death. I had some conversation with him subsequently, and I asked him why he had sent men on board to force my people into the business; that they had no complaint, and wished to have nothing to do with it. He told me it was for the good of the whole, and they must have to do with it. The yard-ropes, at which he threatened to hang the pilot, were rove by a man belonging to the *Pylades* after the prisoner



came on board. No one directed the management of my ship when she was under way. She dropped with the tide, and without sails.

The Prisoner.—You said I advised you as a friend. I now desire you to recollect whether I did not say, upon my coming on board the *Hound*, "Captain Wood, the differences in the fleet are of a very unpleasant nature. I feel myself, in some degree, under an obligation to you, therefore I would advise you to do nothing at present, but to suffer the *Hound* to proceed in the same manner as the rest of the ships; for I have no doubt but that, in the course of a day or two, the officers will resume their command."

Witness.—I recollect when the prisoner came on board he said he was under obligations to me, at the time I sent him on board the *Tender*; for which reason he had come to advise me to restrain my violence; but I do not recollect any expression about the officers resuming their command.

By the Court.—I saw the prisoner order the boatswain's mate to turn the crew up and send them forward, that they might hear his address.

Lieutenant Flatt, of the *Sandwich*.—I know the prisoner. He belonged to the *Sandwich*. At the beginning of the mutiny I did not know him. My first knowledge of him was when Admiral Buckner came on board; I then saw him giving

a paper to the admiral, stating the grievances of the fleet. I heard the prisoner say, that he was president of the delegates of the fleet. I saw him going in boats frequently, and acting as a commander in them. I do not remember more upon this head, further than observing his activity in attending the committee. On the 2d of June he desired me to go over on the starboard side of the deck and receive orders—"You are ordered, sir, to take in 111 men from the *Tender*, and to give the usual receipt for them, and we are answerable for our actions." I replied that I had no orders from Admiral Buckner, and that my receipt was useless, as I had no command. The prisoner rejoined, "We are answerable for what we do." He mustered the men and I gave the receipt. I was sent for again, and ordered to give a receipt for 15 men from the *Lynn tender*, with which order I complied. I was told by Davis this was done by the order of the prisoner and the committee. On or about the 9th of June I was a prisoner in the ward-room; I saw the prisoner passing under the stern of the ship in a boat, and heard three cheers given overhead. The prisoner turned round and said, he was going on board the *Director* to get a spring on her cable, and would send her and them, meaning, I believe, the *Repulse* and her crew, to the —. The *Repulse* was then

aground. I saw the prisoner go on board the Director, and saw a spring on her cable. A very heavy fire was then commenced from that ship against the Repulse. I did not see the prisoner return. On the 12th of June I was released from confinement; but in the afternoon of the same day was confined again. I do not know by whose order. On or about the 14th, the prisoner came down into the ward-room and released all below, saying we might walk the deck, but forbidding us to converse with the people. The prisoner sent for Mr Mott, the first lieutenant, on the day we were released. Lieutenant Mott came on deck, and all hands were then called up by the prisoner's orders. He told them that Mr Mott was to go on shore to bring up his Majesty's pardon, and asked the people if they were willing that Lieutenant Mott should go? The answer was, that they were, and they wished the ship would be given up to the officers; some of the people requested that the white colours should be hoisted before Lieutenant Mott went; who himself called out to haul down the blue and hoist the white. The prisoner then said to me, that if we changed the colours there were three ships astern which would fire into us. I called out to stop the colours from being hoisted till Lieutenant Mott should return. They all agreed to this. Mr Mott went

on shore and brought off the proclamation, which was read on the quarter-deck by one of the clerks. The prisoner then spoke to the people, and asked them if they were willing to accept of his Majesty's pardon, and to resign the ship into the hands of the officers, or to let her remain with us, as the prisoner termed it. The people all answered, "To the officers," with the exception of two persons, now in custody, Thomas Jones and one Davis, who said, "The ships astern will fire on us." The prisoner also objected to change the colours. The people again unanimously called out to change the colours, and I said, "They may fire if they please." The prisoner then joined the others in opinion, and desired them to give three cheers, in which he joined. I then demanded the keys of the magazine, and small arms, with which he complied, saying, "Here are the keys of the magazine, and I give up the charge of the ship to you." I had issued orders to unmoor the ship after the arms were secured. The prisoner came to me and said, "If you offer to unmoor, the ships astern will fire on us." I told him it did not signify if they fired. The prisoner afterwards came to me and desired me to confine him. I said I would order him to a cabin and put two sentinels over him; he refused to go, and said he would heave at the capstan. This was on Tuesday evening. I

consulted whether it would be proper to confine the prisoner while we were under way, or to wait till we got into the garrison of Sheerness. It was agreed he should be immediately confined. Lieutenant Mott and myself went and met the prisoner on the quarter-deck. Mr Mott laid hold of him by the collar, and carrying him down to the lower deck imprisoned him in a lieutenant's cabin, and placed two sentinels over him. The next morning I went down and put him in irons. The prisoner was afterwards sent ashore by Captain Moss's orders. When I put the prisoner in irons, I was induced to do so, not by any new matter or signs of violence in him, but by the command of Admiral Buckner to confine him more securely. Before I was released, several men-of-war had separated from the fleet, and had gone up the Thames. The prisoner himself released us, but did not say for what reason. I was informed that a black man, named John Campbell, demanded our release, but I did not hear or see him make the demand. I do not know whether the prisoner assumed any other title than that of president of the committee, which he called himself. When I say the prisoner acted as commander in the boats, I mean, that he ordered the boats to be manned, and was obeyed. When he went over the side, the boat-swain's mate attended him. I

was closely confined to the ward-room; but I saw the prisoner go down the side into the boat, because we were only confined three days to the ward-room, the rest of the time we were permitted to go upon deck. At the first breaking out of the mutiny, the master was commanding officer; and for the remainder of its continuance, one Davis, who is now a prisoner. I do not remember seeing during the mutiny, a plan of defence hanging up on a board on the quarter-deck of the *Sandwich*, nor under her poop.

By the Prisoner.—When Lieutenant Mott returned from Admiral Buckner with the proclamation, I was present on the quarter-deck the whole time while it was being read and taken into consideration. I do not recollect your begging, but only asking the ship's company if they were willing to deliver up the ships to their officers and trust to his Majesty's clemency. When the white colours were hoisted, you might have said publicly that was the happiest moment you had experienced for a long time, but I did not hear you, the noise and confusion might have prevented me from hearing. When the foretopsail of the *Sandwich* was loosed, you came in a respectful manner to me on the quarter-deck, and pointed out that the crews of the *Inflexible* and two other ships would, you were afraid, get springs on their respective ships, so as to rake

the Sandwich at every shot. You also advised that it would be better for her own safety if the Sandwich did not get under way, until she was less observed by those ships.

Mr Livingston, boatswain of the Director.—I remember seeing the prisoner on board the Director on the day the Repulse got aground in attempting to get into Sheerness harbour. As soon as he came on board, he went aft on the quarter-deck, and requested a boat that he might repair with a flag of truce on board the Repulse. He then ordered all hands to be called. The request was denied; then he wanted to slip the ship's cables to go alongside, which was refused. Upon this he ordered a spring to be got on the cable, that our broadside might be brought to bear upon the Repulse. When the spring was on, he ordered it to be hove in and to veer away the best bower. As the ship came round, he ordered the guns to be pointed at the Repulse; a gun was fired from the Repulse—I think from the quarter-deck; then the prisoner gave orders to fire into the Repulse from all the decks, as she had fired at us; the order was repeated by one of the delegates of our ship, and was complied with. Mr Parker went off the quarter-deck, and I saw no more of him. To the best of my knowledge, the Director kept up a heavy fire upon the Repulse for the space of half-an-hour; two

or three guns at a time from each deck on the larboard side. I saw the Monmouth firing upon the Repulse at the same time, but I could not distinguish whether she had a spring on her cable. In my opinion, no ship, riding as the ships were to the flood-tide, could bring her broadside to bear, without a spring. Joseph Mitchell, captain of the forecastle, had the command of the Director at the time when the prisoner came on board. I do not know whether the prisoner pointed or fired a gun while he was on board. I did not see him touch one. I did not notice any one else coming on board except Parker, and I saw him then for the first time. From the situation in which the Repulse lay aground, she could not have brought any of her guns to bear upon the Director, except her stern chasers. The gun fired from the Repulse was fired from the larboard side of the quarter-deck. Her bow was a little to the southward; I could see her larboard quarter; she was almost end on. Before the gun in question was fired, the prisoner ordered the guns of the Director to be pointed at the Repulse. When the guns were ordered to be fired, I was standing on the arm-chest, on the starboard side of the poop; the prisoner was on the quarter-deck. He spoke to the people, not in a loud voice, but loud enough to be heard from the quarter-deck to the forecastle, and ordered them

to fire. The delegate on the larboard gangway repeated the orders. I do not know who ordered them to cease firing, neither how long the prisoner remained on board the Director.

By the Prisoner.—I was on the poop at the fore-part at the time when the boat was refused you. No gun, so far as I know, had then been fired from the Director.

The Prisoner.—Do you recollect my addressing the ship's company of the Director, and pointing out to them how dreadful a thing it would be for one brother to fire upon another; that if they would allow me a boat I would take a flag of truce in it, and repair to the Repulse, which I did not doubt would stop the effusion of blood, and what might happen to myself I should not consider of any consequence, even if I lost my life to save so many?

Witness.—I recollect you did point out how dreadful a thing it would be for one brother to be firing at another. At the time you asked for a flag of truce I heard you say that it would save innocent blood from being spilt; that you were ready yourself to take a flag of truce and repair to the Repulse. I heard also the words "if you lost your life," but do not recollect the connection.

The Prisoner.—Was there any preparation for a spring on the cable, or any spring put on before I came on board?

The Witness.—There were

neither to my knowledge. There might have been preparations without my knowledge. As I was on the poop, the hawser might have been got along the lower deck.

Samuel Hillard, the carpenter of the Director.—I saw the prisoner on board the Director on the day mentioned by the last witness, when the Repulse got aground in attempting to make Sheerness harbour. I heard him ask for a boat to carry a flag of truce to the Repulse, which was denied by the general voice of the ship's company, as well as his request to take the ship alongside. The ship's broadside was then brought to bear by a spring on the cable, and the crew began to fire. The prisoner was on the quarter-deck. The Repulse fired a gun from her larboard quarter; upon which the prisoner said they had returned the fire, and he ordered the men to level their guns; they continued firing from all the decks. I never saw the prisoner after that. The Director might have been firing on the Repulse about three quarters of an hour, from beginning to end, as near as I can judge. I saw the Monmouth with a small anchor carried out; but I believe she had no spring on her cable while she was firing. I do not know whether there was any inclination amongst the Director's company to fire on the Repulse before Parker came on board. I cannot say that the people of

the Director fired upon the *Repulse* in consequence of the prisoner's orders. I cannot say whether there was a spring on the cable before the prisoner came on board. Although I had liberty to go about the ship, a spring might have been put on without my knowledge. I saw a hawser got up before the prisoner came on board. I distinctly heard the prisoner; he appeared to act from his own mind, and not to take instructions from the Director's people.

The Prisoner.—Do you recollect whether all the guns on the larboard side of the quarter-deck were cast loose before I came on board?

Witness.—Some were; I cannot say whether all were cast loose.

Thomas Parry, a seaman of the *Monmouth*.—I know the prisoner very well by sight, and have seen him twice. I saw him on board the *Monmouth* at the time the *Repulse* was endeavouring to escape into Sheerness harbour. I did not see him when he first came on board, but afterwards; he was then in the fore-castle. When he came there he took command of all the fore-castle guns. The gun which I attended was fired six or seven times at the *Repulse*. When the gun was about to be loaded the seventh time, I spoke to him not to put the cartridge in then; with that I wormed the gun out, and immediately afterward he or-

dered it to be sponged. She was then loaded; he was not content with a nine-pound shot that was in her, but seized a crowbar, and put the thick end in first. I immediately took it out of his hand, when he gave me a shove on the breast, and I fell over the heel of the topmast. After that I was kept forward on the fore-castle by one Vance, who acted as the captain of the ship. When I had been there one hour and a half I was ordered to go below, and stay in my berth. I did not stay down, but came on deck; the prisoner was then standing upon the heel of the topmast. He ordered Vance to get our stream cable up, and to bend to our stream anchor. Vance said he could not do it. "Why," replied the prisoner, "slip your bowers, and go alongside the *Repulse*, and send her to — where she belongs, and show her no quarter in the least." He then said, "he could not stay any longer on board the *Monmouth*; he would go on board one of the other ships belonging to the fleet, and despatch her after the *Leopard*, to send the *Leopard* to — likewise." The guns on the larboard side were kept continually firing on the *Repulse*. Before we fired, we got a small hawser out, and carried her to the best bower buoy. The jib and fore-top-sail were hoisted to hasten the bringing of the *Monmouth's* side into such a position as to

bear upon the *Repulse*. This was done by Vance's order. The prisoner pointed and fired the aftermost gun on the fore-castle. The fire continued about twenty-three minutes. When the prisoner was standing on the heel of the topmast, and had the conversation with Vance, I was by the bits, just before the fore-castle. My station was at the aftermost gun on the larboard side. I did not see the prisoner come on board, and therefore cannot say whether any gun was fired by the *Monmouth* before his arrival.

By the Prisoner.—I had not fired any gun myself before I first saw you on board. The quarter-deck guns were fired before the fore-castle guns.

John Summerland, boat-swain's mate of the *Monmouth*.—I saw the prisoner in our ship, standing upon something, as if he was going to make a speech. Captain Vance wanted to speak first, but the prisoner would not allow it; he would insist upon the ship slipping her cables. The ship's company would not agree to this proposition. Parker then said he would go to another ship, which he would take alongside the *Leopard*, and send her to —. In the meantime, the *Repulse* got off, whereupon Parker shook his fist, and said, "She's off." He then went on board the *Sandwich*. I did not see the prisoner with his clothes off in order to excite the people by

his example to greater exertions, while the heavy fire was kept up. The fire lasted about two hours from beginning to end.

By the Prisoner.—I do not recollect when you first came on board. I do not know whether you were on board at the commencement of the *Monmouth's* fire, but there were a great many of the *Sandwich's* people then on board. The *Monmouth* fired at the *Repulse* before the Director.

Here the evidence for the prosecution closed. The president asked the prisoner when he would be ready with his defence. The prisoner saying he could not be ready the next day, Saturday, was asked whether he could be ready by Monday. He answered, that he thought he could be ready.

### THIRD DAY.

When the Court assembled on Saturday, the prisoner was brought in, and informed by S Thomas Pasley, that they had taken into consideration the request made by him, to be furnished with copies of the evidence against him; and that they were of opinion such thing could not be legally done. He then told the prisoner, that the Court had met that day in order to adjourn over till Monday, with the view of giving him time for the preparation of his defence; and finished by asking him, if he should then be ready.

The prisoner said, he had no doubt of it.

The President observed to the prisoner, that by the intervention of Sunday, two whole days were at his command ; but that the trial could not be delayed one moment longer than Monday morning, at which time the prisoner must be ready.

The prisoner, bowing respectfully to the president, said he believed the time would be fully sufficient. He next asked the judge-advocate for a copy of the declaration he had made before the magistrate, at Sheerness. The president said, they had nothing to do with such a paper, although the prisoner had clearly a right to it.

Parker, having been furnished with pen, ink, and paper, was at the same time addressed by the president, who told him, that the indulgence which he had hitherto experienced would be continued ; that the present postponement of the trial, by which the country was still deprived of the services of so many important persons, was a greater indulgence than had ever been granted to any man in a similar situation ; but he should, notwithstanding, for the remainder of his trial, have whatever facility he might think necessary for his defence, provided the Court had power to grant it.

The prisoner, appearing to be sensibly affected by these remarks, thanked the president

in a respectful manner, and the Court adjourned.

#### FOURTH DAY.

At nine o'clock on Monday morning the Court assembled, when the judge-advocate informed the prisoner, that in consequence of the request which he had made for the three seamen to appear as witnesses in his favour, who worked the gun at which he stood when the Director fired upon the *Repulse*, an express had been sent for them to Sheerness. The captain of the ship had forwarded the men, who should appear when called upon. The prisoner had also asked for a man of the name of Hollister, belonging to the *Monmouth*, and he also had been brought on board the *Neptune*.

The prisoner was then desired to proceed with his defence. He accordingly drew from his pocket a written paper, containing his defence, which he read to the Court, in substance as follows :

"It was a circumstance well known to one of the members of that honourable Court, that he had been bred to the sea from his youth ; it could not, therefore, be expected that anything should come from him but a plain and simple narrative of facts ; and as he had had the assistance of no lawyer, or any other person, his statements would not be embellished with pompous or elegant language.



He returned his sincere thanks to the Court for the indulgence they had granted him, by allowing a longer time than usual to prepare his defence, by which means he was enabled to lay it before them in a more accurate form. He declared that nothing but the consciousness of his own integrity, and of the rectitude of his intentions, could have made him enter into the business in which he was charged with being a leader, and into which he had been forced. It was this consciousness that had supported him in the trying situation in which he was placed. He solemnly declared that his only object in entering into the mutiny, was that of checking a most violent and dangerous spirit of mutiny which he had seen prevailing among the seamen of the different ships, and the bad effects of which he had done all in his power to prevent; and if he had not taken an active part in the business, the fleet would have been in a much more dangerous and alarming state. After these declarations, he would just enter upon the material parts of the evidence that they had brought forward against him; and first, as to what had been stated by Admiral Buckner, he could positively say that he had never waited upon him except when he had been ordered to do so by the delegates of the fleet, in whose name he had always delivered to him any message or communication which had been

deemed necessary, and which was always couched in the most respectful language. With respect to his being appointed president of the committee, he would say that he could not resist such an appointment; it was impossible for a man in his situation to do so. He had been chosen to that office, and the delegates insisted on his accepting it. He had known nothing of the mutiny till after it broke out, and the moment he thus compulsively entered into it, he endeavoured all he could to stop its violence, and promote measures of conciliation. Admiral Buckner had stated, in his evidence that he had not been received with respect at the time he came on board the Sandwich: he was at that time on shore, and therefore could not be affected by evidence of that kind. When he came on board, he expressed to Admiral Buckner his regret that he had not been treated with proper respect, and mentioned those things which have already appeared in evidence. The effort which had been made, or the feeble effort, as the Admiralty stated it, to man the sides as he came on board, were made at the risk of his life. An opinion had been propagated on board the different ships that Admiral Buckner was not competent to settle the discontents subsisting in the fleet, and the Inflexible had declared that if any respect was shown to the Admiral, they would come along

side the Sandwich and sink her. Notwithstanding all that had been said respecting the Sandwich, it was not there the mutiny began ; it originated in the Inflexible, and there it was always the most violent. It was there where daily meetings of committee-men had been held. The prisoner said he could not conceive the meaning of the red flag that was hoisted. Admiral Buckner's flag was hauled down before he came on board. It was necessary for him to mention something of the fact of two marines having been taken from the commissioner's house at Sheerness. He had been commanded by the delegates of the fleet to go and inquire after them at that time. Information had been brought to the delegates, who were drinking beer, that two marines were in custody on shore ; he was sent to the guard-house to inquire after them, but not finding them there, he went after them to the commissioner's house, where he had been told they were. Here he saw Admiral Buckner, who bid him examine the two marines, and who said they had been guilty of using improper language. The Admiral, on that occasion, expressed his approbation of the language used by him. The marines were then taken away, and sent on board the Sandwich ; after which they were transmitted to the respective ships they belonged to. He would, on this occasion, ask whether it was likely that four

men, unarmed, as he and the others who went with him to the commissioner's house were, could have forcibly taken away two marines? When he saw Admiral Buckner after his flag was struck, the Admiral said, 'Parker, my flag is struck—consider my feelings.' He answered, 'I have feelings, Admiral Buckner, and I do consider yours ; I am sorry to see it, but it is not in my power to prevent it.' On the evidence of those witnesses who stated they knew nothing of him, he would make no comment whatever. He would do Admiral Buckner and Commissioner Hartwell the justice to say, that they had used every endeavour in their power, as far as the business rested with them, to satisfy the minds of the fleet." The prisoner was then giving several particulars of the evidence against him, to which one of the members of the court objected as unnecessary and useless ; but the president, very properly, desired that the prisoner might be suffered to proceed as he pleased. Parker then observed, "that Mr Snipe, the surgeon of the Sandwich, had sworn that he was present at the punishment of a man of the name of Campbell, who he said was flogged by his orders. The fact was, that this man was punished in consequence of the orders of the committee, for getting drunk with small beer. Mr Bray, the master of the Sandwich, who had then the command of the ship, allowed

that he deserved it, and acquiesced in the punishment. With respect to another man being put in irons, all that he should say with regard to him was, that his punishment was inflicted on account of his behaving disrespectfully to Captain Moss. Snipe had stated that he was permitted to go on shore; he, however, took care not to return again until Captain Moss resumed his command, though he promised to come on board immediately. He should only remark that it was not the most honourable conduct in that gentleman to break his promises, in the situation the fleet then was, with respect to the number of its sick, especially as he had requested Dr Snipe to endeavour to prevail on Admiral Buckner to allow all the sick on board the fleet to be carried on shore; a circumstance which showed that he had some feelings for those persons. Captain Surridge, of the *Isis*, had only sworn to recollecting his delivering the propositions of the delegates of the North Sea Fleet. He declared he had held no conversation with him on that subject, but left it all to the delegates. With respect to Captain Dixon's evidence, the remarks he had made upon that of Admiral Buckner, applied equally well to it. Captain Wood, of the *Hound* sloop, had declared that he went on board the *Hound* solely for the purpose of conciliation. Captain Wood had stated that he was

informed he was ordered out of the ship by him. The person, however, who said so to Captain Wood had not been produced; nor did the captain pretend to know who he was. He assured the Court that he never heard of this order which had been given to Captain Wood until he stated it himself on Friday. His purpose of going on board the *Hound* was only for insuring the personal safety of Captain Wood. The expression *beef-steak*, which he was said to have made use of, and applied to the pilot, never came from his lips; nor did he give any order to drop the anchor, as had been stated. He, at this moment before God, would persist in denying these things; but he supposed that, in the hurry and confusion of things on board the *Hound* on that day, Captain Wood must have been mistaken. Of Mr Flatt's evidence he should say nothing now, but return to it by-and-by. Mr Livingston, boatswain of the *Director*, and Samuel Ellis, had deposed that they saw him on board the *Director*, and that he had asked for a boat to go on board the *Monmouth*. What he had to say on this subject would apply to both these witnesses. He was informed by a delegate that the *Repulse* was getting under way; and he was immediately ordered to go on board the *Director*, to endeavour to prevent her from making her escape. He readily undertook this business, as he

hoped to prevent the effusion of blood. When he got on board the Director, he observed to the crew that it was a very melancholy thing that one brother should fight another. He had asked a boat with a flag of truce to go on board the Repulse. His reason for requesting this was, because he observed the Repulse to be aground, and he intended, if he had gone on board with a flag of truce, to remain there, and keep it flying until she got off. This, he was convinced, would have prevented the Director from firing upon her. All that he did on board the Director proceeded from feelings of humanity. He sounded the people of the Director by asking them if they would wish to go alongside of the Repulse; but he was happy to find that they were not inclined to go to such a length, and declared he had used his utmost efforts to prevent the dreadful scenes which were about to take place, but he was obliged to give way to the general storm; and accordingly stayed on board till the Director had ceased firing. As to what the witness, Thomas Barry, seaman of the Monmouth, had said respecting giving orders to fire, he would prove that every word of it was false, and that Barry had mistook his person, for he would satisfy the Court that he was then on board the Director. In the same manner he would disprove that part of the evidence where he asked him if he

had received any bribe. The truth was, that he went on board the Sandwich in the Ardent's boat, and he went on board the Monmouth after he quitted the Director, with the same view that he had gone on board the ship. As to his saying he would go to attack the Leopard, and blow her to —, nobody could suppose that he would act so like a Don Quixote, as to enter on so rash and mad an attempt." After some few more remarks on the evidence, he proceeded to say that he "believed the strictest justice would be shown him by the Court, but at the same time he requested that they would pay particular attention to the evidence of Barry, whom he meant to call, and by re-examining whom he thought he should be able to disprove much that he had said against him." He then paid some compliments to the Court for the impartiality with which they had gone through the whole of the evidence, and said he had no doubt but that they would continue it through the remainder of the trial. "My intentions," he added in conclusion, "were good, and I have prevented much evil; justice is allowed to me by my country, and I hope that justice will now be done towards me."

During the delivery of his speech the prisoner was very collected, and spoke in a clear, distinct voice. He had no counsel or assistance of any description.

**President.**—Richard Parker, you may call evidence in support of your defence, but after evidence shall have been given, you cannot be permitted to make any observations upon it.

The prisoner made a respectful bow.

**Lord Northesk.**—I am Captain of the Monmouth. I was on shore when she fired on the Repulse. On the 6th of June I was on board the Sandwich. With regard to my impression as to whether I believed from my reception that the people, notwithstanding the existing differences, were perfectly loyal to their sovereign and the country, I can only remark the seamen said in the cabin, that they were very loyal. I remember the prisoner as I entered the cabin door ordered the band to play, "God save the King," "Rule Britannia," and "Britons, Strike Home." The prisoner appeared to me to be president of the people calling themselves delegates. He was the chief spokesman during my conference with them. I received from the prisoner the letter now produced and read as follows:

*"Sandwich, June 6, 3 P.M.*  
*"To Captain Lord Northesk.*

"You are hereby authorised and ordered to wait upon the King wherever he may be, with the resolutions of the committee of delegates, and are directed to return back with an answer to the same, within fifty-four hours from the date hereof.

"I have likewise to inform you, that an oath has been taken by the delegates of the fleet, that they have never had any communication with Jacobins or traitors.

"R. PARKER, *President.*"

**The Prisoner.**—Was your Lordship present at the writing of the above letter?

**Witness.**—I was present at the writing of the latter part of it, in which they declare their loyalty.

Here the prisoner said he would withdraw the question, but as it had been answered, the Court would not allow it to be withdrawn.

**Witness.**—The prisoner wrote the latter part without any dictation. I do not recollect seeing a show of hands from the delegates then assembled, ordering and insisting on the latter part being written, but I remember they wished it might be expressed that they were neither Jacobins nor traitors, or words to that effect. I do not recollect whether the committee wished to have those words expressed before or after the prisoner had written them; I believe before.

**Captain Knight.**—I perfectly recollect being on board the Sandwich more than once during the existing differences. I was impressed with several marks of loyalty shown by the people on board. The band of music played "God save the King," "Britons, Strike Home." They

used many expressions of respect and veneration towards their sovereign. I think I heard the prisoner make use of them himself. He spoke generally as the mouth-piece of the whole crew. He was accustomed to say, if the Dutch fleet were then in the Texel, he would lead the Nore fleet in and attack them, in order to prove to the nation that they were neither rebels nor traitors. I do not remember the flags hoisted on board the Sandwich on the 29th of May and on the 4th of June, because I was not at the Nore on those days. On all loyal days it is the custom to hoist the standard at the main. It was on or about the 8th of June that I went on board the Sandwich with the Acts of Parliament and the Proclamation, and then I heard the prisoner make use of loyal expressions.

A letter was then produced, and the witness was asked if he had received it from the prisoner. He answered that he had received it from one of the delegates of his own ship.

The letter was read. It stated that the captain might go on shore, but must return again in three days; that the officers were to be kept as hostages; and if the captain did not return, it would be considered a breach of confidence. It also stated that the seamen had no connection with Jacobins. It was signed Richard Parker, president.

I recollect on the 8th of June, when I was on board, asking what the red flag really meant; and I was informed by the prisoner, or by some of his associates, that they wished to establish and fight under it, because the Dutch had stolen it from the English. I never heard the prisoner give any directions, but he addressed me.

Jacob Swanson, gunner of the Sandwich.—I do not recollect the particular day upon which Admiral Buckner's flag was struck on board the Sandwich. I do not know who aided and assisted me in striking that flag. I do not recollect at all to have heard Captain Moss say, on the quarter-deck, that as the mutiny had unhappily commenced, he thought it fortunate the prisoner happened to be on board the Sandwich, to keep down the spirit of the men, because he seemed moderate. I do not recollect to have informed the prisoner, during the mutiny, that such a conversation had taken place between Captain Moss and his officers. I heard Parker express a wish that the affair were settled, at the latter part of the mutiny. When the Repulse was aground, I did not hear the prisoner say anything about her getting off. When he came aboard that evening, he ordered the boat to be hoisted out of the Sandwich, to go, as he said, on board the Director, for the purpose of getting a spring on her

cable ; and that if his father was on board he would get her guns to bear on the *Repulse*, and blow her to —, to which place she belonged. I heard the prisoner say, he thought the cause in which he was embarked a good cause, and he had no doubt of gaining his point, that is, a redress of grievances. I do not remember hearing the prisoner give any orders except upon that occasion ; but I was very seldom on deck. I never heard the prisoner or any other of the delegates say what they meant by hoisting the red flag. I never inquired the reason. I recollect the prisoner saying to me, when talking of the *Inflexible*, that it was a great pity she was in the fleet, and that if it had not been for her, things would have been amicably settled a long time before. I do not recollect whether he said this after or before the king's birthday. The *Repulse* got on shore at three in the afternoon, and got off about five or six on the same evening. It was late in the evening when Parker returned on board the *Sandwich* from the *Monmouth*. At the time when the prisoner ordered the *Sandwich's* boat to be got out, I cannot tell whether the *Repulse* was on or off shore. I think she was off before the *Monmouth* ceased firing. The *Repulse* was in Sheerness harbour before dark.

Edward Allen, a seaman.—I do not recollect the day on

which the mutiny broke out on board the *Sandwich*. I was on board that day, and did not see Parker take any part in the proceedings then or on the following day. I do not recollect the prisoner saying to me at any time, it was a pity things should be carried on in a manner so violent. I never thought it would give him pleasure to see matters settled. I do not know what was meant by the red flag.

Matthew Hollister, a seaman of the *Director*.—I cannot speak to the hour or to the minute, but it was late in the evening, when the prisoner left the *Director*, at the time the *Repulse* was on shore.

The Prisoner.—I have no other question to ask the witness ; answers to other questions I wish to ask him might criminate himself.

Thomas Barry, seaman of the *Monmouth*, a witness who gave evidence before on the part of the prosecution, said : It was about four o'clock in the day when, as I stated before, the prisoner fired the fore-castle guns of the *Monmouth* on the *Repulse*, as she was attempting to get into Sheerness harbour. The man whom I called Captain Vance put me into confinement for about an hour and a half, from a quarter after four till about a quarter to six. The prisoner gave me the shove over the heel of the fore-topmast about four o'clock. In the hurry and confusion of things

on board the *Monmouth*, it was quite possible for me to mistake the prisoner for another person. The transaction respecting the crowbar happened about ten minutes to four. The half-coat, which the prisoner used to wear, was off. He was dressed in a waistcoat. The conversation, related by me to have taken place between the prisoner and Captain Vance, occurred about half-past four.

The Prisoner.—I can prove that I was at another place at the time when the witness represents this transaction to have happened; and as for a half-coat, I never had one.

Samuel Beard, a seaman of the *Monmouth*.—I do not know the prisoner. When the *Monmouth* was firing upon the *Repulse*, I was on the fore-castle part of the time, and part of the time at my quarters, at the second gun. After the fire commenced, I remained about a quarter of an hour on the fore-castle. While I was on the fore-castle, I did not observe any transaction with respect to a crow-bar being introduced into a gun. The firing lasted about an hour.

The prisoner said he had no fresh witnesses to call, but at his desire,

Matthew Hollister was recalled and examined again.—The prisoner quitted the *Director* a short time before the *Repulse* got adrift. I believe the *Monmouth* had then ceased firing; but I do not know whether

the *Monmouth* or the *Director* ceased first. My station was in the magazine of the *Director*; I went down for the safety of the ship. I was not in the magazine all the time of the firing. I went below about a quarter of an hour after it commenced, and remained there for twenty minutes: I then went up between decks, stayed there a quarter of an hour, and afterwards proceeded to the main deck. The firing had then ceased. The prisoner left the *Director* between seven and eight o'clock.

Here the examination of evidence for the defence closed.

The President then told the prisoner that very heavy charges had been brought against him, and beseeched him for God's sake to call his witnesses, if he had any more, whom he wished to examine.

The prisoner said, if he had a little more time, perhaps he might collect some further evidence, and requested an adjournment till the morning.

The President replied, that was impossible.

The prisoner then expressed a hope that the Court would take the circumstances attending his situation into their consideration, and recollect that he had been moderate in the whole of his conduct, and had latterly assisted in delivering up the ship.

The Court was ordered to be cleared at about half-past one o'clock, and the prisoner to be



removed. From that hour until nearly four, the Court sat in deliberation. Upon the re-admission of the public,

The Judge-Advocate stated, according to the usual form, the nature and object of the court-martial, together with the charges which had been brought forward against the prisoner; that the Court had heard witnesses, on the part of the prosecution, to support those charges, and witnesses on behalf of the prisoner for his defence; and having maturely weighed and considered the same, that the Court was of opinion, the whole of the charges were fully proved against Richard Parker, the prisoner: That the Court, therefore, had determined that the said Richard Parker should suffer death; and that he be accordingly hanged by the neck, until dead, on such day, and on board such ship, as the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty should appoint.

The prisoner then read from a paper which he held in his hand a few observations to the

effect that he declared before God he could answer for the rectitude of his intentions; and however criminal he might appear in the eyes of the world, he was conscious of having exerted his utmost endeavours to promote the interests of mankind. He hoped that his death might make an atonement to the whole country; that it would answer for all the rest of the fleet, and that no other person charged with the crime for which he was to suffer might be put to death. He was confident, if such were the case, that all the seamen now imprisoned would cheerfully return to their duty.

The President told the prisoner that it was in the power of the Court to order his execution within a few minutes after the sentence; but that in order to give him space to repent of the heinous crime of which he had been guilty, they thought proper to leave that business to the Lords of the Admiralty. His time, however, could not be long.

## CHAPTER XV.

### EXECUTION OF PARKER.

THE finding of the court-martial on Parker, and the sentence of death, were conveyed by Earl Spencer to the king on Tuesday,

the 27th of June. His Majesty, of course, approved of and confirmed the proceedings of the court. At a cabinet council

held the same day, Parker's execution was fixed for the following Friday. It was appointed to take place on board the Sandwich, the ship on board which he had served as a supernumerary; ruled with high hand as president of the committee of delegates, a veritable "admiral;" and on which he met the bitter humiliation, miserable defeat, and the sneers of the men in whose cause he risked the life he was now to offer up as a sacrifice. Parker rose to the demands of the dread occasion. He

"Set forth

A deep repentance: nothing in his life  
Became him like the leaving it. He  
died

As one that had been studied in his  
death,

To throw away the dearest thing he  
owed

As 'twere a careless trifle."

Parker's suppermost wish in dying was that his one sacrifice might atone for all his unfortunate brother-victims. He availed himself of the services of a clergyman in cheerful preparation for entering on the discovery of the great, awful secret. He looked calmly and unscares at the gloomy portals at the opening of which it is discovered. His religious feelings were regulated by reason. There was in him no ostentation of a martyr's anticipations. He wrote a letter to his wife, quietly informing her of the doom he had encountered, and of which he supposed she would have heard; and comforted her with

a declaration of his resolution to meet death with the resignation, unfaltering belief, and assured hope of a Christian.

On Friday morning, at eight o'clock, a gun was fired from his Majesty's ship *L'Espion*, lying off the garrison, when the yellow flag, signal of capital punishment, was immediately hoisted, the Sandwich also, stationed a little above Blackstakes, and at the head of the fleet, hoisted the yellow flag. The troops in garrison proceeded in single file along the south shore of the Medway, near to Queenborough. A lieutenant from each ship in the fleet in command of a party of marines was sent to the Sandwich to attend the execution. The crews of the surrounding men-of-war were passed to the forecastles of their respective ships, and the marines were drawn up on the quarter-decks, to witness the death of their martyr mutineer. He was so whether they realised it or not.

Parker heard the noise of preparation for his death. He had been awakened by the provost-marshal a little after six o'clock. His request for a barber to attend him being acceded to, he dressed with care, putting on a suit of mourning. He took breakfast heartily, and talked of a will he had made bequeathing to his wife his hereditary interest in a small estate. He denied having had any correspondence with disaffected persons on shore; and asserted with just

pride, and, as it seems, with truth, that it was mainly owing to the influence he possessed and put forth that the fleet at the Nore had not been carried into a port of France, or some other enemy of Great Britain.

At half-past eight it was intimated to the doomed man that the chaplain of the Sandwich was ready to attend him at prayers on the quarter-deck. He immediately ascended. The chaplain told him he had selected two psalms appropriate to his situation, to which the prisoner assented, saying, "And with your permission, sir, I will add a third," naming the fifty-first; of these confessional and penitential psalms of David he recited the alternate verses in an impressive manner. At nine o'clock the preparatory gun was fired, and he heard it like a man for whom death had no terrors. Prayers being ended, he rose from his knees, and asked Captain Moss if he might be indulged with a glass of wine. When this was brought he took it, and lifting up his eyes, exclaimed, "I drink first to the salvation of my soul, and next to the forgiveness of all my enemies." Addressing himself to Captain Moss, he said he "hoped that he would shake hands with him," which the captain did. He then desired that "he might be remembered to his companions who were awaiting their trial in custody on board the Neptune, with his

last dying entreaty to them to prepare for their fate, and to refrain from unbecoming levity."

His arms being now bound, the gloomy procession moved from the quarter-deck to the fore-castle, through a double file of marines on the starboard side, towards a platform erected on the cat-head, with an elevated projection. Upon his arrival here, he joined the chaplain in acts of devotion, repeating each "Amen." The admiral's warrant of execution was next read by the clerk; to this the prisoner paid a marked attention, bowing when it was finished. Parker then asked the captain whether he might be allowed to speak, and immediately apprehending that his intention might be misconceived, added, "I am not going, sir, to address the ship's company; I wish only to declare that I acknowledge the justice of the sentence under which I suffer; and I hope my death may be considered a sufficient atonement, without involving the fate of others." He then requested a "minute to collect himself," and knelt down alone for about that space of time. On rising up he said, "I am ready," and desired the boatswain's mate to take off his handkerchief.

The provost-marshal next placed the halter over the prisoner's head in rather an awkward manner, upon which Parker turned to the boatswain's mate, and said in a pettish tone, "Do you do it, for he seems to know nothing about it." The provost

then attempted to put the cap on the prisoner, who refused, however, to wear it, until being informed that the observance was indispensable, he submitted, requesting only that it might not be pulled over his eyes until he desired this to be done. He then turned round for the first time, directing a steady glance towards his shipmates on the fore-castle, nodded his head towards them with an affectionate kind of smile, and said, "Good-bye to you." He now demanded of Captain Moss, "Is the gun primed and the match lighted?"

"All is ready," was the reply. Parker advanced a few steps, and asked, "Will any gentleman be so kind as to lend me a white handkerchief for the signal?" After a short pause a gentleman present complied with this request; to whom, bowing, he returned his thanks. He then ascended the platform and repeated the same questions about the gun. Then the cap being drawn over his face, he walked firmly up the platform to the extremity of the scaffold and dropped the handkerchief, at the same time thrusting his hands with great rapidity into his coat pockets. On the instant the signal of death from the bow gun flashed forth, and before its smoke had reached the surface of the water, the yard-rope, manned by the Sandwich's crew, swung off the prisoner, and ran him up to the yard-arm. The body seemed

to be extremely convulsed, but only for a few seconds.

There was a silence of death among the beholders. Many a heart was melted, and all for whom he suffered were compelled to own their martyr a hero.

The yellow flag was struck, and the body was lowered after hanging at the yard-arm for half an hour. It was put in a shell with the clothes on, and conveyed in one of the boats of the Sandwich to the east point of the garrison at Sheerness, and carried to what was then termed the New Naval Burying-Ground. Here, when the coffin-lid was for a few minutes removed, it was observed that the countenance was very little altered. The expression of it was gentle, as it always had been. No one who looks at the face of Parker in the authentic likeness of him can imagine him an interested disturber of the public peace. It was only a very simple-minded king, much addicted to over-weening manifestations of trust and gratitude, whom the greatest of artists made say—

"There is no art  
To find the mind's construction in the  
face."

The body was interred at noon.

Some time afterwards it was disinterred at the request of Parker's friends, conveyed to London, and again committed to its kindred dust.

At the time of his execution Parker was thirty-six years of age. He was of a robust form,

his complexion was dark. He stood five feet eight inches in height. He had beaming black eyes, and he

## CHAPTER XVI.

### A HOLOCAUST.

To realise Parker's hope that his life might be held enough to sacrifice would seem the last degree of weakness and folly to such minds as were the lights of the third George and the second Pitt. They were guilty, and therefore they were cowardly and cruel. They had wronged these mutineers, and therefore they could not forgive. Such a procedure would have been too much of a good thing—too Christian, in fact. Nothing short of an entire holocaust could sate their vengeance or settle their fears. Accordingly it was determined to bring to trial the leaders of the mutiny in every vessel engaged in it, and when they were convicted, as they were pretty sure to be by a court-martial, to spare no severity of punishment. As the pleadings and evidence are very similar all through the trials, a few specimens will satisfy readers in these days.

### THE LEOPARD.

On Thursday, June the 28th, a court-martial assembled to try the following prisoners belong-

ing to the *Leopard*: Alexander Lawson, W. Welch, W. Ross, John Habbigan, Thomas Sterling, James Robertson, George Shave, Dennis Sullivan, Joseph Fearon.

The Court was composed of the following officers:

Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley, *President*; Commodore Sir E. Gower; Captains Williamson, Wells, Sir T. Williams, Cobb, O'Bryan, Stanhope, Mackham, Ride, Watson, Fancourt, Parr.

Lieutenant Rob, of the *Leopard*, acted as prosecutor.

A letter from Captain Hargood, of the *Leopard*, to Mr Nepean, containing the list of prisoners, was read. They were selected from the ship's company as persons who had been the most active in the mutiny on board that ship.

### TRIAL OF THOMAS STERLING.

The rest of the prisoners were removed, and Thomas Sterling was first put upon trial.

Captain Hargood, of the *Leopard*, gave the following evidence: On or about the 29th of May, I was informed at noon

that a number of men had assembled on the main deck. I immediately went thither, and saw a crowd moving off the larboard gangway, the prisoner being one of the foremost. I asked them what they all wanted. The prisoner answered that the ship must go into Yarmouth, as other ships had done, to inquire the reason of the rest of the ships having left the fleet. I attempted to harangue them on the impropriety of their conduct, and told them that I would hoist out a boat and send it to Admiral Duncan, who doubtless would give them a sufficient reason. As my words were of no effect, and other men came forward protesting that the ship must go, and observing the men leaving the gangway and flying to the fore-castle, I immediately went on the fore-castle, for the purpose of prevailing upon them to return to their duty. Soon after, observing a number of men on the quarter-deck round the wheel, and hearing the fore-sheet let fly, I went aft to renew my endeavours, but without effect. I particularly entreated the prisoner more than once to prevail upon the ship's company to desist. The prisoner, from that time until he went in a cutter to the Nore, with many others, was always actively employed as a delegate on board. Upon his return from the Nore I did not see him. When I asked him to use his influence with the ship's company, his answer was that he, being only

one, could do nothing. I desired him to return to his duty.

Morgan Jones, seaman on board the *Leopard*, said: The prisoner has been on board with me a year and a half. Before the mutiny broke out, he was going fore and aft the ship gathering people to swear to join him in taking the ship into Yarmouth Roads, to know why we were left at sea. The men were not against the officers retaining the command, only they wanted to take the ship in. It was after dinner, on the 28th of May. He sounded all the men who were fit for duty. I called him a rascal for asking me such questions. The hands were turned up by the prisoner's orders. He sung out very loudly from under the break of the fore-castle, and then several more voices repeated his order in the waist, to turn the hands up above ship; immediately the boatswain's mate turned all hands up. The officers had no idea of the intention to take the ship in, without their permission, until all hands came upon deck. The captain and officers came and asked them in the name of God what they meant by their actions. The ship was hove about to stand in for land. Several men attempted to take the wheel, and wanted to clap the helm down, which they effected with a great deal of trouble, the officers and quarter-master Bowers, who was afterwards punished by Welch's orders, in Yarmouth Roads, re-

sisting their efforts for a long time. The captain finding his endeavours of no avail, retreated to his cabin, where, as I learned, he fainted away. The yard-rope was rove to hang any man who refused to join. About half-an-hour afterwards, I was taken down by half-a-dozen and carried into the prisoner's berth, in the larboard bay, to be sworn, in the prisoner's presence. I refused to take the oath, until I was threatened with hanging. Ross swore me to stick by the ship's company, and not to be put upon. The prisoner insisted upon my wearing a red cockade; upon my objecting, he threatened to hang me up to the fore-yard arm. I said he might, for I would not put one in my hat. I thought the cockade had the same meaning as hoisting the red flag, which I knew did not belong to the English government. I considered the prisoner to be a volunteer in the business, he was very active in going about from ship to ship while we lay in Yarmouth Roads.

Thomas Norman, boatswain's mate of the *Leopard*, testified: On the night before the mutiny broke out, the prisoner came to my hammock, between the hours of twelve and three, and having awakened me asked me for my Bible; I rose and told him it was either in the chest or in the bag, and with that he went away. A little while after he came and called me again, and told me to turn out. I

answered I was not well. He said I must get up, that he would not keep me long, and I had no occasion to put my clothes on. I followed him to his berth, where, in his presence, Ross administered the oath to me. During the mutiny, the prisoner worked upon the fore-castle. He acted as delegate at first, but not when the ship was coming round from Yarmouth to the Nore. One Marshall, captain of the fore-castle, took command of the ship, when the officers had been deprived of their authority.

Charles Bowers, quartermaster of the *Leopard*, said: On the forenoon of the day that the mutiny broke out, the prisoner came to me and the rest of the quartermasters within the tier, and ordered us to go upon deck into the larboard bay. We asked him the reason. He said no harm was intended, and the sooner we went the better. We were sworn, but I cannot recollect the particular words of the oath, further than that no one should be punished. The meaning of the oath I conceived to be, that when the officers regained the command of the ship no one should be punished. For they gave me a dozen lashes by Welch's orders, notwithstanding that Captain Hargood came to the gangway and pleaded hard for me. I was punished for taking the helm out of the hands of the other party by the captain's orders; we were twice driven away from it, but I can

not tell whether the prisoner was there either time or not. By the other party, I mean the mutineers. I was of the king's party.

Thomas Sherrard, pilot of the *Leopard*, said: The prisoner and George Shave ordered me to bring the ship from Yarmouth to the Nore. I was not threatened, but I obeyed from fear, because a rope was rove to the yard-arm, to hang any person who should dispute their orders. The prisoner and Shave acted together, as chief in command, in bringing the ship from Yarmouth to the Nore.

By the Prisoner.—I cannot say that I ever saw you on the quarter-deck in going from Yarmouth to the Nore. I cannot really tell whether you gave any orders for setting or shortening sail, or for working the ship; but somebody directed what sail to carry. Shave gave the orders and worked the ship, and was on the quarter-deck all the time.

John Laphorn, master-at-arms of the *Leopard*.—While the ship was in a state of mutiny, the prisoner ordered me into the cock-pit, as master-at-arms, to put the gentlemen's lights out, to be strict and rigid, and to have no communication with them. Although he did not repeat the order, yet he followed me round every night without speaking a word. When they were making the effigy of Mr Pitt, he said it was of no service to have an effigy, but to go down and bring up the jail-

keeper, meaning me, for that I should make a good example for the ship's company, and must be hanged. I was sworn to be true to the ship's company, and to keep the command of her until our grievances should be redressed. While I continued to do my duty as master-at-arms, George Shave seemed to command the ship. Before the prisoner went to the Nore, he was picked out as one of the delegates, and was one of the most active in assembling the people. After his return to Yarmouth, he was not permitted to act any longer as delegate, because he had been intoxicated.

Defence.—The prisoner being called upon for his defence, said he had nothing to say to the Court. He resigned himself into their hands. Not twenty words of truth had been spoken that day, and if he died, he died innocent of the charge.

Two witnesses were called, but nothing was elicited from them to shake the evidence for the prosecution. The prisoner declined calling witnesses to character, and the Court postponed immediate deliberation upon the sentence. The prisoner wept during the greater part of the trial.

#### THE TRIAL OF WILLIAM ROSS.

William Ross was immediately brought in and put upon his trial.

George Smith, a marine, gave



the following evidence : On the same day that the ship was taken out of the captain's hands in the North Seas, at the back of Yarmouth Sands, I was had forward into the larboard bay. When I went there, the prisoner told me he was going to swear me in. I asked him for what? He told me it was to be true and just to the ship's company until the grievances for which they stood out should be redressed ; that a great number of the ship's company were not very willing to come forward ; but if they did not come forward, they might wish they had ; for, as far as he could understand, the yard-rope was to be rove in the morning, if not that night. The prisoner was up all the night before the ship left Admiral Duncan's fleet, but wherefore I cannot tell. I saw him up during the middle watch, and likewise at four o'clock, when I was relieved and went to bed. I did not see him do anything except walk the decks. I cannot tell who was ringleader. I saw no instance of activity in the prisoner, except in swearing men. By the oath which I took, I did not mean anything else than to be true to my king and country. I do not know who had the command of the ship in particular, sometimes one, and sometimes another. George Shave used to walk the quarter-deck, and Marshall, the sail-maker's mate. I do not know what authority the prisoner had, if any.

Charles Reed, landsman of the *Leopard*, said : Before the mutiny, the prisoner used to hold private conversations with Sterling and Welch. On the previous night I was sent for to the larboard bay, where Ross and Welch were sitting opposite to each other at the same table. The prisoner read over some words about being true to the ship's company and their undertakings till all grievances were redressed. A book was given me to kiss, but I did not kiss it. When I turned my back upon them, I said, "My lads, take care of yourselves." Some one answered, who, I cannot say, "Take care of yourself; we'll look after you." The prisoner could not but hear that answer. When the ship arrived at the Nore, delegates from the Sandwich came on board. The prisoner said to one of them, "My brother, I am happy to see you. I have had a sore night's work of it, partly in taking down the names of the ship's company." He added, if it had not been for him it never would have been done. He wore a red cockade, was a committee man, and always present when papers were brought on board and read. I saw the prisoner go from ship to ship at the Nore, and on the 9th of June he went towards the Sandwich with the rest of the delegates. Immediately after he had left the ship, the officers regained the command.

Charles Bowers, quartermaster

of the *Leopard*.—The prisoner told me as we were walking the deck, two or three days after the ship had been taken by the delegates, that if it had not been for him he supposed the men would not have been sworn without opposition; that it was a complete or cleverly managed piece of business, for that they were afraid at first and were obliged to call one man at a time into the bay to swear them. When they had got together about 150 or 160, then they thought they had the strongest party and were not afraid.

Thomas Wood, a foremastman on board the *Leopard*.—Between the 5th and 8th of June, while we were at the Nore, I saw the prisoner in company with the boatswain's mate, and the prisoner said he thought the best place for rendezvous was in Bantry Bay, on the north-west of Ireland. The answer made to him by the boatswain's mate was, "We'll wood, wine, and water at Madeira, or some of the Western Islands." I immediately rejoined, "Who is to pay for that?" The boatswain's mate said "he would give a receipt upon Pitt for it." The prisoner is a very close man, and it is difficult to get a word out of him, except when he is with his own party. Marshall, who was esteemed the captain of the ship, sent for me down from the fore-castle into the star-board bay. I found the prisoner and four or five others there,

with Marshall at the head. Marshall told me that I was to keep watch as an officer on board the ship, and to carry out the same regulations as would have been ordered by the officers had they been in command of the ship. They selected me for my long standing in the navy, and acquaintance with the regulations of a man-of-war. I pleaded an impediment in my speech, want of learning, and disinclination to carry messages to other ships. My objections were overruled, and I was sworn, together with the prisoner, who held the book at the same time with myself. The substance of the oath was, to be true to all delegates in their undertakings, at the hazard of my life. This oath was taken at the Nore; I know nothing of any previous oath. With respect to the red flag, I told the prisoner that the red at the main was not a flag belonging to England, and that I would as soon be under a black flag. He answered, "Say no more about that, sir."

The Defence.—The prisoner said that false evidence had been given; that he was roused out of his hammock like the rest to be sworn about three-quarter grog in Yarmouth Roads. The people were to be sworn to insist upon having it, one man having been punished for asking for it. He was pitched upon to swear the people, and was appointed a committee-man, a situation which it was impossible for him to refuse. He then called

Thomas Bruin, boatswain's mate of the *Leopard*.—This witness's evidence went to prove that the prisoner had taken no greater share in the mutiny than the rest of the crew, but that in consequence of his being able to read and to write, he was one of the twelve men picked out as a committee-man, and that if he had not acted in unison with others, he would have gone to the yard-arm in a minute. He never saw him wear a red cockade, nor go messages from ship to ship. He considered Welch and Sterling to have been the ringleaders of all the mischief in the ship. The prisoner acted by the direction of those two persons, neither of whom could read or write, and used his pen at their dictation. He never heard the prisoner make any objection to the writing of the oath or to the swearing of the people.

Here the evidence for the defence closed. The prisoner was asked whether he had anything further to offer to the Court on his own behalf.

The prisoner replied, he had nothing more to advance, but he hoped the Court would consider that he was innocently involved in the mutiny, and had no share in taking the vessel from the officers. He was then removed, and the Court proceeded with

#### THE TRIAL OF GEORGE SHAVE.

Captain Hargood, of the *Leopard*, giving evidence, said:

Between the 28th of May and the day I went ashore with Admiral Pasley in the Yarmouth Roads, the prisoner was particularly active in exciting a mutiny. Upon its first breaking out he came to the gangway and said that the country had been oppressed for these five years; that the war had lasted too long, and now was the time to get righted; and that they must go in to their fellow-creatures, meaning, I suppose, Yarmouth Roads. When the ship's company were attempting to take the helm, he was particularly active in drawing the men upon the quarter-deck. He was a deputy delegate in Yarmouth Roads, one of the men ordered to act in the place of those who had been sent to the Nore. He took a boat with other delegates and went on board the *Ranger*, without leave of any one, in answer to a signal which had been made by that ship, which signal, they said, was one of their own. When Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley harangued the *Leopard*'s crew in Yarmouth Roads, to persuade them to proceed to sea, and to join their admiral off the Texel, the prisoner was particularly active in persuading the men not to comply with the request. The vice-admiral was in his uniform; he was sent by order of the Admiralty to represent to the ship's company the necessity for them to put to sea, as an expedition was expected to sail out of the Texel against their admiral every moment.

The prisoner's conduct to the vice-admiral was very disrespectful. He interrupted him, and made ill-founded complaints. When the vice-admiral went on board the *Agamemnon*, while he was addressing the people, a signal was made for the prisoner to come on board, which accordingly he did. Immediately he interrupted the admiral in his speech, by asserting that the *Leopard* would not go to sea, and that the whole of the ship's company was in a state of mutiny. I denied this to be the case, both to the admiral and to the prisoner. I think the *Leopard* refused to put to sea, in consequence of the influence exercised by the prisoner over the ship's company. I consider he had great weight with them, because he was their mouth-piece; and at any time, if, while I was haranguing the men, he happened to move away, the rest followed his example. I can state a particular instance. When in Yarmouth Roads, I turned the hands up to remonstrate with them upon their conduct in flying out in a body on the poop the night before, the ship's boat having been taken away without my orders, all of which I considered to be an insult to the officers and to myself. I requested the men to reflect upon what they were doing. The prisoner interrupted me, saying, "We had a great deal of business to do on board the *Ranger* last night;" and further, he told

me that at that moment a signal was made to repair on board the *Agamemnon*, requesting a boat to go and answer the signal. Observing that the ship's company were impatient and murmured, I told them I should never turn them up any more.

Thomas Sherrard, pilot of the *Leopard*, said: The prisoner was my captain once in the *Leopard* from the Yarmouth Roads to the Nore. The prisoner and Sterling ordered me to pilot the ship, the former giving orders on the quarter-deck. I was induced to obey him from fear of being hung at the yard-arm. The rope was rove on purpose to hang any one who should refuse to obey the delegates, of whom the prisoner was one; but he did not threaten me in particular. The officers had no command during that time. All the way up to the Nore, and at the Nore, the prisoner had a red cockade in his hat.

John Lapthorn, master-at-arms of the *Leopard*.—On the evening before the ship left the Nore, I was leaning over the afterpart of the gangway-rail, looking at the waist, when I heard the prisoner and Ross conversing together. The former remarked that a petition had been sent to the Admiralty Board, which was required to be answered in four hours; that the time was then up; and that, should no answer be returned that night, a signal would be made in the morning for sailing

away to some foreign power. Then the prisoner turned and walked aft, so that I did not hear whither they intended to sail. Also, if any man should object to take the ship to her destination, he would be made an example of to the rest of the ship's company. While the ship was in the hands of the mutineers, I received my orders from the prisoner, which were to put the fire-lights out and the officers' lights as usual. I was to do it as strictly, if not more strictly than usual. The prisoner assisted in taking the ship from the officers.

The Defence.—Thomas Pearson, landsman on board the *Leopard*, gave the following evidence in defence: The witness spoke to the prisoner's not having used authority on board, so far as he knew, to his endeavours to quell disturbances, and to his care of the powder and the king's stores in general. The prisoner was on the quarter-deck when the ship left *Yarmouth*, and assisted the pilot in ordering such sail to be put on the ship as the necessity of the case required. The prisoner ordered the men in the tops; the boatswain's mates, the duty in the waist. Witness could not tell under whom the mates were acting, but prisoner had no more authority than any other member of the committee.

The prisoner being asked if he had anything to say for himself, observed that he had done everything in his power to pre-

serve peace in the ship and to quell disturbances. He denied having given any orders himself, except that to insure the ship's safety he had assisted the pilot, and carried his orders. In respect to his conversation with the captain, he must have been misunderstood, for he spoke only of the oppression endured by the sailors, which he supposed had been remarked, and could be remedied. He added that he was in no respect more active than the rest, but only co-operated with them, finding it in vain to resist the general will. He was elected to fill the office of deputy-delegate, and also that of committee-man, by the ship's company. He took no command upon himself, but merely did what he was obliged to do for fear of being hanged at the yard-arm.

The prisoner was then ordered from the bar.

#### TRIAL OF WILLIAM WELCH AND ALEXANDER LAWSON.

When Shave was removed from the bar, the Court proceeded to try William Welch; and after him Alexander Lawson was put on his trial. But the evidence produced against these two unfortunate victims does not bring forward any new facts of material importance.

#### TRIAL OF DENNIS SULLIVAN.

John Laphorn was called as a witness, and testified: On the day the ship was taken

from the Nore, I heard a conversation which took place between the prisoner and Lawson. He said he knew there was something more than common about to take place, by the manner in which the officers were hurrying backwards and forwards upon deck; he thought it would be the best way to acquaint the committee, and to confine the officers until the delegates came on board; also, that a half-watch ought to be set that night, and should anything happen before they came on board, the best way would be to jump down into the magazine, blow up the ship, and go altogether.

Prisoner.—You have sworn my life away, Laphorn.

Witness.—All hands were called, and they ran upon deck as soon as they heard the pipe.

Morgan Jones.—On the day the ship was taken from the Nore, the prisoner came to me on the main-deck, and said: "I understand you are one of the party who intend cutting the cable to-night, and Thomas Norman, my messmate, the other. I'll have no more compassion on him than on you. I will watch over the cables to-night, and will blow the first man's brains out who attempts to cut them."

Patrick Donovan, a marine.—The day the ship left the Nore, I saw Robertson, the gunner's mate, on the quarter-deck; he was officer of the watch. Some men, together

with the prisoner, came up to tell him about the people who were intending to take the ship away. The prisoner was to assist Robertson in getting the arms, and in planting seven sentries on each gangway, for they suspected the attempt would be made that night. He insisted upon Norman and Keith being hanged if they should cut the cables in the night-time.

Joseph White heard the prisoner say, in the presence of Mr Groves, a midshipman, that "he would blow the first man's brains out who should attempt to cut the cables that night." He endeavoured to excite the people to prevent the ship from going up the river.

Charles Cubitt, a marine, said: I was wounded on the day the ship left the Nore by Dennis Sullivan, the prisoner. I was running on the larboard gangway with all the expedition I could, to assist my comrades in clearing the fore-castle. Just before I came to the fluke of the sheet-anchor, I saw a pike come up between the boat and the gangway. I immediately turned round short; as I was bringing my musket down, I knocked it against the boat, and it fell out of my hand. While I was hastily getting my musket up, the prisoner presented the pike right into my body, in the lower part of the belly. Upon regaining possession of my musket, he let fall his pike, and afterwards, under the half-deck, fell down on his knees before

me, and begged his life. I told him I did not want to hurt him, but desired him to assist in working the ship. He made answer, and said he would.

Lieutenant Colville's evidence was: Except when I saw the prisoner make a thrust at Cubitt with the boarding-pike, I never at any time witnessed the prisoner take any part in the mutiny, and from his general good conduct, I was astonished to see him armed against his officers.

The prisoner, in defence, related how he had been sworn by the mutineers, and declared he had always behaved himself very well in the ship. He then called Captain Hargood and Lieutenant Robb as witnesses to his character, both of whom spoke highly in his favour, and in bearing their testimony believed they were expressing the sentiments of every officer in the ship.

The prisoner, then addressing the Court, said they were taking his life away wrongfully; and, falling upon his knees, implored the Court, if he were to be deprived of life, that he might have a long day given him.

#### TRIAL OF JAMES ROBERTSON.

On Monday, July 3, the Court met at ten o'clock, and proceeded with the trial of this prisoner.

Hugh Roberts, gunner of the *Leopard*.—The prisoner left the ship in the Yarmouth Roads, and ordered me to do his duty in his absence. He went away

as a delegate, and was absent about four days. I saw him when he came back. From that time, until the ship left the Nore, he kept his watch on the quarter-deck as an officer, not by the authority of the commanding officer of the ship, but of the committee, he being one of its members. He did not appear to be active in any other way than in keeping his watch on the quarter-deck, where he gave all the necessary orders.

John Adrian, captain's clerk of the *Leopard*, gave as his evidence, in substance: I was standing on the gangway, about half-an-hour before the officers regained the ship. I saw the prisoner standing there with Joseph Fearon. In consequence of a change in the aspect of affairs which they did not like, he and his companion proposed to arm and place seven or eight persons on each gangway.

John Barlow, ship's cook of the *Leopard*.—On the afternoon of the 9th of June, I was in the galley on the larboard side. A party of the ship's company rushed forward to seize the foremast gun. I rose, and was going aft, when I heard a cry—"A match, bear a hand with a match." I crossed over to the other side of the galley, and saw the prisoner with a match in his hand.

President.—James Robertson, the evidence against you is closed; what have you to say in your defence?

Prisoner.—When the ship

was first seized at the back of Yarmouth Sands, other ships were going into port. Our ship's company murmured, and thought they ought to go in also. The ship's crew consulted among themselves, and agreed to take her in. I was awakened out of my hammock by a man who I thought was a Dutchman. I at first refused to go into the larboard bay, but he came again, and said it would be worse for me if I persisted in my refusal. I then went into the bay, and was sworn. When I was appointed delegate to go to the Nore, I refused, and the ship's company threatened to hang me at the yard-arm; so I consented, to save my life. I never used any violence, but kept watch, as I was desired.

The prisoner called three seamen to prove that he had been forced into the mutiny by Sterling, and that he had objected to go as a delegate. He then declared many things were laid to his charge of which he was innocent.

#### TRIAL OF JOSEPH FEARON.

Lieutenant Branun, of the marines, advanced in favour of the prosecution: The prisoner was forward in taking the ship away from Admiral Duncan's fleet, and carrying her into the Yarmouth Roads. I saw him, assisted by several other persons, shove the captain from the wheel, and put the helm up, upon which the captain left him,

went to his cabin, and appeared to be very much distressed. I asked the prisoner why they were going in? He answered that he would neither tell me nor any other officer, but wished the officers of the ship would take charge of her, which I believe was done. After the marines had fired for some time, I went forward on the forecastle to give some orders, when I observed the prisoner, with a half-pike in his hand, looking up through the grating of the gallery. Recalling to mind his desperate character, I immediately fired my pistol, and at the same time some marines fired, and the prisoner was wounded. I cannot say that he was the most conspicuous person in shoving the captain from the wheel.

Morgan Jones said: The red flag was hoisted by the prisoner, when the ship arrived at the Nore. This he did of his own accord, without consulting any person. He went himself to the ward-room, and demanded the flag out of Mr Branun's cabin, swearing with an oath that he would have it.

Patrick Donovan, marine.—On the day the ship left the Nore, I heard the prisoner tell Robertson that Norman and Keith were going to take the ship away. The prisoner insisted that they should be confined, swearing as he had begun it he would end it, for he had but one life.

John Adrian, captain's clerk.—When Robertson proposed to



arm men on each gangway, the prisoner agreed to the suggestion, and said, as he was going down, he was sure of being hung and would do as much mischief as he could. I consider him to be a very desperate and resolute man.

President.—Have you anything to offer to the Court in your defence?

Prisoner.—On the day the ship was seized at sea, I heard the pilot say that she was in danger of running foul of another ship; I ran to the wheel to ensure her safety; I never was at the wheel again.

Captain Hargood, upon being called to speak to his character, said he could say nothing for him.

The evidence produced in favour of the prisoner was very vague, and by no means explained his conduct in a satisfactory manner.

#### TRIAL OF JOHN HABBIGAN.

James Slater, quartermaster of the *Leopard*, testified: I was present in the bay, when the delegates had returned from the *Nore*. The prisoner came in and sat down. He refused to be either a committee-man or one of the twelve lieutenants who were appointed. This man and I were never friends; his temper and mine did not agree. The day we retook the ship, I looked out for him, and determined to kill him, if I came athwart him. When I met with him, I found he was as active

in getting out the boat as any one else. He went into the boat, and lent us a hand to get the anchor out while the ship was aground. I asked him what he thought of this affair; he thanked God, and said he was as glad as if any one had given him a thousand pounds that it had happened. He said again, "Thank God, I hope we have got rid of all troubles now."

On questions from the Court and the prosecutor, the witness further deposed, that the reason he searched for the prisoner to kill him was, because he thought that, of all the mutineers, he was his greatest enemy; that before the ship was retaken, the prisoner hoisted a signal on the poop. The witness did not understand the signal, and he was alarmed; but, upon inquiry, he found that it was only for the jolly-boat.

Robert Bligh, quartermaster, said: The prisoner was very busy upon deck in carrying on duty, and ordering boats to be manned to go anywhere. He threatened me for not joining in the mutiny, and gave me very abusive language for getting his name erased out of the committee list.

William Smith, seaman of the *Leopard*.—The prisoner at the bar was one of the committee. Once I remonstrated, and said, "It was not proper for any man to embezzle the king's stores." The prisoner threatened me with his doubled fist in my face, and said I wanted to raise an

opposition in the ship. The next time I saw the prisoner was the day on which they cut the cables, about a quarter of an hour before we got under way. He came upon the poop and said there was an opposite party rising in the ship, and that he should therefore make a signal for the boat, and let Marshall, the head delegate, know of it. He hoisted the Spanish Jack, which remained flying at the mizzen-peak until the cables were cut. Mr Buchanan, the midshipman who was killed, objected, but the prisoner said he would hoist it, which he did.

The prisoner, in defence, called Thomas Pike, who deposed that Norman mentioned his name, and that he was elected delegate by the ship's company. Witness did not hear prisoner object to serving as delegate, nor did he see him forward in accepting that office.

Lieutenant Colville spoke favourably of the prisoner's character previously to the mutiny.

The prisoner, upon being asked for his defence, said: On the night the mutiny began, we were lying at the back of Yarmouth Sands. I was called out of my bed, and I went forward, but could not tell for what purpose. A prayer-book was presented to me. I objected to take the oath, as I did not understand the reason of it. They told me if I did not take it now, I should be compelled to take it afterwards, and then it would be worse for me. When

the delegates were sent to the Nore, they chose me as a deputy, which I could not help. I was far from being against going in from the Nore with the ship, but I did not know at first for what purpose they were going in.

The trials of all the mutineers of the *Leopard* were now concluded; upon which the Court was cleared, in order that the sentence might be taken into consideration. Upon the reopening of the Court, the Judge-Advocate read, in the usual form, the sentence of the Court, which was that the whole of the charges had been proved against all the prisoners; that the Court sentenced them to suffer death, by hanging, at such time and place as the Lords of the Admiralty might direct; but at the same time the Court would recommend Habbigan and Robertson to the mercy of the king.

In consequence of the finding of the Court, a warrant was sent down from the Admiralty for the execution of seven out of the nine prisoners, viz., Dennis Sullivan, Alexander Lawson, William Welch, Joseph Fearon, William Ross, George Shave, and Thomas Sterling, who were hanged at the Nore, on Monday, the 10th of July—four on board their own ship, the *Leopard*, and three on board the *Lancaster*. James Robertson and John Habbigan were respited, and subsequently pardoned upon certain conditions.

## THE SANDWICH.

On Thursday, July 6, the Court again met, when about twenty prisoners belonging to the Sandwich were placed at the bar to hear read the charges against them; after which the Court proceeded to the

TRIAL OF WILLIAM GREGORY,  
CHARLES M'CARTY, JOHN  
WHITTLE, THOMAS APPLE-  
YARD, AND PETER HOLDING.

In this case the evidence for the prosecution went to show that Holding and M'Carty, at the breaking out of the mutiny, demanded the keys of the magazine from Lieutenant Flatt, threatening to break open the door if they were not delivered up to them. When the Yarmouth vessels came round, Holding proposed to go into Sheerness, silence the guns, and destroy the batteries. After the Repulse had made her escape, a report prevailed during the absence of Gregory that he meant to blow up the ship. After this, Gregory asked the people "whether they wished to give up the business, or to carry it on; for his part," he said, "he thought it best to carry it on." A great many of the people about him cried out, "Yes! yes!" Gregory at one time boarded an American vessel, and gave the pilot a paper, which he requested him to get printed, along with others, upon

one sheet, and to cause copies to be posted on the Royal Exchange, and at other public places in London. Gregory gave him three guineas to pay the expense. The paper was entitled, "An Address from the Delegates of the Fleet to their Fellow-subjects," and accused the administration of oppressing the navy, and declared that the sailors had no intention of subverting the government of the country, but were determined to persevere in obtaining the redress of their grievances. On the 8th of June Gregory was on board the Brilliant. He read the Act of Parliament, the king's pardon, and a letter from Sir Roger Curtis's squadron. When he had concluded reading the Act, he looked round upon the ship's company, and said, "None of your grievances are redressed." With regard to the pardon also, "This can be altered in a few hours, and any of you that may go on shore are liable to be hanged or shot by your tyrannical country." Gregory took possession of the admiral's cabin. While the officers were endeavouring, on the 9th of June, to prevail upon the ship's company to return to their duty, he called out, "Let those who are for the *cause* give three cheers." Immediately a great number cheered, and some armed men rushed forward and took the officers prisoners. Holding and Whittle were among the number of armed men. While Captain Wood, of the Hound,

was reading the king's proclamation to his crew, Appleyard took it from him, and said it was a piece of flummery. He called the ship's company rascals for allowing their captain to lead them by the nose, and threatened that the Sandwich should sink them.

For the Defence.—M'Carthy, who had retained Mr Alley, a barrister, as his counsel, begged the Court to permit that gentleman to read from a paper his written defence. It contained a commentary upon parts of the evidence, insisted also upon the compulsion used by Parker and others, and concluded by imploring the mercy of the Court. Gregory asserted his moderation under the circumstances, and also, that the men who had been selected for trial were the most worthy among the seamen, and had saved the fleet from destruction. Appleyard, Holding, and Whittle made no defence.

Witnesses called by Gregory proved that having read the king's pardon on board the Brilliant, he told the men they had now a fair opportunity, if they pleased to embrace it, of returning to their duty. But he also said, "Whoever accepts the pardon will be sent on shore, and may return to their tyrannical officers." For M'Carthy, it was proved that one day when he came on board the Brilliant from the Pylades, he was taken into the waist; then a rope noosed and well greased was

put about his neck; and that about fifty men on the fore-castle, who had hold of the other end of the rope, hauled him up a little distance from the deck. He was rescued by a party in the waist, who rushed forward and cut the rope. The reason assigned for this transaction was, that after Admiral Buckner came on board the fleet, M'Carthy had been desirous of accepting his Majesty's pardon, and opposed Parker in the committee.

TRIAL OF GEORGE TAYLOR,  
JOSEPH HUGHES, THOMAS  
BRADY, GEORGE GAINER, AND  
JOHN DAVIS.

All the prisoners attended the committee. From the 29th of May to the end of the mutiny, Davis had the command of the Sandwich. He ordered the fore-top sail to be loosed, and the starboard fore-castle gun to be fired; this signal was made for the ships to put to sea. He signed passports, and styled himself captain of the Sandwich. Both he and Gainer said they wanted no pardon, but a redress of grievances. Several acts of violence and threats were brought home to each of the prisoners.

For the Defence.—Davis said he was ordered to take charge of the ship; with which he complied, under the expectation that he might be of use in preserving her. He had done all in his power to keep order on board, which was a matter of

no small difficulty at such a time, and in a ship containing nearly a thousand men. The other prisoners urged compulsion, and denied parts of the evidence.

Captain Blackwood, called by Davis, deposed that the prisoner was in the *Trusty* between 1785 and 1788; he behaved himself with great propriety and was much respected. The witness was of opinion the release of the lieutenant of the *Niger* from punishment, was effected by Davis's representations to the delegates of the impropriety of their conduct. On the day the delegates returned from Portsmouth, the witness recommended the prisoner to moderate the minds of the people as much as possible. He said this was his intention, and he wished the business were settled. At this time Patmore and several other delegates passed. Patmore called out to the prisoner, "Come along; this is not a time to be palavering with officers." The prisoner then said, "You see, sir, how matters stand; I am not my own master. If I were, it should not be thus." The other prisoners called witnesses to prove compulsion, and their disinclination to take an active part in the mutiny.

**TRIAL OF JAMES HOCKLESS,** quarter-master; **JOHN SCOTT,** gunner's mate; **CHARLES CHANT,** seaman; **WILLIAM THOMAS JONES,** seaman; and

**HENRY WOLFE,** boatswain's mate; all of the *Sandwich*.

Hockless, Scott, and Jones were members of the committee. Hockless piloted the *Swan* from the Great Nore to the entrance of the Thames, and anchored her there. On the 8th of June he boarded the *Ranger* in company with a number of other men. The *Ranger* was lying at the Great Nore, and they proposed to carry her down the Queen's Channel, because they had heard that the buoys were being taken away. He said he had been sent by the committee to take charge of the *Ranger*, and prevent the removal of any more buoys or beacons. In the morning he got the ship under way, and upon observing that the first buoy was gone, he was in a great rage, and said bitterly he would send the perpetrators to —, if he could get hold of any of them. On the 28th of May, when Captain Moss was endeavouring to persuade the men to return to their duty, Chant ordered the boatswain's mate to drive them forward, and was very active in dispersing them himself.

For the defence, Jones called Thomas Phips Hewson, seaman on board the *Sandwich*.—At the commencement of the mutiny Jones said, looking at the yard-ropes, "This is a very wrong thing; many innocent men will suffer for this horrid business." At the same time he asked my opinion of the business. I re-

plied that "it was laying the axe to the root of the chief pillar of England." The prisoner said "he wished he were dead, rather than have anything to do with it." He then sat down in a thoughtful manner, but said no more at that time.

When M'Carty returned from Portsmouth with an account of the pardon, the prisoner said to me, in a private conversation, that "it was quite contrary to all that is right not to communicate it to the ship's company." Headed, "The committee were a set of rascals, who were against the good of their king and country, and consulted only their own resentments. He wished he had more power in the committee, that he might oppose their proceedings." When the St Fiorenzo was attempting to escape, and the people were pointing the guns at her, Jones called out, "For shame! are you going to kill your brethren in cold blood?" When the Leopard was getting under way, Jones prevented several of the lower-deck guns from being run out, and said, "If he saw any rascal run out a gun, he would knock him down." When the Inflexible sent her boat alongside, threatening to sink the Sandwich if any mark of respect were paid to Admiral Buckner, the prisoner gave it as his opinion that they were about to destroy all the good laws and regulations of the navy.

The other prisoners called witnesses to character, and, as

usual, to sustain their justification upon the ground of coercion.

TRIAL OF JAMES LURAN, JAMES JOHNES, and JAMES BROWN, seamen; THOMAS BROOKES, sergeant of marines; and WILLIAM PORTER, private marine; all of the Sandwich.

On the 4th of June Luran said, if any one were of his opinion, he would unmoor all his Majesty's ships and the merchant vessels, and carry them over to France. A seaman replied, that he would sooner see the prisoner's neck at the yard-arm than that the French Convention should taste one-fourth part of a biscuit belonging to the Crown of Great Britain. When Parker was informed of the conversation, he put the prisoner in irons. The marines acted as officers on board.

All the prisoners except Brown put in written defences; they were nearly to the same purport, containing a few remarks upon the evidence, stating that the prisoners had been compelled to act as they had done, and imploring the mercy of the Court. Witnesses were called to speak to character, and to extenuate the charges, by alleging instances of moderation.

The Court assembled on Wednesday, July 19, and sentenced Gregory, Appleyard, Taylor, Chant, Gainer, Hold-

ing, Luran, Brookes, Hockless, Whittle, Hughes, Brady, Davis, M'Carty, Wolfe, Porter, and James Johnes to death.

But as upon a minute examination of the evidence some favourable circumstances appeared in the conduct of Whittle, Brady, Taylor, and Porter, their cases were left by the Court for his Majesty's merciful consideration.

As the charge was not fully proved against George Scott, the Court sentenced him to be punished with one hundred lashes. With regard to William Thomas Jones, although a great degree of criminality attached to him, yet, upon a consideration of some parts of his conduct, the Court only adjudged him to be reprimanded; and Thomas Brown was acquitted.

As to the case of Thomas M'Cann, although the Court sentenced him to death, yet they considered it to be their duty to represent to his Majesty that the prisoner was sent on board the *Spanker* early in the mutiny, and did make application for his Majesty's pardon between the 1st and 7th of June.

On Tuesday, August 1, William Gregory, James Hockless, Charles M'Carthy, and Peter Holding were executed on board the *Sandwich* at Blackstakes; and Thomas Appleyard, on board the *Firm* brig, in Gillingham Reach.

## THE MONMOUTH.

On Friday, July 28, Richard Brown, carpenter's mate; John Doughty, sailmaker; William Frith, ship's corporal; Matthew Williams, captain of the main-top; William Vance, quartermaster; John Dunn, sergeant of marines; all belonging to the *Monmouth*, were tried.

A very circumstantial detail was given of the conduct of the prisoners in seizing the ship at the back of Yarmouth Sands, and of the punishment they had inflicted upon the officers, together with ill-treatment on various occasions. In the whole of these transactions Vance acted as captain of the ship. The evidence, however, did not present any facts with which the reader is not already acquainted.

Vance made the following characteristic defence:

"My Lord Northesk, hearken to this—Gentlemen, I fairly see your intention on me. As for the evidence, it is known to myself that they have spoken more than the truth. The name of captain in a state of mutiny is terrible to the eyes of the ignorant, but not in the eye of God, nor of the worthy true believer.

"It is very true I was one among the thousands that broke the law which was established in the land we were born in: so, therefore, worthy commanders, I hope you will hold your hands. Take it into consideration that

the most innocent men are upon trial, and the most guilty lying in safety, which may be found out. I have no more to say, but I give myself up to God Almighty, to this honourable Court, and to his most gracious Majesty George the Third." He afterwards said he had been nineteen years at sea, but only seven months in the navy, and therefore had no witnesses to character. He thought his wife and children ought to be provided for.

Twelve more mutineers of the *Monmouth* were also tried. Of the whole eighteen, the six above mentioned, together with five others, were sentenced to death; but two were recommended to mercy, four were ordered to be severely flogged, two to be reprimanded, and one was acquitted.

On Monday the 14th of August, Vance, Frith, Brown, and Earles were executed on board the *Monmouth*. The warrant for execution, which contained eleven names, having been read, the four prisoners followed the chaplain to the fore-castle of the ship, where he read a prayer composed for the occasion; after which they sang the 104th Psalm. At their request a glass of wine was handed to each man. Brown, the delegate, immediately turned round to Lord Northesk, and addressed him in a few words, beseeching his forgiveness, and acknowledging the justice of his sentence. His lordship answered

that he forgave him from the bottom of his heart. He then harangued the ship's crew in a very impressive manner. He "desired them to take warning by his fate; that he was going to suffer for having violated the laws of his country, and said he feared there were still many very bad and designing men. He conjured the crew to beware of them if they had any regard for their own character, or love for their wives and families."

Frith endeavoured to follow his example; but his voice faltered, and he failed in giving utterance to his sentiments.

About nine o'clock the fatal gun was fired, and they were drawn up to the yard-arm.

The heart sickens at these details. For the rest, let it be considered enough to say that the trials still went on with the mutineers of the *Inflexible* and *Standard*. Thirteen altogether received sentence of death. One of the condemned men behaved in the most excited manner during his trial; and when the awful sentence was pronounced upon him, he fell upon his knees, and prayed God "that his blood might fall on the heads of his persecutors, and the witnesses that had appeared against him; and that the cries of his wife and children might ever be ringing in their ears."

On Friday, the 25th of August, the court-martial was brought



to a conclusion. Vice-Admiral Sir T. Pasley struck his flag, and the Neptune sailed to join the Channel Fleet.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE CONCLUSION.

THE page of history which has just been turned over is offensively blotted with blood. The holocaust thought necessary to gratify the Nemesis of obstinate ignorance and blindness, was mercilessly offered up. Only a few of the selected victims have been mentioned, only half-a-dozen of the ships have been named as supplying their quota. A gloomy succession of trials were only opening farces put on the stage before the great tragedy of The Yardarm was enacted. For more than two months after the mutiny was suppressed, there was a continuous repetition before the courts-martial, on account of the acts which accompanied the outbreak. With little material variation the transactions taking place in one mutinous vessel were repeated in all the vessels throughout the fleet. It takes something like genius to invent a variation of action in such circumstances, and even when the power is present a very happy chance is requisite for giving it opportunity and scope. No such originaive intellect betrayed itself among the mutineers at the Nore.

But this makes the case against the authorities of the time, look only all the worse. The claims were urgent, and grievous were the wrongs which stimulated such men as then composed the working energy of the fleet to plot and combine, defying not only the government, but the accustomed and ordinary habits of their own contracted and unintellectual paths of slavish life. They risked that life with desperate recklessness for the sake of redresses which were felt to be dearer than it.

It should not have been difficult for King George III. and his sapient advisers, to trace the mutiny to its origin. They knew the facts. Impressment, brutal treatment, low wages, bad food, putrid water, were a few of them. The fleet filled with the refuse of jails, and the refusal of opportunities, how few soever and far between, of visiting the homes from which many of the mutineers had been torn under circumstances of revolting violence, were an addition to the list. Those arbitrary tyrants who brought these evils

upon men with the instincts of Englishmen and the habits of thought acquired in the navy during periods of busy warfare, compelled their bondsmen to shed their blood with the most extravagant effusion for the acquisition of enormous treasures, while they doled out to them in turn the meanest possible pittance of prize-money; and deprived them of every chance of laying out their hard won paltry gains to any profit. They had only one outlet for what money they had to spend: the paying for intoxications; questionable pleasures and excitements, in the very worst of company.

In these circumstances what so reasonable as Mr Sheridan's proposal of a commission of enquiry? What so seasonable? But neither reason nor the ever significant tread of the march of time could obviate stupidity and official conceit. Had the commission been granted, it is not too much to infer that a strictly impartial and thoroughly searching investigation into the causes of disgust so vehemently denounced by the seamen would have saved the country from that paroxysm of anxiety, excitement, and terror which it was compelled to endure; and humanity, so long as history is read, from the pain it must always experience from reflecting on the impolicy and cruel impiety of those vindictive judicial slaughterings of a number of brave but hapless men—sons, brothers, lovers,

husbands, fathers; all main props of helpless starving families, whom the criminal neglect of their rulers had first driven into mutiny; and then butchered in vain attempts to drown the never dying voice of blood unjustly shed; and that at a time, too, when the country had been by the same arbitrary tyrants most wantonly plunged into a disastrous war. The union of all heads and hands was wanted at such a time, not only to preserve Great Britain's sovereignty over the seas from being usurped, but even to keep her shores inviolate.

It is not denied that Mr Pitt was in many respects a wise liberal-minded statesman. One of his measures is enough to indicate this, and speaks volumes for his sagacious foresight and farsight. It is his Treaty of Commerce with France. That was a political transaction of the most noble character, negotiated on a grand design. Its provisions were broad and liberal. Mr Pitt, it is well known, anticipated another of the great measures, the passing of which has been a feature of the liberal policy of our day. He understood the great Irish Church question, and was both wishful and ready to take steps and frame measures for the removal of the anomaly of the establishment of the church of a minority. In questions of what may be called foreign affairs, the name of that great minister will always be held in honour.

But his home policy was shortsighted and ruinous to the country he loved. Municipal and political reform, his early love, became his later abomination. To reform the rotten system, according to which the administration of the navy was conducted, was his remotest thought. He did not see its evils. When they were depicted to him he denied them. His measures regarding them are penned in blood. His dearest wish was to perpetuate them.

It is well to regard such conduct from the enlightened point of view supplied in our own day. What have not trade unions done for the labouring classes of this latter half of the nineteenth century! The mutineers at Spithead and the Nore were their progenitors. A man is a man notwithstanding ancient traditions and oppressions. Those martyr mutineers were the heralds of better times, the apostles of the doctrine of the rights of labour.

The improvements which have taken place in the condition of labourers and workingmen in the navy were secured by them. The martyr for religion is canonised in the spiritual

discernment of the ages. The political martyr controls the mightiest monarchies and their ministers. His death is the decree by which right is irrevocably as triumphant. There are and have been martyrs in the interests of social usages and educational improvement. Richard Parker and his fellow-sufferers must not be denied their crowns.

They erred egregiously in many things, no doubt. These errors, however, are now as the small dust of the balance, as are those of the heroes and martyrs of the Reformation, the British Revolution, the French Revolution, and of that Reform Bill whose annals may be said to have closed the list thus far in British history of wise, good men, who had to seal in the sombre council of the dead the testimony which truth, mercy, and justice compelled them to raise in the interest of their own and all succeeding generations. Be they of the wise or of the unwise, honour to the immolated good and brave. No niches in the noisy temple of fame may be assigned to them, but they live for ever wherever the spirit they were of breathes its power.

# MUTINIES IN HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

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## MUTINY IN THE 42<sup>D</sup> REGIMENT

(THE ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT, OR BLACK WATCH).

*May 1743.*

THE Forty-Second, or Royal Highland, Regiment was the first, as it has continued to be the foremost, of the regiments which in their heroic services to the House of Hanover on the British throne, have reflected unfading glory on their race, and on the highlands and islands of Scotland. The roll on which its martial deeds of undying renown are emblazoned is one of the most dazzling among the honoured records of modern warfare. The origin of the first of the Highland regiments is interesting.

The leading circumstances which led to its formation are easily recounted. The majority of the Highland clans continued faithful to the direct line of the Stuart dynasty, after the Revolution of 1688 had led the royal train off at a siding. It took them three years to intimate their submission to the government of William III.; and that submission was only a hollow affair after all the time it took

in shaping. In 1715 they took arms against the House of Hanover, under the enthusiastic Earl of Mar, with results disastrous to the Highlanders. After an attempt made by the Spanish in 1719, to embroil Scotland again in a civil war proved itself fruitless, the country enjoyed comparative quiet for twenty-five years, during which period roads were made in the Highlands, and various measures were adopted to improve the condition of the clans.

Some Highlanders were taken into the service of the Crown and armed as early as 1725, when Marshall Wade was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Scotland; and in 1729 the Government took measures for the embodying of a number of loyal Highlanders, who should be constituted a regular domestic military force, employed to keep order in the mountain districts, for which they were in every respect better qualified than soldiers from the

Lowlands. Six companies were accordingly formed, and were employed, in 1730, enforcing the Disarming Act, overawing the disaffected, preventing reprisals and plunders between the rival clans, and putting a check upon the depredations made by the mountaineers on their peaceable neighbours of the plains. The officers were generally selected from among the Campbells, Grants, Munroes, and other chief families which had embraced the principles of the Revolution; but many of the men were from clan Athole, Perthshire, and other districts where loyalty to the dethroned dynasty was still a controlling sentiment.

Many of the men in the ranks were cadets of gentlemen's families, sons of gentlemen farmers, and tacksmen, immediately or more remotely connected with the leading families. They were generally of a higher grade in society than that from which the British soldier was raised in those days, or at any time since; they were, in a word, men who felt themselves responsible for their conduct to high-minded and honourable relations, as well as to a country for which they cherished a fondly devoted affection.

These six companies were called the *Freicudan Dhu*, or Black Watch, from the colour of their dress, which consisted so much of the black, green, and blue tartan, that it gave them a dark and sombre appearance in

comparison with the bright uniform of the regular *Seidaran Dearag*, or Red Soldiers.

The companies continued to discharge with faithfulness and efficiency their duties as a domestic watch till 1739. In that year, on the breaking out of war with Spain, King George II. resolved to incorporate the six companies of the Black Watch into a regiment of the line, to be augmented to ten companies, that he might possess the advantage of a Highland corps in the coming struggle. Accordingly a warrant to this effect was issued to Colonel John, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, under date October 25, 1739. After some progress had been made in recruiting, the men were assembled in May 1740, and embodied into a regiment in a field between Tay-bridge and Aberfeldy, in the county of Perth, under the title of the "Highland Regiment," but the corps still retained the country name of the Black Watch. They remained for about fifteen months on the banks of the Tay and of the Lyon.

Colonel the Earl of Crawford was removed in December of the same year, from the Black Watch to the Second, or Scots, troop of Grenadier Life Guards; and Brigadier-General Lord Sempill was appointed colonel of the Highlanders.

In the winter of 1741 the regiment resumed the duties formerly performed by the six

companies in the Highlands; these it continued to discharge during 1742, the year in which King George II. sent an army to Flanders to support the House of Austria against the Elector of Bavaria and the King of France.

The Highland Regiment having been selected to reinforce the army in Flanders, was assembled at Perth in March 1743, preparatory for a march to London.

Such an order took the men by surprise, and awakened suspicion as well as astonishment. They had not expected it; and were not slow to express their feelings and opinions, nor were they low in their tones. Not the men only. The regimenting of this body of Highlanders had been looked upon by many gentlemen of public spirit as a very significant experiment. It was a question of national importance. A firm and right step had been taken towards the final inclusion of the clans into the nation. A nation is an organised unity. So long as these Highland families remained irresponsive to its throbs and pulses, they were only instruments of trouble and danger. They were like a foreign body jammed too closely against the sensitive organisation of the country; and the engrafting of them on to its stem was to be greatly facilitated by enlisting their best and bravest in the ranks of the nation's defenders.

The proposal to send the

Highland Regiment out of Scotland, or, indeed, away from the Highlands, therefore, aroused the indignation of many of those who understood best the elements of which it was composed. Lord President Forbes, in a special manner, disapproved of and opposed the measure; and no one knew the character of the corps better than he, or was more fully alive to the necessity of the duty they were performing—its nature, and their capability of discharging it faithfully. This was 1743. How ominously soon did 1745 follow upon the march of the Black Watch to the south of England!

Lord President Forbes wrote a letter to General Clayton, who had succeeded Marshal Wade in the commandership-in-chief of Scotland, of which the following is an extract, and explains sufficiently the unmistakable sentiments of his lordship on the subject. He writes: "When I first heard of the orders given to the Highland Regiment to march southwards, it gave me no sort of concern. I supposed the intention was only to see them; but, as I have been lately assured that they are destined for foreign service, I cannot dissemble my uneasiness at a resolution that may, in my apprehension, be attended with very bad consequences; nor can I prevail with myself not to communicate to you my thoughts on this subject, however late they may come." His

lordship goes on to state what he fears will be the consequences to be expected from the removal of this regiment. "I must," he continues, "put you in mind that the present system for securing the peace of the Highlands, which is the best I ever heard of, is by regular troops stationed from Inverness to Fort William, along the chain of lakes which, in a manner, divides the Highlands, to command the obedience of the inhabitants of both sides, and, by a body of disciplined Highlanders, wearing the dress, and speaking the language of the country, to execute such orders as require expedition, and for which neither the dress nor the manners of other troops are proper. These Highlanders now regimented were at first independent companies; and though their dress, language, and manners, qualified them for securing the lower country from depredations, yet that was not the sole use of them. The same qualities fitted them for every expedition that required secrecy and despatch. They served for all purposes of hussars or light horse, in a country whose mountains and bogs render cavalry useless; and, if properly disposed over the Highlands, nothing that was commonly reported and believed by the Highlanders could be a secret to their commanders, because of their intimacy with the people, and the sameness of language."

There are other considerations besides those presented thus by the great patriot of his time. He views the Government measure for sending this regiment abroad mainly from the point of view of the suitability of the men to a very necessary service. But how did the proposal affect the men's estimate of that Government, whose orders they had come under an oath to obey? Obedience has its limits, and the sense of duty is only a response to certain acknowledged claims. The men disputed the right of the Government to lay on them the command conveyed by this marching order. There are grounds for believing that, when they were regimented, the measure was represented to them as nothing more than a change of name and of officers, which implied the very substantial advantage of more regular pay, if the duties were to be more definitely regulated. Under this arrangement they distinctly understood that they were to continue to be employed, as formerly, in watching the country—a sort of armed police, obeying officers who received orders from the central Government, instead of from any local power. When they showed astonishment and expressed surprise at orders to march to England, they were falsely told, that it was only that they might have an opportunity of showing themselves to the king, who had never seen a Highland regi-

ment. This explanation satisfied the soldiers so far. It was a sop to their vanity ; but no motive more dangerous and more self-defeating exists in the heart of man than his vanity, and the passionate impulses to which it often leads. In the case in point, the very vanity which lightened the steps of the Highlanders during their march to London, laid a dead weight on their hearts when the specious lie which deceived, and, as they thought, befooled them, was detected.

It is true enough that the king had never seen a Highland regiment. His Majesty had never seen a Highland soldier ; and he expressed a desire to see one. Three privates, remarkable for their athletic figure and good looks, were fixed upon and sent to London for his Majesty's gratification and inspection a short time before the regiment marched. These were Gregor M'Gregor, commonly called Gregor the Beautiful ; John Campbell, son of Duncan Campbell, of the family of Duncaves, Perthshire ; and John Grant, of Strathspey, of the family of Ballindalloch. Poor Mr Grant fell sick, and died at Aberfeldy. The others, it was reported at the time, were presented by their Lieutenant-Colonel, Sir Robert Munro, to the king, and performed the broadsword exercise and that of the Lochaber axe, before his Majesty, the Duke of Cumberland, Marshal Wade, and a

number of general officers assembled for the purpose, in the Great Gallery at St James's. The exhibition was gratifying to all concerned. It was said that these two individual show-specimens of a Highland regiment displayed so much dexterity and skill in the management of their weapons, that the king expressed himself perfectly satisfied with it and them. Humiliating stage-play ! Had those two Highlanders suspected the treachery in train for themselves and their free-born comrades, for the giving effect to which this exhibition was but the opening prelude to "play in" their brethren, it is to be hoped they would have preferred taking the place of the brothers M'Pherson, who were subsequently murdered as mutineers on Tower Hill. The humiliation had a lower deep. Each of the two got a gratuity of a guinea, for showing himself off to be so clever ; and they each gave his guinea to the porter at the palace gate as they passed out. They were not to be paid for being accomplished Highlandmen. They forgave the king for mistaking their character, and the consideration due to them in their own beloved country.

The departure of the Black Watch from the country, which was doomed to miss it sorely very soon, was thus formally announced by the *Caledonian Mercury* : "On Wednesday last,



Lord Sempill's regiment of Highlanders began their march for England in order to be reviewed by his Majesty. They are certainly the finest regiment in the service, being tall, well-made men, and very stout." The word "stout" here has its older meaning, still common in Scotland, of healthy, strong, vigorous.

Their march through the English counties supplied a feast of wonderment to the eyes of all who looked at them. A Highlander in full garb was a strange object to an Englishman. A gentlemanly, tastefully-dressed, and gracefully-mannered gorilla would not be more vacantly stared at in the crush of a crammed drawing-room, where all the expensive trains of fine society get crumpled into wisps, while so many animated clothes-pegs are bustling to get as near him as is consistent or inconsistent with *sans froid*, in the circumstances. The stories current in England at the time of the ferocious savagery of the Highlanders, and the frightful conflicts of their clans, were wild enough to have awakened expectations of a few full-dressed rehearsals, as these specimens of unabridged barbarism made their way through the counties. In Marchant's "History of the Rebellion" (Lond. 1746), we read of a gentleman in Derby expressing his astonishment "to see these savages, from the officer to the commonest man, at their several

meals, first stand up and pull off their bonnets, and then lift up their eyes in a most solemn and devout manner, and mutter something in their own gibberish, by way, I suppose, of saying grace, as if they had been so many Christians!" When Gordon of Glenbucket, whom Lord President Forbes, who knew him intimately, described as "a good-natured, humane man," marched up his followers to join the rebel army in England, it was gravely questioned, whether they killed their prisoners and sucked their blood, to whet their appetite for war, after the manner of other savages?"

It is never easy to imagine one's self living in the atmosphere of the absurd notions of an earlier age. In that day the monstrous tales which the good people of England believed regarding their neighbours on the Scottish mountains would have created many a hearty laugh, and a good deal of pity in the Highland clachans, if they could have been translated into Gaelic.

Nobody was eaten during the march, and great was the astonishment of the beholders of the orderly conduct and fine martial appearance of this regiment of Highland gentlemen. During the journey great good humour prevailed in the ranks, heightened as it doubtless was by the unbounded hospitality and friendly feeling which they experienced in the country and

the towns through which their route lay.

The regiment reached the neighbourhood of London in two divisions. The former arrived on the 29th, and the latter on the 30th of April. In a fortnight, that is, on the 14th of May, the whole body was reviewed on Finchley Common by Marshal Wade, who, from his influential residence in Scotland for a time as commander-in-chief, was intimately acquainted with many of the officers and soldiers, and knew well the nature of the corps. This was the first mistake of the government, and it caused grave misgivings in the minds of many of these honest, hearty, straightforward sons of the mountains, who expected to be reviewed in the presence of his Majesty, who seems never to have been made aware of, or did not think it worth his royal while to remember, the fact that the bait with which his instruments had wiled away the Black Watch from the Highlands to London, was the assurance that the king, who had never seen one, was anxious to look at a Highland regiment. The two show specimens seem to have been quite enough for royal inspection, and in this King George II. was less wise in his generation than was the man in Greek fable, who, having a house to sell, and wishing bidders to form some adequate idea of its commodious apartments and all the conveniences it offered, took a stone or

two of it to the market for inspection. In fact, the king and the Duke of Cumberland had set sail from Greenwich for the Continent on the 30th of April, the day on which the second detachment of the regiment reached the neighbourhood of London; and being driven back to Sheerness the same night, he remained there wind-bound until the 1st of May, when he again set sail, arriving next evening at Helvoetsluys, whence his Majesty proceeded on the following morning to Hanover. The Highlanders were not in any of his thoughts, unless it might happen to occur to him to wonder at what rate they would sell their lives when they arrived in Flanders, as had been planned before the regiment was formed.

In the interval between their arrival and the review, the men had time to reflect on the king's conduct. So had others, when they learned the disappointment of the corps, which, notwithstanding Highland reserve, would be freely spoken of; for an indignant Highlandman is no inscrutable Sphinx. His English may be bad, but he makes his meaning good.

Besides, immense crowds of people from London and all the country round, flocked to see the strangers, whose dress and language were two new things, each of them an object of wonder. The favourable reports which had flown on before them of their appearance and be-

haviour on the march, excited, however, a great deal more interest than either their dress or their language, or both. These were innocent reasons for obtrusive curiosity.

But the state of the country, two years before the Rebellion of 1745, is not to be forgotten. King George's throne was not as stable as the Grampians at the time; and there were thousands of men belonging to all grades of society in London and the region round about, as well as over all England and Scotland, who grudged this accession of strength to the hated House of Hanover. Many, therefore, who resorted to the quarters of the Highlanders, had objects in view other than the gratification of a fussy curiosity. Insidious and effectual whispers were made into ears which had been quickened considerably by the king's departure. Malicious falsehoods were not withheld—they never are in times of political fever. The Highlanders were told that it was an ill-concealed fact that the Government intended to transport them to the American plantations. They were to be kept for life in those realms of the most degrading banishment to penal servitude, which has blotted by its records the bloody story of English criminal law. The pretext for bringing them to London was really too flimsy, as they might easily perceive. To be reviewed by the king and the Prince of Wales, and his Ma-

jesty had embarked for Hanover before they arrived! He sailed on the day of their arrival. In fact, the real object and undisguisable intention of the order for them to leave the Highlands was to get so many faithful Jacobites, who were known to be disaffected to the House of Hanover, and of a rebellious spirit towards it, out of Great Britain altogether.

The Highlanders began to think they had been entrapped into the snare so feebly described. The mere surmise of their being the victims of such a crafty and cowardly device, caused the indignation which is never slow to kindle in a Highlandman's breast to burn dangerously. They were strangers in a foreign land, at home they were gentlemen; and the feeling that the sacred laws of hospitality had been deliberately violated added to their rage at treatment which, real as it was, they had difficulty in believing that the representations of it made to them were true. And when their confidence is shaken, there is no race so unreasoningly suspicious as the Highlanders. This is only the counterpart in their spirit to the fact, that in those whom they know they repose perfect confidence; if they are their superiors, it takes the form of implicit, respectful obedience. A stranger may obtain their trust, but it is after he proves that he merits it; and if once it is given, it is unreserved and

constant. Every officer had occasion to observe, in such transactions as the settlement of accounts with his men, how minute and strict, even punctilious, they were in every little matter; but after the matter was arranged, there was no more thought of scrutiny, his word or nod was as good as his written bond.

Notwithstanding all that the men felt on this ill-omened occasion, they behaved with moderation and firmness, a fact to be frequently observed when men of an impulsive fiery disposition are placed in a predicament similar to that of the Black Watch in this emergency. They believed themselves to be deceived and meanly betrayed, but they proceeded to no immediate measures of violence. Their anxious thought was how they could best get back to their own mountains of freedom and straightforward dealing. They believed their officers to have become like themselves the dupes of a cruel deception; and to them they imputed none of the blame. The incendiaries who had aroused them to a sense of their actual situation favoured this view of the question. They were hostile, not to the gentlemen in command of the regiment, but to the government; and the spirit of discontent and disaffection they sought to stir up, was evoked by accusing the Government of a breach of faith. The means they employed aiming at this

end were successful to an extent, which the subsequent story of the mutiny will tell.

It was not in the interest of the enemies of the Government to keep the affair a secret. It was freely talked about. The publications of the day, both those which were opposed to the House of Hanover and those which advocated its cause, discussed it without reserve. Numerous pamphlets appeared, in which the conduct of the Government and of the Highlanders were canvassed as candidly as restrictions on the press at the time would permit. One in particular is selected by Colonel David Stewart in the account of the affair which he gives in his "Sketches of the Highlanders of Scotland, with Details of the Military Service of the Highland Regiments," a standard work on the subject, as showing considerable knowledge of the affair, and containing a fair statement of the facts of the case. It appeared immediately after the mutiny. The author having alluded to the purpose for which these independent companies had been at first embodied, and having described their figure and dress, and the effect produced in England by the novelty of both, proceeds thus to state the cause and circumstances of the mutiny:

"From their first formation they had always considered themselves as destined to serve exclusively in Scotland, or rather

in the Highlands;\* and a special compact was made, allowing the men to retain their ancient national garb. From their origin and local attachments they seemed destined for this special service. Besides, in the discipline to which they were at first subjected under their natural chiefs and superiors, there was much affinity with their ancient usages. So that their service

\* A remark made by Major Grose in his "Military Antiquities," may be quoted here as confirming this statement of the anonymous pamphleteer. Treating of the formation of the Highland Regiment, and subsequent enlistment and desertion, while detailing the previous circumstances which led to it, he observes: "Among other inducements to enlist, thus improperly held forth, it is said the men were assured they should not go out of their own country. Under the faith of this promise, many respectable farmers' and tacksmen's sons entered themselves as privates in the corps who would not otherwise have thought of enlisting." After narrating various circumstances of the mutiny, the Major concludes: "This transaction shows the danger and even cruelty of making promises to recruits, under anything less than the greatest certainty that they will be faithfully observed; the contrary has more than once produced the most dangerous mutinies, and that even among the Highland regiments, whose education tends to make them more regular and subordinate than either the English or Irish; and if the causes of almost every mutiny that has happened were diligently and dispassionately inquired into and weighed, it will be found that nine-tenths out of ten of the soldiers, however wrong and unjustifiable in that mode of seeking redress, have had great reason of complaint, generally of some breach of positive promise made them at enlisting."

seemed merely that of a clan sanctioned by legal authority. These and other considerations sanctioned them in the belief that their duty was of a defined and specific nature, and that they were never to be amalgamated with the regular disposable force of the country. As they were deeply impressed with this belief, it was quite natural that they should regard with great jealousy and distrust any indication of a wish to change the system. Accordingly, when the design of marching them into England was first intimated to their officers, the men were not shy in protesting against this unexpected measure. By conciliating language, however, they were prevailed upon to commence and continue their march without reluctance. It was even rumoured in some foreign gazettes, that they had mutinied on the borders, killed many of their officers, carried off their colours, and returned to their native mountains. This account, though glaringly false, was repeated from time to time in those journals, and was neither noticed nor contradicted in those of England, though such an occasion ought not to have been neglected for giving a candid and full explanation to the Highlanders, which might have prevented much subsequent disquietude.

"On their march through the northern counties of England, they were everywhere received with hospitality. They

appeared in the highest spirits, and it was imagined that their attachment to home was so much abated that they would feel no reluctance to the change. As they approached the metropolis, however, and were exposed to the taunts of the true-bred English clowns, they became more gloomy and sullen. Animated even to the lowest private with the feelings of gentlemen, they could ill brook the rudeness of boors, nor could they patiently submit to affronts in a country to which they had been called by invitation of their sovereign.

"A still deeper cause of discontent preyed upon their minds. A rumour had reached them on their march, that they were to be embarked for the plantations. The fate of the marines, the invalids, and other regiments which had been sent to these colonies, seemed to mark out this service as at once the most perilous and the most degrading to which British soldiers could be exposed, with no enemy to encounter worthy of their courage. There was another consideration which made it peculiarly odious to the Highlanders. By the Act of Parliament of the eleventh of George I., transportation to the colonies was denounced against the Highland rebels, etc., as the greatest punishment that could be inflicted upon them except death; and when they heard that they were to be sent there, the galling suspicion naturally arose in their

minds, that 'after being used as rods to scourge their own countrymen, they were to be thrown into the fire.' These apprehensions they kept secret even from their own officers; and the care with which they dissembled them is the best evidence of the deep impression which they had made. Amidst all their jealousies and fears, however, they looked forward with considerable expectation to the review, when they were to come under the immediate observation of his Majesty, or some of the royal family. On the 14th of May they were reviewed by Marshal Wade, and many persons of distinction, who were highly delighted with the promptitude and alacrity with which they went through their military exercises, and gave a very favourable report of them, where it was likely to operate most to their advantage.

"From that moment, however, all their thoughts were bent on the means of returning to their own country, and on this wild and romantic march they accordingly set out a few days after. Under pretence of preparing for the review, they had been enabled to provide themselves unsuspectedly with some necessary articles, and, confiding in their capabilities of enduring privations and fatigue, they imagined that they should have great advantages over any troops that might be sent in pursuit of them. It was on the

night between Tuesday and Wednesday after the review, that they assembled on a common near Highgate, and commenced their march to the north. They kept as nearly as possible between the two great roads, passing from wood to wood in such a manner that it was not well known which way they moved. Orders were issued by the Lords-Justices to the commanding officers of the forces stationed in the counties between them and Scotland, and an advertisement was published by the Secretary at War, exhorting the civil officers to be vigilant in their endeavours to discover their route. It was not, however, till about eight o'clock in the evening of Thursday 19th May, that any certain intelligence of them was obtained, and they had then proceeded as far as Northampton, and were supposed to be shaping their course towards Nottinghamshire. General Blakeney, who commanded at Northampton, immediately despatched Captain Ball of General Wade's regiment of horse, an officer well acquainted with that part of the country, to search after them. They had now entered Lady Wood, between Brig Stock and Dean Thorpe, about four miles from Oundle, when they were discovered. Captain Ball was joined in the evening by the general himself, and about nine all the troops were drawn up in order near the wood where the Highlanders lay. Seeing them-

selves in this situation, and unwilling to aggravate their offence by the crime of shedding the blood of his Majesty's troops, they sent one of their guides to inform the general that he might, without fear, send an officer to treat of the terms on which they should be expected to surrender. Captain Ball was accordingly delegated, and, on coming to a conference, the captain demanded that they should instantly lay down their arms, and surrender as prisoners at discretion. This they positively refused, declaring that they would rather be cut to pieces than submit, unless the general would send them a written promise signed by his own hand, that their arms should not be taken from them, and that they should have a free pardon. Upon this the captain delivered the conditions proposed by General Blakeney, viz., that if they would peaceably lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners, the most favourable report should be made of them to the Lords-Justices. When they again protested that they would be cut in pieces rather than surrender, except on the condition of retaining their arms, and receiving a free pardon,—‘Hitherto,’ exclaimed the captain, ‘I have been your friend, and am still anxious to do all I can to save you; but, if you continue obstinate an hour longer, surrounded as you are by the king's forces, not a man of you shall be left alive; and, for my

own part, I assure you that I shall give quarter to none.'

"The captain then demanded that two of their number should be ordered to conduct him out of the wood. Two brothers were accordingly ordered to accompany him. Finding that they were inclined to submit, he promised them both a free pardon, and taking one of them along with him, he sent back the other to endeavour by every means to overcome the obstinacy of the rest. He soon returned with thirteen more. Having marched these to a short distance from the wood, the captain again sent one of them back to his comrades to inform them how many had submitted, and in a short time seventeen more followed the example. These were all marched away with their arms (the powder being blown out of their pans), and when they came before the general they laid down their arms. On returning to the wood they found the whole body disposed to submit to the general's troops.

"While this was doing in the country," says the intelligent writer to whom we are indebted for the foregoing facts, "there was nothing but the flight of the Highlanders talked of in town. The wiser sort blamed it, but some of their hot-headed countrymen were for comparing it to the retreat of the 10,000 Greeks through Persia; by which, for the honour of the ancient kingdom of Scotland,

Corporal M'Pherson was erected into a Xenophon. But, amongst these idle dreams, the most injurious were those that reflected on their officers; and, by a strange kind of innuendo, would have fixed the crime of these people's desertion upon those who did their duty and stayed here.

"As to the rest of the regiment, they were ordered immediately to Kent, whither they marched very cheerfully, and were from thence transported to Flanders, and are by this time with the army, where, I dare say, it will quickly appear they were not afraid of fighting the French. In King William's war, there was a Highland regiment that, to avoid going to Flanders, had formed a design of flying into the mountains. This was discovered before they could put it into execution; and General M'Kay, who then commanded in Scotland, caused them to be immediately surrounded and disarmed, and afterwards shipped them for Holland.

"When they came to the confederate army, they behaved very briskly upon all occasions; but, as pickthanks are never wanting in courts, some wise people were pleased to tell King William that the Highlanders drank King James's health, a report which was probably very true. The king, whose good sense taught him to despise such dirty informations, asked General Talmash, who



was near him, how they behaved in the field? 'As well as any troops in the army,' answered the general like a soldier and a man of honour. 'Why, then,' replied the king, 'if they fight for me, let them drink my father's health as often as they please.' On the road, and even after they entered London, they kept up their spirits, and marched very cheerfully; nor did they show any marks of terror when they were brought into the Tower."

Another pamphlet of the day, while detailing a short examination of two of the deserters, shows the feelings by which they were influenced, their suspicions of some attempt to entrap them, and the horror they felt of the country to which they believed they were to be sent, and to avoid which they had set out on their daring return towards the mountains of their Highland home.

Private George Grant being asked several questions, answered to them in order through an interpreter. The answers were these :

"I am neither Whig\* nor Papist, but I will serve the king

\* The term "Whig" was not applied by the Highlanders in a political sense. It extended generally to the neighbours on the plains; and especially to the Covenanters. According to Mrs Grant, in her "Superstitions of the Highlanders," this term "was by no means appropriated to political differences. It might perhaps mean, in a confined sense, the adherents of King William, by far the

for all that. I am not afraid; I never saw the man I was afraid of.

'I will not be cheated, nor do anything by trick.

"I will not be transported to the plantations, like a thief and a rogue.

"They told me I was to be sent out to work with black slaves: that was not my bargain, and I won't be cheated."

Could answers be more manly? And what language could more scathingly expose the villainy of a Government which would lay snares to entrap brave men like this with what they had not bargained for. The more any one reads of mutinies in the army and the navy in these days of some degree of respect for the rights of individual men, the more he is amazed that there have been so few such risings among the heroes of the army and navy.

John Stewart, of Captain Campbell's company, being interrogated, answered thus :

"I did not desert; I only wanted to go back to my own country, because they abused

greatest caitiff in Highland delinquency. But it meant more; it was used to designate a character made up of negatives, who had neither ear for music nor taste for poetry, no pride of ancestry, no heart for attachment, no soul for honour; one who merely studied comfort and convenience, and was more anxious for the absence of positive evil, than the presence of relative good. A Whig, in short, was all that Highlanders cordially hated—a cold, selfish, formal character."

me, and said I was to be transported.

"I had no leader or commander; we had not one man over the rest.

"We were all determined not to be tricked. We will all fight the French and Spaniards, but will not go like rogues to the plantations.

"I am not a Presbyterian.

"No! nor a Catholic."

The Highlanders, who in their miniature imitation of the 10,000 Greeks, were all animated by the same spirit as George Grant and John Stewart, were marched back to London as deserters, and treated and tried accordingly. They were all arraigned before a court-martial on the 8th of June. After such justice as courts of the iniquitous nature which characterised these refuges of military and naval oppression and cruelty in those days, they were all found guilty, and sentenced to be shot. Only three of them, however, were honoured with this favourite death of a soldier. The others were consigned to a doom more degrading in the eyes of their brave countrymen, both then and now. Two brothers, Corporals Malcolm and Samuel M'Pherson, and Farquhar Shaw, a private, were ordered for execution, and shot on Tower Hill.

The following account of this untoward event appeared in *St James's Chronicle* of June 20, 1743:

"On Monday the 12th, at six

o'clock in the morning, Samuel and Malcolm M'Pherson, corporals, and Farquhar Shaw, a private man, three of the Highland deserters, were shot upon the parade within the Tower, pursuant to the sentence of the court-martial. The rest of the Highland prisoners were drawn out to see the execution, and joined in their prayers with great earnestness. They behaved with perfect resolution and propriety. Their bodies were put into three coffins by three of the prisoners, their clansmen and namesakes, and buried in one grave, near the place of execution."

Near the place of execution! Far, far from those native glens where they had loved and were beloved, and farther from responsive sympathy; surrounded by strangers who did not understand their speech, could not read their looks, and had not means of access to their thrilling sense of the wrongs inflicted on them. These brave men were shot down like cowardly deserters, while their silent hearts throbbed with such pulsations of sorrow as only heroic souls conceal. The rest would indeed join with great earnestness in their prayers, but dark must have been the scared forbidden scowl, deep the flood of grief, and desperate the undertone of muttered vengeance which ruffled the wings of those earnest prayers. The Highlanders had been entrapped by foxy betrayers, and now three of their best

were sacrificed to satisfy a wolfish martial law. They were slaughtered, as regal stags from their distant, lonely mountains have often been since, in a cruel enclosure set up to suit the lazy convenience of high-born sportsmen who feared the excitement and danger of the hunt. Indignation at their fate is felt to this day among their countrymen; and official army books put into regimental libraries pass it glibly over.

As to the three victims, martyrs, or murdered men—any of the three terms will suit—they had their memorial in many hearts. They must have been such as even men can love. In the language of Colonel Stewart: "There must have been something more than common in the case or character of these unfortunate men, as Lord John Murray, who was afterwards colonel of the regiment, had portraits of them hung up in his dining-room." But, semi-official writer as the ardent colonel was, he adds: "I have not at present the means of ascertaining whether this proceeded from an impression on his lordship's mind that they had been victims to the designs of others, and ignorantly misled, rather than wilfully culpable, or merely from a desire of preserving the resemblances of men who were remarkable for their size and handsome figure."

Three paragraphs from the *Scots Magazine*, in the volume of 1743, tells what became of the regiment, and of the rest of the so-called deserters. The first, dated May, is: "More British troops gone to Flanders, among them Lord Sempill's Highland regiment." The second, dated September, is: "The Highlanders in the Tower were drawn out in parade on August 12th; and were drafted off to the Leeward Islands, Jamaica, New England, Georgia, Gibraltar, and Port Mahon, in order to be sent off by the first ships that sailed for these places." The third, also dated September, is: "The Highlanders who were confined in the Tower, were carried to Gravesend, in order to be shipped—thirty for Gibraltar; twenty for Minorca; twenty for the Leeward Islands; twenty-eight for Jamaica; and thirty-eight for Georgia." Adding the three who were shot, the victims of Government treachery, whose fate has been recorded, were in all ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SIX. The sufferings of the country in 1745 were in a large measure due to this betrayal; the glory which the 42d has achieved has been due to the boldness and bravery of men of like spirit with the two brothers, Malcolm and Samuel M'Pherson, and their brother in death, Farquhar Shaw.

MUTINY IN THE 78TH REGIMENT,  
SEAFORTH'S HIGHLANDERS.

(NOW THE 72D REGIMENT, DUKE OF ALBANY'S OWN HIGHLANDERS.)

*September 1778.*

THIS memorable, but too common occurrence in Highland corps is still referred to throughout Scotland as "The Affair of the Macraes." It is, as every mutiny in these regiments was, an instance of bad faith with the men on the part of the Government of the time and its agents. Fidelity cannot be looked for from those who believe that they have been deceived, especially if Celtic blood fires their veins. Dishonour attaches to every breach of promise; but no transgression of the sort is so despicable as that which plots a mean treachery against loyal-hearted, straightforward men, who devote themselves to privations, sufferings, and probable death in circumstances of the direst misery, which is only mocked at by inglorious gaudiness, when they sell their personal liberty to become poor but honest soldiers.

The raising of the regiment in which this mutiny occurred is interesting. The Earl of Seaforth forfeited his estate and title by engaging in the rebellion of 1715. His grandson, Kenneth Mackenzie, repurchased the estate from the Crown, and was created an Irish peer under the title, Viscount Fortrose; and

was, in the year 1771, restored to the ancient title of the family. In 1778 he made an offer to George III. to organise a corps on his estate, which had in former times been able to raise a thousand men under the banner of their chief. The offer was accepted, and, in the month of May, eleven hundred and thirty clansmen assembled at Elgin in obedience to the Earl of Seaforth's proclamation. This is a wonderful instance of the undying loyalty of the Highlanders to the head of their family. In poverty and exile he was as much respected as he was when in possession of rank and fortune. In 1732 four hundred of the attainted Lord Seaforth's sept had marched to Edinburgh to lodge a large sum of money, a portion of their rents, to be remitted to him in France.

The men who assembled at Elgin were principally raised from among the Mackenzies. Five hundred of them were from the Earl's own estates; about four hundred from among the Mackenzies of Redcastle, Applecross, Kilcoy, and Scotwell; while upwards of two hundred were from the Lowlands. The clan Macrae had long been devoted adherents to

the interests of the Seaforth family, and their name occurred so frequently in the corps, that it was known as the Macrae regiment.

After being reviewed at Elgin in May, they marched to the south, some direct to Edinburgh, and others temporarily sent to Glasgow and other towns in the west of Scotland, before proceeding to the metropolis.

In the month of June the regiment was inspected by General Skene, and was embodied as Seaforth's Highlanders, or the 78th of the line. They were all found to be so effective, that not a man of them was rejected. After being for some time quartered in Edinburgh Castle, and in the suburbs, orders came that they were to hold themselves in readiness to march at an hour's notice, similar orders having been sent to all the troops in England and Scotland, the reason being that the ministry had been advised that the French intended to invade Britain at some place or other not specified.

A few days later the regiment was ordered to proceed to Guernsey, with a view to relieve the M'Leod Highlanders, who had been told off for India, should their services there be required. At Guernsey the 78th would be at hand for the fray with the expected invaders. For this they were quite prepared. They would have met

such a foe with alacrity. It was not fear of the French, cowardliness, nor any want of loyalty which bred the disturbance which preceded their embarkation. Their subsequent conduct, and even the courage they displayed in protecting their own interests on the occasion of their plucky mutiny, are quite sufficient to dispel any such surmises as these.

They were to have embarked on board transport ships, sent for the purpose to Leith Roads, on Tuesday, September 22. Several companies which had been in the Castle since the end of May, or the beginning of June, prepared for embarkation with the utmost cheerfulness. But the soldiers who had been quartered on the inhabitants of Canongate and the Abbey had been exposed to counsels and other influences which had not found free access to the stronghold at the top of Castle Hill. It was by no means a time of universal content with the Government and its policy, especially its warlike measures. It was indeed an era of political clubs, dangerous to the powers that were. Richard Parker, it will be remembered, had been trained in coteries like these, in that very city, for the prominent part he was to play as a mutineer in the navy ten years later; and men of like spirit with him—might he not have been one of them?—went vigorously to the work of spreading discontent and sedition among the access-

ible Highlanders whom they met on the streets, in their lodgings, or over the tables of the plentiful public-houses downstairs, or up the Closes. The men were very accessible for reasons other than these incendiaries had to assign. A difference had for some time subsisted between their officers and them. They alleged that they had not been paid their bounty-money, nor the arrears of their pay, and that they had been ill-used by the officers in many ways. And it will seem to most readers not improbable that they had some good grounds for these allegations, after they read a haughty and impertinent letter written by these officers two or three days after, when a compromise had been effected by gentlemen, who seem, at this distance of time, to have been wiser than they. As it was, however, the outside advisers of the billeted soldiers assured them that Lord Seaforth had sold them to the East India Company, and that they were to be sent to the distant unhealthy country, under that Company's control. They would thus have to spend an inglorious life, till an obscure death, inflicted by a deleterious climate, or a despicable enemy, relieved them, and would have no chance of reaping the shining honours to be won in a conflict with the French, almost in sight, and certainly within the hearing, of those they loved and had left behind them in

their native Highland glens and homes.

The mutinous spirit of the malcontents first manifested itself not far from the Castle. The departure of the companies quartered in barracks there had been so timed that they were to meet their comrades who had been revelling in the rough and disloyal hospitality of the Canongate, at the North, or, as it was termed at the time, New Bridge. When they did meet, a scene of confusion bewildered the inhabitants and soldiers who were not in the secret, and gave scope to the mischievous propensities of those who were. The populace, however, soon took the popular view of such a question, and cheered the partisans of disobedience. Their advisers hounded them on; and they refused to march unless all their demands were complied with there and then. They repelled by force all the attempts of their officers to restore order. Obedience and discipline were at a discount. The men were encouraged in their mutinous conduct by the inhabitants, who insulted the officers, pelted them with stones, and struck them with their fists, or whatever they had, or could lay hold of.

A portion of the men were, however, got out of the disorder after a time, and started for Leith Links, where they met the two companies from the Abbey, who had marched thither by the Easter Road; and Lord Seaforth and the officers did

their best to allay the mutinous spirit by assuring the men that their demands would be complied with as soon as possible.

They were reduced to something like order on Leith Links; but when they were commanded to march to the Shore, another scene of disobedience occurred which created a most alarming confusion. Distrust of the nobleman at whose instance they had enlisted was general among the men, who felt also they had little occasion to put confidence in the other officers; and this time the greater portion of the corps broke out into open mutiny. Repeated entreaties, and promises that every just demand would be attended to and satisfied, failed to exercise any soothing influence. About five hundred were prevailed upon to go on board the transports, but an equal number were deaf to all assurances; and, being resolute, as well as in possession of powder and shot, they had no fear of the results of any attempt at compulsion. That would have been foolish and ineffectual, not to say necessarily fraught with fatal consequences.

The mutineers shouldered their arms, and set off at a quick march, with pipes playing, and two plaids fixed on poles for, not inappropriate, colours. They retired to Arthur's Seat, a selection of a place so well fitted for self-defence, that it looks like a preconcerted move. There they took up a position which

enabled them to bid defiance to all attempts at coercion; and were plentifully supplied with provisions by the people of Edinburgh and Leith, a great many of whom were forward to show sympathy with the mutineers. Ammunition also in abundance was brought to them by their sympathising friends; so that they felt themselves pretty secure, and well able to hold out till the authorities saw fit to come to terms with them.

"The hill chosen for the rebel camp," remarks a writer in *Chambers's Journal* for January 1866, "was very different from the Arthur's Seat as it is now seen. Until within a very recent period, the level grounds surrounding it were divided into fields, many of the hollows were marshy and impassable, and the only roads were mere sheep-tracks. On this height, a well armed and provisioned force might have held its own for many months, in the then state of the military art. It is not a little curious that the last time Colonel M'Murdo reviewed the Edinburgh Volunteers, he led them through various movements directed against the very spot where the rebel Seaforths had taken up their encampment. Had it been necessary to reduce the mutineers by force, the attacking body would have had no splendid military road such as the Queen's Drive by which to approach the position, and would have found that in the marshy bog of Dunsappie,

and the rugged heights surrounding it, the rebels had powerful auxiliaries, absent in Colonel M'Murdo's mimic war."

Officers were appointed by the men; sentries were placed round their camp in regular form; and thus they felt themselves secure. The hillside encampment looked as much like the Highlands as was possible in the circumstances; and there were men on it who knew the tactics of Highland warfare. With such reflections these Highlanders were, for the short period the mutiny lasted, cheerful through the day, and slept soundly at night. They were visited in camp by persons of all ranks and classes.

The authorities were not idle. They seem to have taken instant action when they saw the meaning of the disorder which took place at the North Bridge on Tuesday. Troops were ordered to the city. On Wednesday a large body of the Eleventh Regiment of Dragoons arrived, two hundred of the Buccleuch Fencibles, and four hundred of the Glasgow Volunteers. On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, bodies of regular troops from various corps came marching into Edinburgh.

During this hill-encampment one of the mutineers fell over the rocks and was killed; another was accidentally shot through the thigh by one of his comrades, and was carried to the Royal Infirmary, which building was then in the sub-

urbs; but now, near the end of its hospital days, it stands in a busy part of the city which has crept round it.

The authorities, both civil and military, seem to have taken a very lenient view of the conduct of these Macraes. This is the most remarkable part of the story, and it tends forcibly to confirm the impression that they knew the men had grievances about their pay, at all events, which it was right should be adjusted. General Skene, second in command in Scotland at the time, visited the camp the morning after the outbreak, and behaved like a gentleman, fully aware that the men were not the only people who were to blame. Earl Seaforth had not completed his arrangements with Government for the raising of this regiment, it is well enough known, without a good deal of heart-burning on his part, and penurious jealousy on the part of the War Office authorities in London. If the men had not got their money, we may be sure it had not reached their officers. The pay-master would have been only too proud to have disbursed it. The authorities in Edinburgh, both civil and military, would know more of the real state of matters than they cared to put into words, spoken or written; their good sense and feeling of justice expressed themselves in lenient conduct towards men who were doing a venial wrong to rectify a flagrant breach of faith.



General Skene offered the men that an inquiry should be made into their alleged grievances, and that oblivion of all that had passed would be secured, if only they would consent to embark. The men saw that this was giving up all the advantage of their strong position. They insisted on having their money paid to them at once; and they required also that several officers named by them should be dismissed. A further demand they made was, that security should be given them that they would not be sent to the East Indies. On the same day, and on the day following, that is, on Wednesday and Thursday, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Dunmore, and Lord Macdonald, and many of the nobility besides, also of the gentry and clergy, visited the camp of the mutineers, and endeavoured to recall them to a sense of military duty; or, if their sense of the duty of securing their own rights by holding Government to its bargain with them was too strong, to bring about some solution of the difficulty.

On Thursday a report was spread that the Highlanders were threatening to march through the city, and that the troops would oppose them. Here was to be bloodshed on the High Street of Edinburgh, as there had been in the olden time. A proclamation was made by tuck of drum by order of the magistrates; and at noon the

following printed paper was posted in all the public places: "Thursday, September 24th, 1778, all the inhabitants are to retire to their own houses on the first toll of the fire-bell." Nothing, however, happened. All remained perfectly quiet, and the inhabitants had little to fear. The Highlanders were not the men to do hurt to friends, and the people of Edinburgh had befriended them by their encouragement substantially expressed in supplies of provisions and ammunition.

A compromise was, however, happily effected on Friday morning, the fourth day of the mutiny, when the following terms were accepted by the men:

*First*, a general pardon for all past offences.

*Second*, that all arrears and levy-money should be paid before embarkation.

*Third*, that they should not be sent to the East Indies.

For supplementing the terms agreed on, a bond was granted, signed by the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Dunmore, Sir Adolphus Oughton, K.B., commander-in-chief, and General Skene.

About eleven o'clock in the forenoon the men marched down the hill, headed by the Earl of Dunmore, to St Ann's Yards, where they were met by General Skene, whom they saluted with three cheers. They then formed into a hollow square, and had the articles

read to them by the general. He made a short speech, in which he exhorted the men to be in good behaviour, and informed them that a court of inquiry would be held upon their officers next morning, composed of officers belonging to other regiments, which every man who thought himself aggrieved might attend; and he might be sure justice would be done to him, as well as to all concerned. The men were then billeted in the suburbs till the embarkation should take place.

This amicable settlement did not give satisfaction to some of the officers of the corps, probably those who were named by the men for dismissal. In the evening of the day on which the compromise took place, a letter appeared in the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, dated "Lawson's Coffee-house, Leith, Sept. 25," and signed, "The officers of the 78th Regiment." It read thus: "As we conceive the terms granted this day to the mutineers of the 78th Regiment to be totally inconsistent with the discipline of the regiment, and highly injurious to our characters as officers, we think ourselves bound to take this first opportunity of publicly declaring, that it was transacted without our advice, and against our opinion. We understand Lord Dunmore was the principal agent on this occasion; we therefore think it necessary also to declare, that he was never desired to interfere by any

officer in the regiment, and, we believe, acted without any authority whatever." This is the haughty and impertinent letter already referred to. The articles were signed by the Duke of Buccleuch, Sir Adolphus Oughton, and General Skene, as well as by the Earl of Dunmore. General Skene read the articles, and gave a pacific address afterwards to the mutineers who had been subdued by reason. These "officers of the 78th Regiment" would have used stronger measures, *pour encourager les autres*, as has been remarked about the utility of measures of the last dire degree of extremity. Let us hope all the "officers of the 78th Regiment" did not sign this instructive document. It reveals where a good many faults lay, even if they were not guilty of keeping back the soldiers' money which it is not easy to see how they could. It was as well for them as well as for the proud victims of their many petty tyrannies that matters were managed without their advice and against their opinion, and that there was such a gentleman at hand as the Earl of Dunmore, "without being desired to interfere by any officer of the regiment," and who could accomplish such happy results, acting "without any authority whatever." Readers in our days who wish to see a little behind the curtain dropped over the earlier treatment which led the half of a regiment to

rebel, have reason to be grateful to these disciplinarian officers for the letter they wrote from "Lawson's Coffee-house." A "Friend to the Public" writing from Leith, criticises this letter with taunting sharpness. Writing to the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* he says, he feels himself called upon to applaud the wisdom and prudence of the reconciliation. The case was desperate, and few cases could be mentioned where so wide a breach was cemented in so easy a manner. He does not see how reconciliation can hurt the future discipline of the regiment, "when sure it is there could be no discipline had there been no men, as would visibly have been the case here, had not a reconciliation taken place." He asserts that the men would have submitted to the general in the first day of the mutiny, but for evil reports that one of Colonel Gordon's officers had come up as a spy to soothe them until they were surrounded by dragoons.

When Lord Dunmore came on Friday morning bearing the articles of capitulation, it is said, the men were engaged preparing a petition to General Skene, which forty of them were to have presented to him. And that, when the general addressed them at St Ann's Yards, behind Holyrood House, they with one voice said they would die for him, and serve the king in any quarter of the globe, except the East Indies.

In the Edinburgh papers of Monday, Spetember 28th, appeared an "Authentic Copy of the Report made to Sir James Adolphus Oughton, commanding His Majesty's Forces in North Britain, by the Court of Enquiry held at the Canongate Council-House 26th September 1778. The Court consisted of: Colonel Scott, President; Lieut.-Colonel Dundas, Majors Lyon, Stewart, and Whyte, members. The Court having heard a number of witnesses, and also the evidence of several others, which being of similar nature, they were not sworn, as they had no particular cause of complaint against their respective officers. The Court are unanimously of opinion, that there is not the smallest degree of foundation for complaints against any officer in the regiment in regard to their pay and arrears. And it further appears, that the cause of the retiring to Arthur's Hill, was from an idle and ill-founded report, that the regiment was sold to the East India Company, and that the officers were to leave them upon their being embarked on board the transports.

"(Signed) GEO. SCOTT,  
Col. 83d Regt.  
"(Appvd.) JA. ADOL. OUGHTON."

This mild report was dictated by the spirit which influenced the leading men to leniency, and the mutineers to compromise. The officers are freed of blame in regard to pay and arrears only. The men origin-

ally complained of their having been otherwise ill-used. The letter of the officers proves that they were quite capable of ill-usage. But the affair was pleasantly settled without their advice, and against their opinion, and for this they are the only unthankful persons on record; and this fact would not be thus repeated, were it not for a conviction in the writer's mind, that those who generally bear the punishments from which the leaders of this mutiny were mercifully saved, were "more sinned against than sinning—a mild and trite way of expressing a very significant truth.

In Ruddiman's *Weekly Mercury* appeared an effusion worthy of a Highland chief, dated Leith, October 4th, 1778, and signed "Seaforth." The earl writes: "A paragraph having appeared in an Edinburgh newspaper, and which has since been copied in the London papers, informing the public, that on the day of the tumult at Leith, previous to the first embarkation of the corps under my command, I had, upon my knees, begged my life from the enraged soldiers, I beg you will publish this to let the world know that it is an infamous falsehood; nor would the certainty of immediate death have procured from me so humiliating a concession. At the same time I must add, that I never had any apprehension for my personal safety during the whole time the mutiny lasted."

The wind-up of the affair is thus given in the Appendix to the volume of the *Scots Magazine* for 1778, p. 726: "On Tuesday morning, September 29, the remainder of the corps, with the Earl of Seaforth and General Skene at their head, marched from the Abbey Close to Leith, and went on board the transports with the greatest cordiality and cheerfulness. General Skene's prudence and good conduct in this troublesome business has, it is said, been highly approved of at headquarters. No bloodshed, notwithstanding a very threatening appearance."

Thus ended happily a very unhappy mutiny. The world is ruled by very little wisdom, a maxim which is well and forcibly illustrated by the doings of the rulers of Great Britain during what may be called the era of mutinies in the navy and army. Of this era the general features shall be summed up after the stories have been told in detail; but meantime all will remark how disastrous might have been the results of this "Affair of the Macraes." It was a time at which special efforts were imperatively required to recruit the army. Britain was in the midst of a struggle for existence. Europe was on the eve of mighty revolutions. It was the era of the French Revolution. Recruits for the army must be raised. The Highlands were a new mine, of a very broad and deep seam, to work for this

wealth of the nation. But the rulers in London were bunglers at that kind of mining. They did not know how to go the right way about it. They thought a plan, owned to be wrong everywhere else, would be right enough here. With characteristic ignorance and its concomitant conceit, they took the Highlanders for gullible savages. Never was a more fatal mistake made, and the British Government found that out, both as they were resisted and worsted in each of the mutinous proceedings of the Highland regiments, and as they were served and saved by the gallantry, endurance, and high moral character of these truth-loving sons of the mountains. Had this threatening mutiny put as strong a check on recruiting as it might have done, the story of the glory of the British regiments might have been duller, and more depressing reading to the relatives and descendants of those who acted as if they wished the settlement had been otherwise—the rule-bound “officers of the 78th Regiment” included.

To draw this short narrative to a close, the intention—which the Government really entertained, notwithstanding all attempts to conceal it—of sending the Seaforth Highlanders to India, having been postponed, they landed at Guernsey and Jersey in equal divisions, whence, at the end of March, they were removed to Portsmouth. On

May 1, 1781, they embarked for India. Lord Seaforth died before they reached St Helena, to the great grief and dismay of his followers—for they still felt that they were of the clan, and he was their chief—the poor Highlanders who looked upon him as their only protector. On their account alone he had determined to abandon the comforts of a splendid fortune and high social consideration, to encounter the privations and inconveniences of a long voyage, and the dangers and fatigues of military service in a tropical climate. The inspiring spirit of the *coronach* would lay its hand heavily upon the soul of every Highlandman on that wide waste of waters, where their chief lay dead. The loss of him would associate with recollections of home, melancholy thoughts of their absent kindred, and gloomy forebodings of the future.

And their immediate future was gloomy enough. Before they reached Madras on April 2, 1782, two hundred and thirty of them had died of scurvy, and of the eleven hundred who had sailed from Portsmouth, only three hundred and ninety men were fit to carry arms when they landed. Still the pressure of the service did not admit of delay, and those who could at all be moved were marched up country. Such was the kind of service to begin with, for the privilege of entering which men had to risk their lives in mutiny

before they received that bounty-money and those arrears of pay, which they fondly wished to leave with their longing families, bereaved by their enlistment of means of support and the brightest cheer of the fireside.

This regiment became, in a sense, the progenitor of the 72d. In 1784, in consequence of the peace, Seaforth's regiment having been raised on the condition of serving for three years, or during the war, such of the men as stood to this agreement were allowed to return to England, while those who preferred staying in the country received the same bounty as the other volunteers. The number of men who claimed their discharge reduced the regiment to three hundred; but so many Highlanders from other regiments, ordered home on account of the peace, volunteered, that the strength of the corps was immediately augmented to eight hundred. In 1785 a detachment of recruits from the north of Scotland joined the regiment; and the following year, its number was changed to the 72d, in consequence of the reduction of senior regiments. In 1809 this regiment lost the kilt. In 1823 it began to be called the "Duke of Albany's Highlanders," after the second title of the Duke of York. But it is, as has just been shown, the descendant by direct succession of the 1130 men who assembled at Elgin in May 1778, principally of the clan of "Caber Fae," as the Mackenzies are

called, from the stag's horns on the armorial bearings of Seaforth.

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In a mutinous incident which occurred soon after this "Affair of the wild Macraes," Edinburgh was disturbed by another outbreak which took place among the West Fencible Highlanders, who had recently come from Glasgow with sixty-five French prisoners. It arose from some innovations or alterations which were proposed to be made in their ancient Highland garb—particularly the cartouch-box, which they alleged, "no Highland regiment ever wore before." By preconcerted arrangement, the whole of the men, when paraded on the Castle Hill, simultaneously tore them from their shoulders, cast them on the ground, and asserted loudly that they would not wear them. A few days after, the general marched four companies to Leith, where they were surrounded by the 10th Light Dragoons, and compelled, at the point of the sword, to accept the pouches, which were piled up before them. By a court-martial held on Leith Links, several of the leaders were tried and scourged, after which the remainder marched to Berwick.

Meanwhile the company on guard in the Castle, hearing of these proceedings, broke into open revolt, lowered the portcullis, drew up the bridge, and

loaded several pieces of cannon. The city, Mr James Grant says, in his *Castle of Edinburgh*, from which this short account is taken, was filled with consternation, and a strong cavalry force took possession of the Castle Hill.

The crisis was indeed dangerous, for the vaults of the castle were full of French and Spanish prisoners. A French squadron was cruising off the coast, and had captured two vessels at the mouth of the Forth. Next day the company capitulated, and

all laid down their arms save one, who with his claymore, madly assailed an officer of the 10th, who struck him down and had him secured. The cavalry occupied the castle until the arrival of Lord Lennox's regiment, when a court-martial was held, which sentenced one Highlander to be shot, and another to receive a thousand lashes. But both were forgiven on condition of serving beyond the seas in a corps of the line—a strange sort of conclusion in the circumstances.

## MUTINY IN THE OLD 76TH REGIMENT

(MACDONALD'S HIGHLANDERS).

March 1779.

THIS mutiny was so quietly conducted and so honourably concluded that it made little stir in the newspapers of the time. The *Scots Magazine* and the *Edinburgh Advertiser* take no notice of it. The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of Saturday March 20, 1779, says: "A report having spread that General Macdonnell's Highlanders, who were embarked at Burntisland on Wednesday last, were to go to the East Indies, with Lord M'Leod's second battalion, this circumstance gave a few of them uneasiness, but on their being assured that they were to go to North America, the whole

embarked with great cheerfulness and loud huzzas. It is no less true than remarkable, that not a man has deserted from this regiment since they received orders at Aberdeen and Banff to embark for America. Lord Macdonald marched with them from Perth, and assisted at the embarkation; and it is but justice to say, that the behaviour, sobriety, and good conduct of the regiment since they were raised, reflects the highest honour upon the officers and men."

This meagre reference to an affair as honourable to the Highlanders as it was a disgrace to the Government of the time,

or its officials, is a misstatement of the facts, as they are recorded by Major-General David Stewart in his "Sketches," a book on which all subsequent writers have relied as the standard authority on the subject of these "Historical Mutinies." The reason for the mutiny, as we learn from that writer, whose statements, as he says in the preface to his work, "are grounded on authentic documents ; on communications from people in whose intelligence and correctness he places implicit confidence ; on his own personal observation ; and on the mass of general information, of great credibility and consistency, preserved among the Highlanders of last century,"—the reason for this mutiny was the not unusual, mean, huckstering about money, in trying to cheat the Highlanders out of their pay.

As to the regiment, letters of service were issued to Lord Macdonald, in December 1779, to raise a regiment in the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, allowing that nobleman the same military rank as had been conferred on the Earl of Seaforth, by whose influence, as the readers of the mutiny just recorded in this volume, so many brave men had been added to the military efficiency of Great Britain. When such influence could be swayed, it was found convenient to promote the Highland gentleman who possessed it to high rank in the army, without demanding

that he should go through the various gradations up to it. Lord Macdonald, however, declined this privilege of his rank, and recommended Major John Macdonnell of Lochgarry for the colonelcy of the regiment, who was, accordingly, appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant. Lord Macdonald did not relax his endeavours to give the letters of service addressed to him practical significance. Although he held no military rank, he still exerted himself to complete the regiment. His influence was as successful as it was extensive. He made a wise selection of officers from among the Macdonalds of Glencoe, Morar, Boisdale, and others of his own clan, and also from the families of Mackinnon, Fraser of Culduthel, and Cameron of Cullart, not to mention others. Thus 750 Highlanders were raised. A company was raised, principally in Ireland, by Captain Bruce. Other two, amounting to nearly 200 men, were gathered from the lowlands of Scotland by Captains Cunningham of Craighends, and Montgomery Cunningham, aided by Lieutenant Samuel Graham. In this manner 1086 men were raised, including non-commissioned officers and drummers ; and each race was kept distinct.

General Skene reviewed the regiment at Inverness in March 1778, and immediately afterwards, it was marched to Fort George, under the command of



Major Donaldson, where it remained for twelve months.

The corps was removed to Perth in March 1779, and reviewed there again by General Skene on the 10th of that month. Being complete in number, and in an excellent state of discipline, they were marched to Burntisland for embarkation, and were quartered in that port and the neighbouring town of Kinghorn. There were unmistakable signs of uneasiness among the men. The report of the time was to the effect, as the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* has it, that they were destined for the East Indies instead of for North America. The East Indies and the plantations of America were two of the horrors of a Highland regiment in those old days, and for good reasons, as the Seaforth men learnt to their bitter cost in the former country, and all men who were sent were made to feel it in the latter. But this was not the cause of the ominous discontent.

Soon after their arrival at Burntisland, great numbers of the Highlanders were observed to group themselves in parties, and engage in earnest conversation. Highlanders usually converse earnestly, especially when they feel they have a grievance; and the groups at Burntisland had a grievance, in relation to a subject for which the Government they had sworn to serve faithfully had worked out for itself a bad reputation. The men conversed to some wise

purpose. They conducted the most peaceable mutiny ever a wrong-headed Government forced upon its valiant defiers. And they did it thus. In the evening of the third day after their arrival at Burntisland, each company gave in a written statement, complaining of the non-performance of promises, of bounty-money not paid, and other neglects of duty on the part of the party in power, which were only too common in those days, as they would be at all times, if their intended victims had not the pluck and the power to frighten them. The statement was accompanied with a declaration, that till these complaints were properly looked into and settled, the men would not embark. They requested, also, that Lord Macdonald, their trusted chief, as well as the patron of the regiment into which they had been formed, should be sent to see justice done to his clansmen.

Answer was as usual delayed. It neither returned soon enough, nor in the manner they expected it would be sent; and the Highlanders took action in their own stubborn and effective way.

They got themselves arrayed in order, and marching in a body, took possession of a hill behind Burntisland, and there they took up a position from which it would have considerably troubled any available force to dislodge them. While continuing firm in their purpose, the mutineers abstained from

all violence. They, in their law-defying position, abstained also from all lawlessness. As, for example, when several other young soldiers wished to join them in their rebellious camp, possibly more for the fun of the thing than any grievance they could assign, the Highlanders ordered them back to their quarters, telling them they had no cause of complaint, and no claims to be adjusted; that they ought to do their duty, obey their officers, and leave Highlanders to answer for their own conduct.

They continued for some days in their camp on the hill, which gives its name to the town—*Brenty-land*—the land with the *brent* or high brow, as John Anderson's "bonny brow was *brent*," thus Bruntiland, spelt Burntisland, a word compounded of two well-known words, whose combined meaning gets no explanation from the neighbourhood. They sent parties regularly down to the town for provisions, and paid punctually for what they received. It happened fortunately that the regiment was at the time commanded by Major Donaldson, an officer of great experience, and quite as firm in his manner as he was conciliating. He was himself a Highlander—Donaldson, a lowlandised form of Macdonald—and had served nineteen years as adjutant and captain of the Black Watch. He had, therefore, a competent knowledge of the habits and

peculiar character of his fellow-countrymen. He ordered an investigation of the complaints of his men, and the grounds for them. Aided by Lieutenant David Barclay, the pay-master, this inquiry was carefully conducted, and every man's claim was clearly made out. It seems to have been a mismanaged business, when the men knew this before their superiors, and these only found it out after they had been defied in a most daring manner to look into the facts of the case.

Lord Macdonald had been sent for as requested; and when he arrived the statement of claims was laid before him. His lordship and Major Donaldson advanced the money, and took on themselves the risk of recovering it from those who were responsible both for the money, the neglect to pay—if not the intention not to pay it—and for the risk of ruin to which they had heartlessly exposed a body of brave and honourable soldiers.

Colonel Stewart remarks with pride: "It is a fact that ought not to be overlooked, and which I have from the best authority (as, indeed, I have for all I state), that when the individual claims were sent to the Isle of Skye, *all, without exception, were found to be just*; a circumstance which, no doubt, was taken into consideration by those who had to form a judgment of this act of insubordination."

This was as formidable a

mutiny as any on record, but the issue of it was most gratifying. Not a man was brought to trial or even put in confinement. This detracts from its melodramatic interest, and renders its story less exciting than it would have been had innocent blood been freely shed, and merciless executions afterwards been falsely deemed to atone for it. But its human interest is of the deepest. How many of the disgraces and dire catastrophes for which the governments of the world should stand pilloried to all the ages, but which are blotted over by the blood of the bravest, would have been averted, had truth met with mercy as in this case it did?

The regiment embarked at Burntisland on the 17th of March; and "before they sailed, all the men of Skye and Uist sent their money home to their families and friends."

Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonnell having been taken prisoner on his passage home from America, and Major Donaldson's health not allowing him to embark, the command de-

volved on Major Lord Berri-dale, who accompanied the regiment to New York, where it landed in August. In the American war, they, when chance came in their way, confirmed the impression of pluck and bravery, which their conduct as mutineers was fitted to make. It is difficult to end this account of their peculiarly auspicious mutiny, without repeating the following anecdote, which illustrates the fibre of men who had in their own country to strike for their pay at the risk of being shot. On the occasion of the first order they received to go under fire, at the moment Lord Cornwallis was giving the word to charge, a Highland soldier rushed forward and placed himself in front of his officer, Lieutenant Simon Macdonald of Morar. Lieutenant Macdonald having asked him what brought him there, the soldier answered, "You know, that when I engaged to be a soldier, I promised to be faithful to the king and to you; and while I stand here, neither bullet nor bayonet shall touch you, except through my body."

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## MUTINY OF DETACHMENTS OF THE 42D AND 71ST REGIMENTS

(ROYAL HIGHLAND AND FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS).

*April 1779.*

SOME account of the raising of the Royal Highland Regiment, the Black Watch, has been given in relating the story of that mutiny, in which they imitated in miniature, according to some of the fertile imaginations of the time, the conduct of Xenophon's 10,000 Greeks, and showed a spirit as worthy of immortal renown as theirs.

Fraser's Highlanders were named after the Honourable Simon Fraser, son of that fine old Lord Lovat, who was beheaded on Tower Hill for the part he took in the Rebellion of 1745. The Honourable Simon Fraser had himself been engaged in the insurrection. But ten years worked a wonderfully wise revolution in the opinions and sentiments of the most sagacious advisers of the reigning House of Hanover. Mr Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, in the exercise of a policy as patriotic as it was prudent, applied a remedy for the disease of disaffection which raged among the Highlanders in their mountain homes. His sagacity had enabled him to diagnose skilfully and successfully this great social and political evil. He observed that the secret of the attachment

of the Highlanders to the descendants of their ancient kings, lurked in the romantic and chivalrous disposition of those clans; and that this kept inspiring them with a sentiment of mistaken loyalty, by constant references to the sufferings and misfortunes of the fallen line of the Stuarts.

Mr Pitt, therefore, abandoned the self-defeating illiberality which alienated from the throne he served so loyally, the affections of a valuable portion of his fellow-subjects, and won over to the persons of George II. and his successors, the gratitude, and as has been amply proved, the incorruptible fidelity, of the Highlanders.

With this in view, the great minister, in the year 1757, recommended to his Majesty the employment of them, as freely as could be accomplished, in the military service of Great Britain. And a bold bid was made in appointing the quondam rebel, Simon Fraser, lieutenant-colonel commandant of a battalion, to be raised on the forfeited estate of his family—which was at that time vested in the Crown—and on the other estates of his kinsmen and clan.

The result proved the wisdom of Mr Pitt's suggestion, and brought out into striking relief the disinterested fidelity of his people to the disinherited young Lovat. He had neither estate nor money. The only influence he possessed was the faithful attachment of his Highlandmen to a family he had not disgraced in their eyes. His person and the name he bore were talismans sufficient to gather in a few weeks, around the standard he raised, 800 men, all recruited by himself. The gentlemen of the country and the officers appointed to the regiment added 700 more; and a battalion of 1460 men was thus added to the British army.

All accounts agree as to the superior military character of this body of men. The regiment was quickly marched to Greenock, where it embarked to cross the Atlantic, and landed at Halifax in 1757. It was quartered alternately in Canada and Nova Scotia till the conclusion of the war, when, a number of the officers and men expressing a desire to settle in North America, all who made this choice were discharged and received a grant of land. The rest were sent home and disbanded in Scotland.

The success which attended the crucial experiment suggested by Mr Pitt, was acknowledged by all—by none more than the king in whose reign the regiment was embodied.

Colonel Fraser was, in the

year 1774, restored to his family estate by a free grant of George III. In 1775 he again received letters of service for raising in the Highlands a regiment of two battalions. He was now in possession of wealth and territorial influence; but he relied, for the effecting of his purpose, as much on the respect and attachment felt by his countrymen towards the family he belonged to, and to his person, as he had done eighteen years before. He expected no difficulty, and experienced none. At his call, two battalions, numbering 2340 Highlanders, were marched to Stirling, and thence to Glasgow, in 1776. This formed the 71st regiment; and it shortly after sailed for America from Greenock in a large fleet, which took out also the 42d and other troops. They disembarked in America in July of the same year, and in the battles and skirmishes in which they were constantly employed, they bore a cheerful part, their spirit and intrepidity were universally acknowledged.

Recruiting for the 71st and the 42d was vigorously carried on at home. In the Highlands, Frasers and others were eager to join their kinsmen in the exploits of a troublous time in the Far West. Many of their relations had settled in North America at the conclusion of that war after which the earlier Fraser's Highlanders had been disbanded. The military spirit was inspired by the hardy sons

of mountains as they breathed their native breezes, emblems of freedom. They longed to leave their poor, though much loved, hills and dales, and to go abroad, where military glory or material prosperity seemed so certainly attainable. They arranged easily with the recruiting agents, and enlisted with gladness of heart.

It is proverbially a thorny, crooked by-way, which leads out of narrow beginnings into the broad fields of boundless enterprise. Ardent imaginations get impatient, and impatience procures experience of many annoyances. There are also to be encountered in these crooked ways men who have no ardent imaginations, and possess great patience to take advantage of the victims of eager hearts who are hurrying to labour forward. Incalculable mischief often ensues from the enforced contact of these two different classes, who are always to be found in every walk of life, as the following story of a mutiny will illustrate.

On the 20th of April 1779, just about the time when their regiments were doing wonders at Brien Creek in America, a party of about fifty Highlanders, recruited for the 71st and 42d regiments, were marched to Leith from Stirling Castle, for the purpose of embarking to join their then famous corps. This was what the men understood, and they looked forward eagerly and joyfully to it. But a report reached their ears which

appalled them, and drove them into a mad and fatal mutiny. It was rumoured that they were to be drafted into the Edinburgh, Hamilton, the Glasgow—respectively the 80th, the 82d, and the 83d regiments—or some other corps wearing the lowland garb, and speaking the English tongue. The men remonstrated, when they heard this rumour so frightful to them, and openly declared their firm determination to serve in no regiment but that in which they had enlisted. They refused to go on board the transports. The following despatch, sent to Edinburgh Castle, was delivered on the same evening by a dragoon :

“To Governor Wemyss of Edinburgh Castle, or the commanding officer of the South Fencible Regiment.

“*Headquarters, April 1779.*

“Sir, — The drafts of the 71st regiment having refused to embark, you will order 200 men of the South Fencibles to march immediately to Leith, seize those mutineers, and march them prisoners to the Castle of Edinburgh, to be detained there until further orders.—I am, etc.,

“JA. ADOLPHUS OUGHTON.”

A party of about 200 South Fencibles, under the command of Major Sir James Johnstone, three captains—one of them the unfortunate Captain James Mansfield—and six subalterns, were sent to Leith. The fencibles, on their arrival

at Leith, found the Highlanders drawn up, with bayonets screwed, their backs to the walls facing the quay. Sir James Johnstone drew up his men so as to prevent any of the mutineers escaping; and, attended by a sergeant who spoke Gaelic, went up to them, stated clearly the positive orders he had received, and expostulated with them on the folly of resistance. The sergeant reasoned with them too, and in their own language. But he soon turned to the major, and entreated him to retire, as he was convinced the Highlanders would fire.

Sir James Johnstone, upon this, ordered the division on the right to present, and afterwards to recover arms. They did so; but meanwhile, a sergeant observed one of the Highlanders attempting to escape, and seized him by the collar. This sergeant immediately received two wounds by a sword or bayonet, another sergeant of the fencibles was wounded by a musket shot; then several shots were fired on both sides. Captain James Mansfield, a highly esteemed and very worthy officer of the Fencibles, was killed by one of the first shots. It seems that Captain Mansfield was in front, and after some words, one of the Highlanders pushed at him with his bayonet, but missing his push, fired his piece, and killed the ill-fated gentleman on the spot. A corporal who stood near shot the High-

landman; and instantly a good many shots were fired. About fifteen Highlanders were killed, and above twenty wounded; and of the fencibles two privates were killed, and one wounded. The fencibles returned to the castle with 25 prisoners, several of whom were wounded. Nearly thirty wounded were taken to the Royal Infirmary. This addition to the wards of that institution rendered necessary an urgent appeal to the public for a large supply of old linen. The response to this request was so liberal on the part of the inhabitants, that the managers of the Infirmary acknowledged it with gratitude in the newspapers.

The question, where had the Highlanders got the ammunition they used on this occasion, was considered very important, but it was never satisfactorily answered. It was said to be quite well known, that they had received no regular supply. At all events, a Leith porter, known as "Tinkler Tom," and "a stout man with one leg"—a sorry couple—were taken up, and accused of inciting the mutiny, and of procuring ammunition for the mutineers, while the following proclamation was issued: "From the investigation before the sheriff, respecting the unlucky affair that happened on Tuesday afternoon at Leith, there is great reason for thinking that the Highlanders were not provided with ammunition of any kind until they arrived

at Leith; and, as there is just cause for suspecting that they have been supplied with ammunition, either by the person presently in custody, or some others in Leith who have not yet been discovered, a reward of £50 sterling is hereby offered to any one, the person guilty excepted, who will disclose by whom any of the Highlanders were furnished, improperly, with ammunition on Tuesday last. The reward to be paid by me, William Scot, procurator-fiscal, upon conviction of the offenders.

“WILLIAM SCOT.”

On Thursday, May 6th, a court-martial sat in Edinburgh Castle, to try Charles Williamson, Archibald Maciver, and Robert Budge, three of the soldiers who had been made prisoners at Leith on the 20th of April. The court was composed of the following officers: Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas, President; Major John Campbell, Captain James Campbell, Captain Angus M'Alister, Lieutenant William Morison, and Lieutenant James Ferguson, West Fencibles; Major James Mercer and Captain Lord Haddo, North Fencibles; Captain John William Romer and Lieutenant Lord Napier, 31st Foot; Captain John Popple and Lieutenant Peter Boisier, 11th Dragoons; Lieutenant Alexander Trotter, 66th Foot.

The following is the charge

as it was read to the three mutineers:

“Charles Williamson and Archibald Maciver, soldiers of the 42d Regiment of Foot, and Robert Budge, soldier in the 71st Regiment of Foot, you, and each of you, are charged with having been guilty of mutiny at Leith, upon Tuesday, the 20th of April last past, and of having instigated and incited others to be guilty of the same, in which mutiny several of his Majesty's subjects were killed and others wounded.

“You are to stand trial on the above charge, on Thursday, 6th May 1779.

“JAMES DUNDAS, J.A.”

In behalf of the accused, the following defences were lodged:

“The charge against the prisoners is, that they were guilty of mutiny at Leith on Tuesday the 20th of April, and of instigating and inciting others to be guilty of that mutiny, in which several of his Majesty's subjects were killed and others wounded, and they have pleaded Not Guilty to the charge. The prisoners, Archibald Maciver and Charles Williamson enlisted as soldiers in the 42d Regiment, being an old Highland regiment, wearing the Highland dress. Their native language was Erse (*Gaelic*), the one being a native of the northern part of Argyleshire, and the other of the western part of Inverness-shire, where



the language of the country is Erse only. They have used no other language, and are so ignorant of the English tongue, that they could not avail themselves of it for any purpose in life. They have always been accustomed to the Highland habit, so far as never to have worn breeches; a thing so inconvenient, and even so impossible for a native Highlander to do, that when the Highland dress was prohibited by Act of Parliament, though the philibeg was one of the forbidden parts of the dress; yet it was found necessary to connive at its use, provided only it was made of a stuff of one colour, and not of tartan; as is well known to all acquainted with the Highlands, particularly the more mountainous parts of the country. These circumstances made it necessary for them to enlist and serve in a Highland regiment only, as they neither could have understood the language, nor have used their arms, or marched in the dress of any other regiment.

"The prisoner Robert Budge is a native of Caithness, where his mother tongue likewise was Erse, and that language was commonly used by him; for though he had acquired so much of the English tongue as to enable him to buy from or to sell to one who spoke English, in the common articles of commerce in the country; yet he could not have made use of it in the ordinary run of the occurrences of life. He, too, had

been accustomed to the philibeg; and found, that in any other dress than the Highland one, he could not have performed the duties of a soldier; he therefore, likewise enlisted in the 71st Regiment, which is a Highland corps.

"The prisoners, along with a detachment, to the number of between sixty and seventy, were marched from Stirling on the 19th April last. They arrived in the town of Leith, all the three being on carts, so that none of them were on the Links on the 20th of that month. During March, they behaved with that obedience which belongs to soldiers, nor have they been accused of any riotous or mutinous behaviour on the road. When the rest of the detachment arrived on Leith Links, the prisoners understand, they were informed, by their officer Captain Innes, who had conducted them, that they were now to consider the officers of the 83d or Glasgow Regiment—a regiment wearing the lowland dress, and speaking the English tongue—as their officers; but how this happened they were not informed. No order from the commander-in-chief, to their being drafted was read or explained to them; but they were told, they must immediately march to the shore and embark.

"A great number of the detachment represented without any disorder or mutinous behaviour, that they were alto-

gether unfit for service in any other corps than a Highland one; particularly, that they were incapable of wearing breeches as part of their dress. At the same time, they declared their willingness to be regularly transferred or drafted into any other Highland regiment, or to continue to serve in those regiments into which they had been originally enlisted. But no regard was paid to these remonstrances, which, if they had had an opportunity, they would have laid before the commander-in-chief; but an order for immediate embarkation must prevent this. The articles of war, which are appointed to be read and published once in every two months, at the head of every regiment, troop, or company mustered, and to be daily observed, and exactly obeyed by all officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service, cannot be unknown to any soldier, and must be attended to by them. By the sixth section of these articles, and article 3, it is declared: 'That no non-commissioned officer or soldier shall enlist himself in any other regiment, troop, or company, without a regular discharge from the regiment, troop, or company in which he last served, on the penalty of being reputed a deserter, and suffering accordingly; and in case any officer shall knowingly receive and entertain such non-commissioned officer or soldier, or shall not, after his being deserter, immediately con-

fine him, and give notice thereof to the corps in which he last served, he, the said officer, so offending, shall, by a court-martial, be cashiered.'

"The detachment found themselves in a disagreeable situation. None of them were possessed of discharges, in terms of this article of war, to enable them voluntarily to enter into another corps, other than the one they had enlisted in. No order from the commander-in-chief had been read or explained to them, which could either supersede the necessity or entitle them to the benefit of such discharge. Captain Innes was no field-officer, and could not grant them one; and the officers of the Glasgow Regiment seemed, in such circumstances, disabled from assuming a military command over them. The natural idea that suggested itself to them was, that they should insist on serving still in the same regiment in which they were enlisted, and not go abroad as part of the 83d Regiment, till such time as these difficulties were removed. They accordingly drew up, under arms, on the shore of Leith, each respective corps by itself; and the prisoners, seeing them drawn up, joined them, and were informed of what had happened.

"The prisoners are informed that the orders that were issued to the detachment of the Southern Fencibles that came down to Leith, were: To make them prisoners, and conduct them all

to the castle. Had these orders been explained to them, they would have submitted, and, with proper humility, have laid their case before those that could give them redress. But, unfortunately, the sergeant who explained the orders to them in Erse, represented to them as if they were immediately to go abroad as a part of the Glasgow Regiment; but which they do, with great deference, say, they did not, at the time, conceive they could lawfully have done.

"None of the prisoners were guilty of any actual violence. No man received any hurt from them. The prisoner Maciver declared 'that he would not fire,' when some among the mob called out to them to do it. The prisoner Williamson had got drunk at Linlithgow, and continued very much intoxicated to the very end; so that he was not perfectly conscious of what he was doing. And the prisoner Budge behaved in a very inoffensive manner, and surrendered himself quietly as a prisoner. None of all the three had any ammunition, nor could they have any previous intention to mutiny; the fact of their being to be transferred to another regiment having been intimated to them of a sudden, so as to leave no room for deliberation."

The evidence was taken on Thursday and Friday.

The *Scots Magazine* says: "Though in military events, prisoners are not usually allowed

counsel; yet in this case, by the candour of the commander-in-chief, a very eminent lawyer, Mr Andrew Crosbie, was permitted to appear on behalf of these prisoners." This is no other than the talented, eloquent, and jovial gentleman, alleged to have been the original in Sir Walter Scott's mind of the inimitable "Pleydell" in "Guy Mannering." A portrait of him is to be seen in the Parliament House of Edinburgh, with the inscription beneath: "Vice-Dean Crosby, 1784-85. Bequeathed by his widow."

Lieutenant Stillfax, of the 55th, deponed: That thirteen men of the 42d, and fifty-one of the 71st, in all sixty-four men, set off from Stirling to Leith, where they arrived on the 20th of April 1779, at eleven o'clock before noon: That he got a letter on the 19th of April from Captain Imrie, aid-de-camp to General Skene, to march the men to Leith; and that this in consequence of an order from General Oughton; but the place of destination was not then mentioned to the men: That Captain Innes, of the 71st, received the orders for incorporating them with the 83d Regiment. The deponent, in consequence of an order from Captain Innes, marched the men to the Links of Leith, in order to embark: That they learned when they came to the Links of Leith, that they were to be embarked and incorporated with the 83d. This they learned

from Major Ramsay, one of the officers of the Glasgow Regiment: That he marched the men to the town of Leith, in order to embark them: That the men seemed much concerned at understanding that they were to be turned over to the Glasgow Regiment, as they were enlisted for a Highland corps: That they made no resistance till they came to the shore, to which they marched quietly, being at first in order, but afterwards became mutinous: That five of the 42d, and two of the 71st Regiment, went on board; but the remainder fixed their bayonets, and said, they neither would embark nor be drafted: That the townspeople afterwards got amongst them, and gave them liquor, and they turned more mutinous than ever: That he knows the prisoners were of the mutineers; and that Maciver, pretending to be sick, was carried in a baggage-cart from Stirling to Leith: That about a quarter or half an hour before the fencibles came down to Leith, he saw Maciver upon the right of the mutineers, with his bayonet fixed; and when they came down, he went from man to man along the ranks; witness did not hear what he said; but, from his gesture, supposed he was persuading the men to refuse to embark; and seemed to be quite sober, and very determined: That he also observed Williamson, one of the prisoners, who seemed to be drunk and was very noisy:

That he cannot say any of the prisoners fired: That Williamson and the whole of the men had fixed their bayonets; but he did not know who fired first: When they fixed their bayonets, they refused to go on board, and refused all obedience to orders. Being interrogated for the prisoners, this witness declared, he saw Budge have his bayonet fixed; but observed nothing else particular in his conduct more than the rest: That the greatest objection the mutineers had to the 83d Regiment, was the wearing of long cloth and breeches; and heard some of them declare, they were willing to go into any Highland regiment, and all of them willing to join their own respective corps.

Captain Innes, of the 71st, deposed: That he marched the men mentioned in the preceding deposition from Stirling: That they set off on the 19th, lay at Linlithgow that night, and set off next morning for Leith: That the men's arms were examined before leaving Linlithgow, and no powder or shot was found upon them; and to the best of his knowledge and belief, at that time they had no ammunition about them: That he received a letter (now produced) from General Oughton while at Linlithgow, advising that the men under his command were to be incorporated into the 83d Regiment; but did not then communicate the same to the men: That on the morning of

April 20th he went from Linlithgow to General Oughton for orders, and the men were marched to Leith Links where the witness joined them: That from people on the Links they learned that they were to be incorporated with the 83d Regiment, at which they expressed their displeasure; and Maciver and Williamson swore, that they would rather die on the spot than be drafted into the 83d Regiment; at the same time they declared their willingness to go into their own corps, or to any other Highland regiment: That when he marched the Highlanders to Leith shore, Maciver and Williamson instigated the mutiny, by doing all they could to prevail on the 71st to join them in it, who to appearance had no such intention; and the witness believes, had the men of the 71st Regiment come by themselves, they would have been prevailed upon to embark: That two of the 71st and five of the 42d Regiment did go on board; and the rest refused, and fixed their bayonets; on which the witness went to General Oughton, and acquainted him with what had happened. He was absent about an hour: That General Oughton despatched Captain Imrie to the Castle of Edinburgh for a detachment of 200 of the South Fencibles: That, upon his return to Leith, he found the men in a single rank, with their backs to the wall: That the witness exhorted and admonished them to go

on board; told them that the fencibles were coming down; and if they persisted in their disobedience, the consequence was they would be shot: That at this time he found many of the men in liquor, and they declared they were under no apprehension from the fencibles, and that they would stand upon their defence: That in about an hour after the witness returned from General Oughton, the fencibles arrived at Leith: That Captain Innes employed that interval in endeavouring all he could to bring the men to a sense of their duty; but to no purpose, they being extremely insolent to him; and one Muir made a push at the witness with his bayonet: That upon the appearance of the fencibles, he again spoke to them, and told them that, if they continued refractory, they would be shot, to which they answered, they would rather be shot than be drafted into the Glasgow Regiment. The witness did not know from whom the first fire came: That, upon his retiring, he heard a shot from the right of the line, and he thought it came from the wall: That the fencibles arrived about an hour before the witness left the mutineers: That, during the period, the witness, and the other officers of the mutineers, with some of the officers of the fencibles, were employed to pacify the mutineers, and induce them to comply with the order for embarkation; but to

no purpose: That Maciver and Williamson appeared to be the most active of those of the 42d Regiment, and extremely enraged.

James Dempster, jeweller in Edinburgh, deponed: That, looking out at a window, on Leith shore, immediately above the third man on the left of the Highlanders, he heard a shot from the north; but whether from the fencibles or the Highlanders he did not know: That this was followed in about a minute by another shot from a Highlander on the left, by which Captain Mansfield fell, upon which a corporal, who was along with Captain Mansfield, fired, and killed that Highlander.

James Dun, stabler in Edinburgh, deponed: That, looking out at a window opposite to the river, he saw a shot coming from the right of the Highlanders: That, a little after, he saw Captain Mansfield step up to one of the Highlanders, and lay his hand on his shoulder, as if to expostulate with him; and that he and another Highlander on his right stepped back, and made a push at Captain Mansfield with bayonets; upon which Captain Mansfield retreated; and immediately either the third or fourth man from the left of the Highlanders fired a shot; upon which Captain Mansfield fell. He observed no fire from the fencibles before Captain Mansfield fell.

Sergeant W. Ralston, of the

71st, deponed: That when the Highlanders were told they were to embark, and to be drafted into the 83d, they declared their reluctance, by saying they would not be put into breeches. On being asked from whence, and when, he heard the first shot, he replied, that it appeared to him to have been from the left of the Highlanders, or the right of the fencibles, which of them he did not know, that it was not a single shot, but a running fire.

Sergeant Ross, of the South Fencibles, deponed: That he was at Leith upon the 20th of April last, during the mutiny; where he saw two of the prisoners, Williamson and Maciver, Williamson very actively prompting the mutiny: That Williamson was much in liquor: That the deponent, by the order of Sir James Johnston, went up to expostulate with the mutineers in the Erse language; and that when he was going on that errand, Williamson desired him not to come forward, and pushed his bayonet again and again at the deponent. Some time after that, the deponent heard a shot from the right of the Highlanders: That two of the sergeants of the South Fencibles came up, and laid hold of Maciver, who struggled with them in order to get rid of them, when a shot came from some of Maciver's party upon his left, which wounded the deponent: That, before this

happened, the deponent was telling the mutineers, so far as they could hear, that, by orders of Sir James Johnston, the fencibles were provided in ammunition, and their guns all loaded : That they had better desist, because they would be forced to embark. They answered, that they would die before they would wear breeches ; and told the deponent, that they were provided with ammunition. Being interrogated for the prisoners, at what distance from the two prisoners the firing began, he thought about twenty yards from their left : That about two or three minutes before the firing began, a Highlander from amongst the mob called to the Highlanders, "Why don't you fire?" to which Maciver answered, he would not be the first that would fire.

James Home, soldier in the South Fencibles, deponed : That he was along with Captain Mansfield when the Highlanders began to fire from their right. This witness heard them say before that they could prime, load, and fire as fast as the fencibles could do. He said that Captain Mansfield was speaking with the Highlanders, endeavouring to pacify them, and quell the mutiny, when the Highlanders charged their bayonets, and pushed at him. When he was retreating to the division which he commanded, a Highlander fired upon him, and shot him.

Corporal G. Little, of the South Fencibles, deponed : That he examined several of the Highlanders' muskets, which he found loaded, and likewise a cartridge-box with shot, but could not ascertain whether it belonged to the Highlanders or to the fencibles.

Robert Mudie, ship-master in Leith, deponed : That he was on the top of the pier, on the left of the fencibles, opposite the right of the Highlanders, whom he saw standing with their bayonets charged, from which he retired farther to the right of the fencibles, fearing danger of a shot from the Highlanders : That he saw a shot from the right of the Highlanders, which was the first shot that was fired, and afterwards another from the left of their centre. Before the second shot was fired from the left of the Highlanders' centre, he observed Captain Mansfield, who was upon the right of the fencibles, protecting with his sword one of his soldiers, who was attacked by the Highlanders ; and, upon a shot being fired, the mob called out that Captain Mansfield was killed ; and the witness retreated.

Captain Rutherford, of the South Fencibles, deponed : That he heard a shot come from the Highlanders, and jumping into his place, observed a corporal on the right of the division mortally wounded.

The question, whether he heard an order or paper read or explained to the Highlanders on the Links of Leith, relative to their being embarked, or drafted into the 83d Regiment, was put to Sergeant Ralston and Corporal Buchanan, both of the 71st; and they both answered in the negative. Captain Innes, also of the 71st, being interrogated, if, on the links of Leith, he read or explained to them such a paper or order, declared he did not, as he thought it would have been improper.

Sergeant Ralston, being interrogated whether the Highlanders complain of the usage, answered, that after they came to the pier of Leith, Hugh Muir, of the 71st, amongst others, said, that if an offer had been made to them of a voluntary draft into the 83d in the manner that the 31st Regiment's men were drafted, he would have been among the first that would have offered himself; but that they were going to boat them like a parcel of sheep; and, since that was the case, he would stand out to the last.

Sergeant A. Ross, of the South Fencibles, being interrogated what message he delivered to the Highlanders from Sir James Johnston in the Erse language, declared, that Sir James ordered him to go to the Highlanders, and use every gentle method of persuasion to pacify them, and get them to comply with the order of em-

barkation. Being asked if he told the Highlanders, from Sir James, what they were to expect from their refusal to embark, he declared, that Sir James told him that his orders were, either to force them to embark, or bring them prisoners to the castle: That the witness communicated these orders to the Highlanders.

Sir James Johnston, Major of the South Fencibles, declared that the order did command a detachment of the above regiment to seize the Highlanders: That he now produces the said order, which is of the following tenor:

*"Headquarters, April 20, 1779.*

"Sir,—The drafts of the 71st Regiment having refused to embark, you will order 200 men of the South Fencibles, under command of a field-officer, to march immediately to Leith, seize the mutineers, and march them prisoners to the Castle of Edinburgh, to be detained there till further orders.—I am, etc.,

*"JA. ADOLPHUS OUGHTON."*

This order, which has already been quoted, was, as will be remembered, addressed to Governor Wemyss, of Edinburgh Castle, or the commanding-officer of the South Fencible Regiment.

The witness further declared, that when he gave orders to Sergeant Ross to go and speak to the mutineers, in order to pacify them, that Williamson,



one of the prisoners, more than once presented his piece, and the declarant thought once that he was actually going to fire upon him; but that he was prevented by Maciver, another of the prisoners, saying something to Williamson, which the deponent did not understand, upon which Williamson took down his piece; and the declarant thought he owed his life to Maciver for so doing.

Captain Innes showed to the Court an attestation, which he said was in the uniform style of the attestations for that regiment; and it bore expressly, that the person thereby attested was to serve in the 71st Regiment, commanded by Major-General Simon Fraser; and that they were to serve for three years only, or during the continuance of the war. The court-martial pronounced judgment on the 8th of May, but it was not made public till the 28th of that month.

In the forenoon of that day, the regiment of the West Fencibles, then quartered in the suburbs of Edinburgh, having been marched up to the Castle Hill, were formed in three sides of a hollow square facing inwards. The three prisoners were brought down from the castle. With drums muffled and rolling, while the band played a dead march, they, each stepping slowly behind a coffin he thought was meant for him, were brought by an armed escort down the winding path-

way from the castle, and placed in the vacant space of the square, opposite a numerous firing party, under the orders of a provost-martial.

On that bright and beautiful summer morning there was a dark cloud on every face in the solemn group. No ceremony is more impressive than a military execution—and on that morning three soldiers were to suffer death.

The condemned men were ordered to kneel beside their open coffins. The fencibles formed round them, and then the major read the following paper:

*“Headquarters, 26th May 1779.*

*“At a general court-martial held in Edinburgh Castle on Thursday, the 6th of May, and the two following days, whereof Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas of the 11th Dragoons, was president, for the trial of Charles Williamson and Archibald Maciver, soldiers of the 42d Regiment, and Robert Budge, soldier of the 71st Regiment, accused of being guilty of a mutiny at Leith, upon Tuesday, the 20th day of May 1779, and of instigating others to do the same; the Court unanimously found the prisoners guilty of mutiny, being a breach of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th articles of the second section of the Articles of War; and having duly considered the evil tendency of mutiny and sedition, especially when carried on to such enor-*

mous lengths as in the present case, did adjudge the aforesaid Charles Williamson, Archibald Maciver, and Robert Budge, to be shot to death.

"Which sentence, having been transferred to the king, his Majesty having been pleased to signify his royal pleasure, that his Majesty, having regard to the former commendable and distinguished behaviour of the 42d Regiment, to which the two first-mentioned prisoners belong; and remarking that the third prisoner, Robert Budge, who is represented to be now only recovering from the wounds received in the affray, does not appear to have taken any forward part in the mutiny; is most graciously pleased to grant to the said Charles Williamson, Archibald Maciver, and Robert Budge, a free pardon, in full confidence that they will endeavour, upon every future occasion, by a prompt obedience and orderly demeanour, to atone for the unpremeditated but atrocious offence.

"The prisoners were therefore to be released, and join their respective companies.

"(Signed) ROBERT SKENE,  
"Major-General."

The condemned men remained on their knees while a Highland officer translated the foregoing into Gaelic. It was a scene got up for effect. As James Grant describes it, with a pardonable appeal to his imagination: They were all pale

and composed, but the last, who was suffering from severe wounds received at Leith; his countenance was emaciated and ghastly, and he was sinking from excessive debility. Their eyes were bound up; the officer retired; the provost-martial approached, and ordered his party to load. They were in the act of taking aim at the prisoners, who were praying intently in Gaelic, when Sir Adolphus Oughton stepped forward, and, displaying three pardons, commanded them to recover arms.

"Soldiers," said he, "in consequence of the distinguished valour of the Royal Highlanders, to which two of these unfortunate men belong, his Majesty has been graciously pleased to forgive them all. Prisoners, rise, resume your arms, and rejoin your companies."

An officer repeated these words in Gaelic.

The scene and the whole proceedings were so solemn and affecting, that the released prisoners were incapable of speech. Raising their bonnets, they endeavoured to express their gratitude by a faint cheer, but their voices utterly failed them; and overcome by weakness and a revulsion of feeling, the soldier of the 71st sank prostrate on the ground, between the coffins.

More than forty of their comrades, who were shot or had died of mortal wounds, were buried in the old churchyard

of South Leith, and a grassy mound long marked the place where they lay.

There is one other incident of gloom, which is reported in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of April 24, 1797, thus :

"Yesterday, at twelve o'clock, the corpse of the unfortunate and much lamented Captain James Mansfield was brought up on a hearse from Leith, and delivered over at the north end of the Bridge to the regiment, who attended under arms: they proceeded in solemn procession to Greyfriar's Churchyard, the duke's company, being the one Captain Mansfield, as captain-lieutenant, commanded, having

a knot of crape upon their firelocks, and the sergeants' halberts in scarfs, the music playing the dead march, and the drums muffled. The pall-bearers were the Duke of Buccleuch, as chief mourner ; Colonel Pringle ; Majors Sir James Johnston and Hay ; Captains Scott of Gala, Rutherford of Edgerston, Scott of Mullen, Lord Binning, and Sir Alexander Don. The grenadiers followed the pall, the relations and friends of the deceased next, and a train of gentlemen's carriages closed the procession. The duke's company only fired over the grave."

Captain Mansfield left a widow and six children.

## MUTINY OF THE 77TH REGIMENT

(ATHOLE HIGHLANDERS).

*January 1783.*

ATHOLE is a district in the north of Perthshire. The word in Gaelic means, The Pleasant Land; and, as far as the military influence of the Duke of Athole used to be concerned, it was pleasant enough for him at one time to be able to command the personal services of 3000 hardy Highland men at arms. On important occasions, indeed, he could double the number, the whole 6000 well-armed, and eager to enhance the glory of

their chief and clan in the eyes of his king and country.

The power of this Highland potentate became so great as to engender fear in the minds of those he served. It might become as dangerous as it had proved itself, on more than one occasion, advantageous. Accordingly, it was thought necessary to cripple it by legal enactment. But although by such means the chiefs of Athole were deprived of their power, they

continued for many years to enjoy that great influence which sprang from the voluntary attachment and fidelity of their people.

A time came when the young Duke of Athole felt that he was, like so many northern patriots, called upon to step forward and offer his services to Great Britain. The Government acceded to his loyal request to be allowed to raise a regiment of his Highlanders for general service. He was empowered to appoint officers; and a corps of 1000 men was soon recruited.

They were embodied at Perth, and James Murray, son of Lord George Murray, and uncle to the duke, became their colonel. Both officers and men were such as the country needed. The former were young, and were inspired with the spirit of brave soldiers; the latter possessed every advantage of personal appearance and bodily strength, which are requisite for a high degree of the best military morals.

They marched to Port-Patrick in 1778, whence they were shipped to Ireland in a time of expected trouble in that island. They remained there during the American war, and had little opportunity of distinguishing themselves in active service. It was not their fortune to be allowed to prove in any well-fought field, to what extent they were possessors of those qualities which ensure military success. But they were exem-

plary in quarters, attached and obedient to their officers, and had every advantage of discipline.

In 1783 the regiment was ordered to England, and marched to Portsmouth for the purpose of being embarked for India. Although the terms on which they had enlisted were, that they should serve for three years, or during the war, the men showed at first no reluctance to embark, nor did any of them claim the discharge to which their letters of service entitled them. On the contrary, Colonel Stewart records, when they came in sight of the fleet at Spithead, as they marched across Portsdown Hill, they pulled off their bonnets, and gave three cheers for a brush with Hyder Ali. But no sooner were they quartered in Portsmouth, to wait till the transports should be ready, than distrust and discord appeared.

There is the usual account given in the papers of the time, of emissaries from London having expatiated with the Highlanders on the faithlessness of the war authorities in sending them to the far East, when their term of service had expired. It seems they were told that they had been sold to the East India Company at a certain sum a head. Their officers were not guiltless in this transaction, it was added. These gentlemen were to get a proportion of the price of sale, and divide it among themselves. This was an incitement to the warmest

feelings of resentment in the breast of the Athole Highlanders. Confidence in their officers was undermined; and they must have been easily stirred up to disobedience. They were led to disregard the authority of gentlemen to whom they had hitherto shown the most devoted attachment. They would not believe their explanations.

There is something even in this headstrong mutiny to say for the men. It was but only too true that the arrangements for sending them to India had been made without any regard to the engagement by which they felt themselves bound. They knew on what terms they had enlisted; and no wonder that the insinuations, admitting them to be false, of the busy emissaries who were operating upon them for political and other ends of their own, had a tendency to destroy their faith in officers who also knew the terms on which the men had been enrolled. Authority being weakened, restraint was thus removed from natural indignation.

The consequence was a determination on the part of the men not to embark for India. They would adhere to their terms of service.

The following account of the immediate issue of this resolution, is taken from the *Scots Magazine*, dated January 1783: "The 77th Regiment, Athole Highlanders, lying at Ports-

mouth, which had been for some time under orders to embark for the East Indies, on Sunday the 26th, received final orders to embark next morning. In obedience to the order they assembled on parade, but with a determined resolution not to embark, alleging as a reason, that their arrears were not paid, and that they were enlisted on the express condition to serve only three years, or during the American war; and as they conceived those conditions were fulfilled, and that they were now intended for the East India Company's service, where none of their officers were going, they declared they would stand by each other to the last, and would not be compelled to embark for the East Indies, as they believed that their officers had bartered them away to that Company.

"The colonel was not present, but the lieutenant-colonel and other officers insisted that they should embark; in consequence of which, the soldiers surrounded them, violently beating the lieutenant-colonel and several others, who narrowly escaped with wounds and bruises; after which they repaired to the magazine, or store-house for the regiment, which they broke open, and furnished themselves with several rounds of powder and ball.

"A party of the invalids were ordered out to prevent the Highlanders possessing themselves of the parade guard-house,

but being discovered before they gained that place, the Highlanders fired on them, killed one, and wounded one or two others, which compelled the invalids to retreat. In short, the whole was a scene of the utmost drunkenness, riot, and confusion. Sir J. Pye, and Sir J. Carter, the mayor, took every step in their power to appease them, and on their promising they should not be embarked until further orders were received, they separated, and returned to their quarters in the evening, tolerably well satisfied; and next morning they were informed that their embarkation should not be insisted on.

"Immediately upon the accounts of this disturbance reaching London, Major-General Murray, colonel of the 77th Regiment, accompanied by the Duke of Athole, his nephew, went down to Portsmouth, and by their judicious and spirited conduct, assisted by Lord George Lennox, commanding then at Portsmouth, the men were prevailed upon, after having paraded the streets several days, first to assemble on the parade with their arms unloaded, and the day following without their arms."

Several letters from Portsmouth relative to this mutiny appeared in the public prints of the time, and of which the following are a few extracts:

"*Portsmouth, February 2d.*

"The Duke of Athole, Major-

General Murray, and Lord George Lennox, have been down here; but the Athole Highlanders are still determined not to go to the East Indies. They have put up their arms and ammunition into one of the magazines, and placed a very strong guard over them, whilst the rest of the regiment sleep and refresh themselves. They come regularly and quietly to the grand parade, very cleanly dressed, twice a day. Their adjutant and other officers parade with them. One day it was proposed to turn the great guns on the ramparts against the Highlanders, but that scheme was soon over-ruled. Another time it was suggested to send for some marching regiments quartered near this place; upon which the Highlanders drew up the draw-bridges, and placed sentinels at them.

"The 81st, another Highland regiment,\* aboard the India-

\* This was the Aberdeenshire Highland Regiment. They were embarked at Portsmouth for India immediately after the preliminaries of peace had been signed, although the terms on which they had enlisted were, that they should be discharged in three years, or at the end of the war. The men at first made no objections, and remained quietly on board, awaiting the orders for sailing, but when it became known that their Athole brethren were insisting on the performance of the terms of their agreement, a very different feeling evinced itself. They, following the infectious example, called for the fulfilment of their contract, and requested that they should be marched back to their own country, and discharged there. This request was

man, have insisted on being disembarked.

"The 68th Regiment, likewise, which embarked a few days since on board transports for the West Indies, learning that the Highlanders are not to be sent the East Indies, determined to disembark; and, in consequence, very early yesterday morning, they were discovered getting the transports under way, with an intention to run into the harbour; but were all prevented by a man-of-war firing on them, except one transport, the master of which was compelled by the soldiers, amounting to about 300, to bring his vessel to, near the southern beach. The men all got on shore, marched towards the town with an intention to demand quarters of Lord George Lennox, who met them, and ordered them to return, but they refused. His lordship would not permit them to have quarters, but sent them to Hilsea barracks."

Another correspondent writes:

*"Portsmouth February 4th.*

"You may be assured I have had my perplexities since the mutiny commenced in the 77th Regiment; but I must do the men the justice to confess, that, excepting three or four drunken fellows, whose impudence to their officers could only be equalled by their brutality, the

granted, the regiment was marched to Scotland, and was disbanded at Edinburgh.

whole regiment have conducted themselves with a regularity that is surprising. For what might not have been expected from upwards of 1000 men let loose from all restraint? Matters would never have been carried to the pitch they have, but for the interference of some busy people, who love to be fishing in troubled water.

"The men have opened a subscription for the relief of the widow of the poor invalid, for whose death they express the greatest regret. On their being informed that a regiment in garrison was coming to force them to embark, they flew to their arms, and followed their comrade leaders through the town, with a fixed determination to give battle; but, in finding the report to be false, they returned in the same order to their own quarters. We have been informed that the regiment is not to go to the East Indies contrary to the men's inclination. This has satisfied them, but will be attended with disagreeable consequences to the service. For the 68th Regiment, that were on board transports, refused also to go, and would have come on shore, but for a man-of-war firing at them, which has done some mischief; but could not prevent 300 of them from landing. . . . Since the debates in the House of Commons on this subject, I should not wonder if every man intended for foreign service refused going, for the reasons there

given, which, you may depend on it, they are now well acquainted with."

The Highlanders applied to the notorious Lord George Gordon, of Gordon Riots renown, for assistance; and the result will be read in the following letters:

"Lord G. Gordon to the Earl of Shelburne.

"My Lord Shelburne,—I have just received two letters from Portsmouth, from his Majesty's 77th Regiment of Foot, the Athole Highlanders, and think it my duty to lay the following extracts from one of them before your lordship, as Prime Minister, without any loss of time:

"To the Right Honourable Lord George Gordon, Welbeck Street, London.

"*Portsmouth.*

"My Lord,—Impressed with a deep sense of your exertions in support of the religion and liberty of the inhabitants of Great Britain, particularly in Scotland; a great number of his Majesty's 77th or Athole Highland Regiment of Foot, take this method of making application to your lordship, for your support at this critical time. (Here they mention that the regiment was raised to serve only three years, or during the war; and that, though they have not been employed in active service, yet they were always ready and willing to exert themselves, if occasion re-

quired; and that they think it a violation of justice to order them abroad, now that the American war is over, peace signed with France and Spain, and a cessation of arms agreed on with Holland. They therefore entreat Lord George Gordon to apply to some member of Government on their behalf, and proceed):

"We are to embark to-morrow; but there is every appearance at present of a desperate resistance being made by the men. How it will end time alone must determine.

"We assure your lordship, that we never were so much as informed of any such intention till last Wednesday, that we got the route from Andover to this place; and notwithstanding peace being signed, we have received fresh orders for embarkation to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

"We beg leave to assure your lordship, that we entirely depend upon your interposition and support at this time.

"And we remain, etc."

"Now, my Lord Shelburne, I have nothing to add upon this subject at present, except that, if your lordship, or the King's Cabinet, think, from the good opinion the Athole Highlanders are pleased to express of me, that I can be of any service in the affair, I will either go down myself directly this night to Portsmouth, or write them a letter, or send my man express



with a verbal message, or do anything that is just, and fair, and honourable. I am, etc.

"G. GORDON.

"*Eleven o'clock, Tuesday Night.*

"*Welbeck Street, January 28th.*"

Lord Shelburne's answer was short and curt. He wrote :

"*Shelburne House,  
January 29th.*

"Lord Shelburne presents his compliments to Lord George Gordon, and thanks his lordship for his letter and offers of service, which he did not receive till this morning. Every necessary measure was taken by his Majesty's servants yesterday upon the subject of it, immediately after the account was received."

The mutiny of the Athole Highlanders is to be added as one more to the list of successful risings against an overreaching Government. Notice was taken of it in Parliament, as was referred to in one of the letters quoted. In the course of the Parliamentary debates on the subject, Mr Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, who was then Secretary of State for Ireland, said: "He had happened to have the 77th Regiment immediately under his observation during sixteen months of their garrison duty in Dublin, and though it was not the most agreeable duty in the service, he must say that their conduct was most exemplary. Their

officers were not only men of gentlemanly character, but peculiarly attentive to regimental discipline. He, having once, upon the sudden alarm of invasion, sent an order for the immediate march of this regiment to Cork, they showed their alacrity by marching at an hour's notice, and completed their march with a despatch beyond any instance in modern times; and this, too, without leaving a single soldier behind."

A result of the discussion of the question, during which these complimentary remarks were made, was the following declaration which appeared in the *London Gazette* :

"*War Office, February 4th.*

"Whereas doubts have arisen with respect to the extent and meaning of his Majesty's orders, dated, War Office, December 16, 1775, relative to the terms of enlistment of soldiers since that time in the marching regiments of infantry; his Majesty doth hereby declare, that all men now serving in any marching regiment, or corps of infantry, who have been enlisted since the date of the said order, shall, on the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, be discharged, provided they shall have served three years from the dates of their attestations. And all men enlisted and serving as above, who have not so completed their full time of service, shall be discharged at the expiration of three years

from the dates of their respective attestations; and that, in the meantime, no person enlisted under the conditions above mentioned, shall be sent on any foreign service, unless he shall have been re-enlisted into his Majesty's service.

"(By his Majesty's command.)

"GEO. YONGE."

The result of this mutiny was that the regiment was marched to Berwick, and disbanded there, according to the original agreement. No man was tried or punished—a very safe inference from which fact being, that however much to be regretted was the conduct of a few individuals, the Athole Highlanders had just cause of complaint.

Colonel Stewart's concluding remarks on this mutiny are interesting. He says: "It is

difficult for those who are not in the habit of mixing with the Highlanders, to believe the extent of mischief which this unhappy misunderstanding occasioned, and the deep and lasting impression it left behind it. In the course of my recruiting, many years afterwards, I was often reminded of this attempt on the Athole Highlanders, which was always alleged as a confirmation of what had happened at an earlier period, to the Black Watch. This transaction, and others of a similar description, created distrust in Government, and in the integrity of its agents. If Government had offered a small bounty, when the Athole Highlanders required to embark, there can be little doubt they would have obeyed their orders, and embarked as cheerfully as they marched into Portsmouth."

## MUTINY OF BREADALBANE FENCIBLES.

*December 1794.*

THE system of Fencible Regiments was had recourse to in Scotland as a mode of embodying troops somewhat different from the county militia of England. When the militia regiments were first established in England, the measure was not extended to Scotland, on account of that national jealousy

which had to await the advent of railways for its mollification. The people of Scotland were thought at the time not fit to be entrusted with arms, just as the people of Ireland are looked upon at present. Let us hope that in another hundred years the Irish will be thought as trustworthy in this matter as the

Scotch are now. Perhaps another question will be settled then too—Who was to blame? It is to be feared that when this and many kindred questions of international importance within the three kingdoms are fairly settled, England will feel she has little occasion to bear herself so proudly against her two sisters as has for centuries been her wont. This by the way.

The peculiarity of the fencible system, at the time it was started, was that while the officers were appointed and their commissions signed by the king, the men were to be raised by recruiting in the common manner, and not by ballot in the particular counties, as was the case in the militia. The social state of Scotland offered peculiar facilities for this system. There the influence of individuals could outbid social compulsion. Property, rank, and character, recommended leaders to willing and obedient followers, as by a sort of pre-established harmony.

In such a relation to the people stood several Highland noblemen and gentlemen whose moderate revenues were derived from wide acres of barren land; but whose personal and family influence was of such a kind, that they could, at will, when the occasion required it, step forward at the head of a body of brave and hardy men to defend their country, or defy its enemies.

Among these Highland proprietors the Earl of Breadalbane

held a pre-eminent rank at the time referred to in the story of this mutiny. He made an offer to raise two fencible regiments; the offer was accepted, and the corps were rapidly embodied in the summer of 1793. A third battalion was embodied in 1794—the whole force amounting to 2300 men, of whom 1600, or about two-thirds, were raised on the Breadalbane estate, which at the time supported a population of not quite 14,000. It is said that in a few days, indeed as quickly as the oaths could be administered by several neighbouring gentlemen who attended as justices of the peace, 500 men were attested at Taymouth Castle, the seat of Lord Breadalbane. The rest followed quickly. They were then removed to Perth, where they were joined by those raised in other parts of the country; and the whole were embodied, and formed into two battalions, named the 1st and 2d Breadalbane Fencible Highlanders.

The mutiny of Breadalbane Fencibles, a rather serious disturbance, broke out in Glasgow in December 1794. The best thing to be done, if these rehearsals of the instructive past are to be taken at their worth, is simply to record the accounts given at the time. The following is from the *Scots Magazine*, a journal which has already been frequently quoted in the furbishing up again of the story of Mutinies in Highland Regiments:

“For some time past, a con-

siderable alarm has been excited, by the improper conduct of some privates belonging to the Breadalbane Fencibles, lying at Glasgow.

"On Monday the 1st December, a soldier of the 1st battalion of the Breadalbane Fencible Regiment, now quartered in Glasgow, having been confined in the guard-house upon an accusation of having been guilty of a military offence, a party of the regiment assembled round the guard-house, and obliged their officers to set him at liberty. After committing this outrage, they behaved quietly and peaceably, and did regimental duty in the usual manner, though the spirit of mutiny still subsisted to such a degree, that the private soldiers of the regiment would neither agree to give up the soldier who had been released, nor the ringleaders of the mutiny, to be tried for their crimes. Lord Adam Gordon, Commander-in-Chief for Scotland, immediately adopted the most vigorous measures for apprehending the mutineers, by collecting round Glasgow all the troops which could be spared for that service; and General Leslie, Sir James Stewart, and Colonel Montgomery, went thither to take the command of them, with a determined resolution forcibly to lay hold of the aggressors, in case they were not delivered up by the regiment. But before proceeding to coercion, it was thought proper by Lord Adam

Gordon, and the officers of his staff, with whom he consulted, to give the regiment a short time to reflect on their conduct, and the danger in which they stood, if they did not, of their own accord, do what was determined should otherwise be done by force of arms; a voluntary surrender of the offenders being deemed a better example of military discipline, than forcibly seizing them by other troops. This prudent experiment happily succeeded: four of the ringleaders having surrendered themselves voluntarily and unconditionally to Lord Breadalbane, on Tuesday morning the 16th instant, who were immediately marched prisoners to Edinburgh, under a strong guard of their own regiment, commanded by Captain Campbell of the grenadier company. The Hon. Major Leslie, and Mr Maclean, adjutant of the regiment, having accompanied the party a short way on their march, were, upon their return to town, grossly insulted by a number of riotous and disorderly inhabitants of the town, who, after having upbraided them for being active in sending off the mutineers to be punished, assaulted them with stones and other missile weapons, by one of which Major Leslie was knocked down; and he and Mr Maclean were forced to take shelter in a house, where they secured themselves from the mob (who attempted to break open the doors and windows to

get at them), till the Lord Provost, magistrates, and peace-officers, and the company of Breadalbane Regiment who were on duty at the guard-house, arrived and relieved them from their disagreeable and dangerous situation."

In addition to the above, the following account (which had been shown to, and approved by the Lord Provost of Glasgow) was published by the desire of the Right Hon. the Earl of Breadalbane, and the officers of the corps :

"A great variety of groundless rumours and exaggerated reports having gone abroad regarding the conduct of the first battalion of the Breadalbane Fencible Regiment at Glasgow, on Monday the 1st of December, and since, by which the public mind has been considerably agitated, and greatly prejudiced, it appears that, in justice to all concerned, a correct state of facts should be laid before the public.

"During the affair of Monday, when a private of the light company, who had been confined for a military offence, was released by that company, and some individuals from other companies, who had assembled in a tumultuous manner before the guard-house, no person whatever was hurt, nor any violence offered ; and, however unjustifiable the proceeding, it originated, not from any disrespect or ill-will to the officers, but from a mistaken point of

honour in a particular set of men in the battalion, who thought themselves disgraced by the impending punishment of one of their number.

"The men of the battalion have, in every respect, since that period, conducted themselves with the greatest regularity, and strictest subordination ; and on Tuesday and Wednesday they voluntarily delivered up to their colonel, the Earl of Breadalbane, such men as were demanded on account of having been most forward in the affair of Monday. Of these one only made the least hesitation ; but he also, after some consideration, voluntarily surrendered himself, and the whole were sent off to Edinburgh, under the escort of a detachment of the regiment. The whole battalion seemed extremely sensible of the improper conduct of such as were concerned, whatever regret they might feel for the fate of the few individuals who had so readily given themselves up as prisoners to be tried for their own and others' misconduct.

"An account of this matter having appeared in the *Glasgow Courier* of Thursday, it is proper to observe, that a mistake has, through inadvertency or misinformation, got into that account ; for there is no reason to believe that the mutineers were possessed of any ammunition, though they did say it was offered to be procured for them by some of the inhabitants in their rear.

"It is also to be remarked, that all of them offered to deliver themselves up on Monday the 8th, previous to any general officer, or troops, coming to Glasgow.

"It may be observed further, that in the account published in the Edinburgh papers, it is said, that the volunteers quelled the riot raised by the townspeople, on the return of Major Leslie, and Mr M'Lean ; whereas it was a detachment of the Breadalbane Fencible Regiment who marched up to the relief of those gentlemen, with the greatest alacrity and expedition ; for which they received the thanks of the Lord Provost and general officers, besides a handsome acknowledgment from Major Corbet and the Glasgow Volunteers.

"Notwithstanding this unfortunate affair, it is but justice to observe, that in every other view, the soldiers of this regiment have, upon all occasions, behaved themselves with the greatest sobriety, and that they have been, and still are, upon the best of terms with their officers."

Our authority further says :

"Letters received from Glasgow mention, that the utmost tranquillity prevails there. The magistrates have offered a reward of £50 for discovering any of the persons who insulted the officers on Tuesday, but no discovery has yet been made. Several have been taken up, but dismissed for want of

sufficient evidence. The three troops of the Queen's Own Regiment of Dragoons, which arrived in Glasgow from Paisley on Tuesday night, returned. The dragoons from Kilmarnock still remain at Glasgow. The Argyleshire Regiment of Fencibles arrived at Rutherglen, on Thursday, from Edinburgh ; and on Friday marched for Paisley. On Thursday night three more prisoners were brought to town from Glasgow, by a party of the 3d Regiment of Dragoons, and lodged in the castle."

The *Magazine* for January 1795, says : "The court-martial which has sat in the castle upon the mutineers of the Breadalbane Fencibles is now over. There have been eight prisoners tried upon three separate charges ; but the sentences are not known till reported either to his Majesty, or the commander-in-chief, who in this country is invested with the same powers as his Majesty, with regard to the sentences of courts-martial. The event has shown that four were found guilty. On the 27th at ten o'clock, the four prisoners who had been adjudged to suffer death for the crimes of mutiny and disobedience, were taken from the castle in two mourning coaches, attended by the Rev. Mr Robertson M'Gregor, and under an escort of the 3d Regiment of Dragoons, and a detachment of the 3d battalion of the Scotch Brigade. They marched to the sands near

Musselburgh, where the escort was joined by several corps, and detachments of cavalry and infantry, all under the command of Major-General Sir James Stewart. The sentence of the court-martial was then read to the prisoners, with the general orders given out by Lord Adam Gordon, approving of the proceedings of the said court-martial, and directing the sentence to be carried into execution against Alexander Sutherland or Sandison, the most guilty of the offenders, but suspending the sentence of the other prisoners until his Majesty's pleasure should be known. The prisoner Sutherland was then shot to death by a party of the regiment to which he belonged, and the other prisoners were remanded to Edinburgh Castle, escorted as in the morning. It is but doing justice to the corps and detachment, assembled on this solemn occasion, to say that they behaved with the greatest propriety. Sutherland was a native of Caithness. He met his fate with becoming penitence and fortitude."

Such is the account given of this sad affair at the time, in a journal which had to keep a look out against the penal consequence of writing or speaking at the end of the enlightened eighteenth century.

Another account, much truer to Highland feelings, unstrained by the necessities under which a man labours who is writing a semi-official record, is given by

Colonel Stewart, one of the most honest of Highland historians. He says: "Several men having been confined and threatened with corporal punishment, considerable discontent and irritation were excited among their comrades, which increased to such violence, that, when some men were confined in the guard-house, a great proportion of the regiment rushed out and forcibly relieved the prisoners. This violation of military discipline was not to be passed over, and accordingly measures were immediately taken to secure the ringleaders. But so many were equally concerned, that it was difficult, if not impossible, to fix the crime on any, as being more prominently guilty. And here was shown a trait of character worthy of a better cause, and which originated from a feeling alive to the disgrace of a degrading punishment. The soldiers being made sensible of the nature of their misconduct, and the consequent necessity of public example, *several men voluntarily offered themselves to stand trial*, and suffer the sentence of the law, as an atonement for the whole. These men were accordingly marched to Edinburgh Castle, tried, and four condemned to be shot. Three of them were afterwards reprieved, and the fourth, Alexander Sutherland, was shot on Musselburgh Sands.

"On the march to Edinburgh, a circumstance occurred, the

more worthy of notice, as it shows a strong principle of honour and fidelity to his word and to his officer, in a common Highland soldier. One of the men stated to the officer commanding the party, that he knew what his fate would be, but that he had left business of the utmost importance to a friend in Glasgow, which he wished to transact before his death; that, as to himself, he was fully prepared to meet his fate; but with regard to his friend, he could not die in peace unless the business was settled, and that, if the officer would suffer him to return to Glasgow, a few hours there would be sufficient, and he would join him before he reached Edinburgh, and march as a prisoner with the party. The soldier added, 'You have known me since I was a child; you know my country and kindred, and you may believe I shall never bring you to any blame by a breach of the promise I now make, to be with you in full time to be delivered up in the Castle.' This was a startling proposal to the officer, who was a judicious humane man, and knew perfectly his risk and responsibility in yielding to such an extraordinary application. However, his confidence was such, that he complied with the request of the prisoner, who returned to Glasgow at night, settled his business, and left the town before daylight to redeem his pledge. He took a long circuit

to avoid being seen, apprehended as a deserter, and sent back to Glasgow, as probably his account of his officer's indulgence would not have been credited. In consequence of this caution, and the lengthened march through woods and over hills by an unfrequented route, there was no appearance of him at the hour appointed. The perplexity of the officer when he reached the neighbourhood of Edinburgh may be easily imagined. He moved forward slowly indeed, but no one appeared; and unable to delay any longer, he marched up to the castle, and as he was delivering over the prisoners, but before any report was given in, Macmartin, the absent soldier, rushed in among his fellow-prisoners, all pale with anxiety and fatigue, and breathless with apprehension of the consequences in which his delay might have involved his benefactor.

"In whatever light the conduct of the officer may be considered, either by military men or others, in this memorable exemplification of the characteristic principle of his countrymen—fidelity to their word—it cannot but be wished that the soldier's magnanimous self-devotion had been taken as an atonement for his own misconduct and that of the whole, who also had made a high sacrifice, in the voluntary offer of their lives for the conduct of their brother soldiers. Are these a people to be treated as



malefactors, without regard to their feelings and principles ; and might not a discipline, somewhat different from the usual mode, be, with advantage, applied to them?"

## MUTINY OF THE GRANT FENCIBLES.

*June 1795.*

THIS mutiny, which broke out in June 1795, exhibits another instance of insubordination, originating in horror of the disgrace, which, according to the views of the Highlanders, could not fail to attach to themselves and their country for a punishment which they regarded as infamous, while the so-called crime for which the punishment was inflicted, did not seem to them at all infamous in any moral sense. But a word or two about the embodiment of the Grant Fencibles.

Sir James Grant, of Castle Grant, was a good man, and a beloved patriarchal chief. He offered to raise a regiment of loyal men at the outbreak of the war. The offer was gladly accepted, and two months after the declaration of war, the regiment assembled at Forres. This was at the close of April 1793. Too many loyal men came forward ; and in May, seventy of them were discharged as supernumeraries. It was on the 5th of June that the corps was finally inspected and em-

bodied by Lieutenant-General Leslie. In August the regiment was marched to Aberdeen ; and after being stationed at that city for a time, was sent to Linlithgow, Glasgow, Dumfries, Musselburgh, and many other towns south of the Forth.

When stationed at Linlithgow in 1794, they were unfortunately selected for being sounded on a question, great in the apprehension of a Highlander of the time. The service of Scotch Fencible Regiments was understood to be confined to Scotland, and at that time a desire was felt to extend their service. Measures were accordingly taken to sound the Grant men on this subject, but it would seem the process was not very prudently conducted. It was a case in which their feelings and prejudices should have been carefully taken into account, especially when an agreement already come to was to be altered. Some of the officers, however, did not seem to think any explanation necessary ; others of them, it seems, entirely mistook

the meaning and import of the commanding officer's orders. Be it as it may, jealousy and distrust were engendered, the soldiers took alarm—some were for agreeing with the proposals, others opposed them to the last degree—and the result was, that no volunteering took place.

This misunderstanding was not easily cleared away; but it seemed to become allayed, after Sir James Grant, hearing of it, hurried to join his men.

But when they were quartered in Dumfries in 1795, it unfortunately came to the surface again, as the story of this mutiny will illustrate.

The following account of it appeared in the *Scots Magazine* of June in that year: "A disagreeable circumstance happened in the 1st Regiment of Fencibles, quartered at Dumfries. One of the men being confined for impropriety in the field when under arms, several of his comrades resolved to release him; but they were repelled by the adjutant and officer on guard, who made the ringleader a prisoner. The commanding-officer of the regiment immediately ordered a garrison court-martial, consisting of his own corps and the Ulster Light Dragoons. When the prisoners were remanded back from the court to the guard-room, their escort was attacked by fifty or sixty of the soldiers with fixed bayonets, part of whom ran away with the prisoners. By the intrepidity and

good conduct of the lieutenant-colonel and officers, they were secured. They afterwards expressed a proper sense of their irregular conduct, and have peaceably submitted themselves to their fate."

The July number of the same magazine—a storehouse of historical information of incomparable interest—carries on the story thus:

"On the 17th inst., the five prisoners belonging to the 1st Fencible Regiment, who were tried for the crime of mutiny by the late general court-martial, held at Musselburgh—four of whom had been adjudged to suffer death, and the fifth to receive corporal punishment—were carried from Musselburgh to the links of Gullen, escorted by the 1st, 2d, first battalion of the 4th, and a detachment of the 7th Fencible Regiments, three troops of the 4th Regiment of Dragoons, with two field-pieces, and a detachment of the Royal Artillery. They were there joined by the two battalions of the 6th Brigade, troops of the 4th Dragoons, and several troops of Fencible Cavalry, the whole under the command of Major-General James Hamilton. The troops were drawn up in the following order, composing three faces of a square: The centre consisting of the first battalion of the 4th, and a detachment of the 7th Fencible Regiments; the right face of the Scotch Brigade, and the left of the 2d Fencible Regiment.

The second line was composed of cavalry, twenty paces in the rear of the infantry. The division of the 4th Regiment of Dragoons, from Dunbar camp, formed in the rear of the centre face; the Fencible Cavalry, from Haddington and Dunbar, in the rear of the right face; and the division of the 4th Regiment of Dragoons, from Musselburgh camp, in the rear of the left face of the square. A space was left in the line of the cavalry of the centre face, where the artillery were posted with two light six-pounders.

"The sentence of the court-martial was then read to the prisoners, with the general orders given out by Lord Adam Gordon, approving of the proceedings of the said court-martial, and directing the sentence to be carried into execution against Alexander Fraser; and that the other three prisoners adjudged to suffer death should draw lots, and the person on whom the lot to suffer should fall, to be shot to death at the same time with the said Alexander Fraser; suspending the sentence of the three remaining prisoners until His Majesty's pleasure concerning them should be known.

"The prisoner, Alexander Fraser, and also the prisoner Charles M'Intosh, upon whom the lot to suffer had fallen, were then shot to death by a party of the regiment to which they belonged; and the other three prisoners were remanded to

Musselburgh jail. After the execution, the whole marched round the dead bodies in slow time, and afterwards filed off to their respective quarters and cantonments. All the different corps and detachments assembled on this occasion behaved with the greatest propriety during the whole of the very awful and affecting scene."

The scene was truly "awful and affecting." The very fullness of detail with which it is described shows the importance attached to it at the time as a piece of show punishment. These mutinies were becoming, indeed, a question of very serious national importance. This one originated primarily in the proposal to send the Scotch Fencibles out of Scotland. Such a measure would not have received much attention at the headquarters in previous years. But since the time of the Black Watch's forlorn march half a century ago, the ruling powers had been rendered cautious by successful mutineers, who made it both known and felt that they understood the terms on which they had engaged to serve their country. Although the same question lay at the bottom of this manifestation of insubordination as of similar earlier outbreaks in Highland regiments, yet the immediate occasion of the rising is not to be apologised for.

The names of the three prisoners who were not shot were—Corporal M'Donald, Alex-

ander M'Intosh, and Duncan M'Dougall.

It is touching to reflect on Sir James Grant, the colonel and patron of his beloved regiment, hurrying again to Dumfries—as he had formerly done to Linlithgow—to try and save the erring men; but this time he was too late.

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Another mutinous incident in a regiment of Highlanders may be mentioned before a close is put to this painful series of narrations. It occurred at Glasgow in 1804. In that year orders were issued by the war authorities to raise in the Highlands a regiment to be called the Canadian Fencibles, because, as was averred, they were to serve in Canada only. There were circumstances in the Highlands at the time which induced the sorrowing people of that country to regard this as a very fortunate event. Men were being removed from the hills and dales they loved, to make room for sheep and cattle. One extensive glen in Invernessshire was, for this end, mercilessly depopulated; and that was only one instance of the method of improving the country, which was regarded as so certain to secure for it material wealth.

Accordingly, the Canadian corps was speedily filled up. Young active men who had lost their homes, and been turned

away from their usual mode of providing for subsistence, eagerly entered it. They saw thus presented to them a means of reaching that country in which many of their friends and neighbours had found comfort and security, and lived free from the fear of summary ejection, and the mode in which it was effected, namely, burning their houses about their ears.

The men who enlisted for this regiment were ordered to assemble in Glasgow. When they met there, they found a grievance of which loyal Highlanders had on former occasions cause to complain, and the consequences of rising in wrath to rectify what they had reason to lament. The most scandalous deceptions had been practised on them. Terms had been offered by recruiting agents, which Government could not, and would not, sanction. Besides, these agents had made money by their heartless lies. A great number of the poor Highlanders, in consequence of the favourable terms held out to them in prospect, had enlisted without any, or for, at least, a very small bounty.

When in Glasgow the real situation of affairs was discovered by the innocent and true-hearted dupes, they were loud in their remonstrances; they became disobedient and disorderly, and a dangerous outburst of mutiny was apprehended.

General Wemyss, of Wemyss, who commanded in Glasgow at

the time, ordered an immediate inquiry to be made into the causes of this formidable discontent. Just as of old, the foundation of the complaints was found to be of such a nature, that it was necessary to justify the men and satisfy them.

In the meantime, the regiment, which numbered 800 soldiers, was marched to Ayr. This did not look well in the eyes of Highlanders who were suffering from severe irritation. Why send them so far south from Greenock, the port of embarkation for Canada? The report had got into circulation, that they were to be sent to the Isle of Wight, and thence shipped off to the East or West Indies. The present move seemed to confirm this rumour, and the mutiny was once more on the point of flaring out, and flaming up.

It was again cooled down in time. Full inquiry into all the circumstances was made. It was found that the men had been deceived. Their conduct was not to be blamed. None

of them were tried, no one lashed or shot. They were only all discharged; thrown out and back upon a heartless world, all their ardent hopes extinguished, and most of their little money spent. They were far from home—all the farther by the ill-judged march to Ayr. No doubt that was a ruse by the authorities to try and gain over the obstinate Highlanders. Some of them intended still to go to Canada, but it was a serious thing in those days for a poor man to journey as far as from Ayr to Greenock.

What were they to do? It was not easy to see. But as the second battalions of the 78th and 79th Regiments were, at the time, recruiting, numbers of the men enlisted in them. Others who had money to pay for the passage, went to America; and a great many were left poor labouring men in various parts of the lowlands, where, to their latest hour, they believed in, and spoke of, the perfidy of the British Government, and its enlisting agents.

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## CONCLUSION.

It is instructive to note the dates of these mutinies—1743, 1778, 1779, 1783, 1795, 1804. On the importance of taking note of the first, that of the Black Watch, sufficient has been said,

in the account given of it. The others all took place during a period of twenty-six years—years of trouble for Great Britain in Europe and across the Atlantic. The independence of the United

States of America was declared in 1776; and it was recognised by Great Britain in 1783. It was indeed a time of grave anxiety for the British Government, and it is easy for any sciolist to raise, at this distance of time, a railing accusation against it for its conduct towards the Highlanders.

But governments, like individuals, are found out by their errors and sins. Long years of misgovernment of the Highlands had embittered the spirits of the people. The attempt to extinguish their language and obliterate their dress had been defeated; and it is dangerous for any one in power to be laughed at and scorned by those who have successfully set his commands at naught. Parents, teachers, magistrates, and statesmen, must always remember this truism.

For a people in such a state of mind, an outlet seemed to be opened up for feelings of kindness and loyalty, at a period when Great Britain was in sore need of such service as they could afford. The power of their chiefs was the mediating influence. Everything promised well. The Highlanders acted nobly. They came forward with brave hearts and sturdy limbs to fight for their ancient oppressors. They did so; their glory is a brilliancy in the British star of renown. But many of them had to fight grave battles before

they got into the field against the common foemen. Deceit, fraud, misrepresentation, attempts to cheat them out of their few dearly purchased coins, to make them enter regiments whose garb they could not wear, and to hear orders in a language they did not understand, and all such mean trickery met them on the way. These they had to encounter first, and they did encounter them, and routed them, as is read in these stories of "Mutinies in Highland Regiments." In a pamphlet published in 1780, the author eloquently advocates the cause of his countrymen—these mutineers. He winds up his declamatory reasonings thus:

"The cause of those evils is so obvious, and the removal of it so easy, that it scarcely requires to be pointed out. It consists in nothing more than—

"*First*,—To translate and publish into the Gaelic the Articles of War, and whatever else regards the admission and conduct of a soldier.

"*Second*,—To appoint chaplains and surgeons who are acquainted with the Gaelic, and consequently fit to discharge their duty."

These things had not been done, and little else needs be said in behalf of the opinion of any one who thinks that, as a matter of historical criticism, the Highlanders are to be justified in those mutinies, the account of which is here finished.

# THE INDIAN MUTINY.

*January 1857—November 1858.*

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE PROPHECY.

It was in March 1856 that the Marquis of Dalhousie's viceroyal reign in India terminated. That nobleman handed over the reins of Government to Viscount Canning, with a firm conviction that there was a bright and cheerful immediate future for the country. He put this conviction on record in a report which he presented to the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company, the concluding words of which are: "I trust that I am guilty of no presumption in saying that I shall leave the Indian empire in peace without and within."

In January 1857 the great Indian mutiny broke out, the wildest and widest rising of soldiers in military revolt which is recorded in history.

There had been several mutinies before this culminating one among the native troops of the India Company's army. As long ago as July 10, 1806, a

rather formidable one took place at Vellore, a town in the Carnatic, in the Madras presidency, and a few miles west of Madras.

At two o'clock in the morning of the day mentioned, the European barracks in that town was a scene of confusion and terror. It contained four companies of the 69th Regiment, and these were surrounded by two battalions of Sepoys in the Company's service, who poured in upon the soldiers through every door and window a heavy fire of musketry. The sentries, the soldiers at the main-guard, and the sick in the hospital, were massacred. The officers' houses were ransacked, and all their inmates murdered.

Help had to be sent for. Colonel Gillespie arrived with his 19th Light Dragoons, and attacked the Sepoys. Over six hundred of them were cut down in the fight that ensued, and two hundred were afterwards

shot who had been dragged from their hiding places. Of the four European companies 164 men, besides officers, perished, and many British officers of the Sepoys were murdered.

The reason for the outbreak was never satisfactorily ascertained. At least no reason was found out which would seem to a British intellect to be at all adequate; but judging from the reasons we shall subsequently have to take into account for the great mutiny, it is perhaps too much to expect any reasonable proportion between the cause of a bloody outbreak and its frightful results among our native Indian fellow-subjects.

All that ever came to light as a probable cause of this outrage was that an attempt had been made by the military authorities at Madras to change the shape of the Sepoy turban. It was to be made something resembling the helmet of the light infantry of Europe, and this would prevent the natives from exhibiting on their foreheads the marks of their various castes.

A more probable supposition, and one which renders some approach to a reasonable cause of the mutiny, was that the sons of Tippoo Saib, the deposed ruler of Mysore, along with many distinguished Mohammedans, who had been deprived of office in consequence of his deposition, were at that time in Vellore; and these influential personages would, no doubt, while using other arts to alienate

the native troops from the Company's service, arouse them to this murderous mutiny by inflaming their suspicions regarding any endeavour to tamper with their religious usages.

Many cases of insubordination occurred between 1806 and 1857, but none of them was so terrible as this one.

There have been numerous theories propounded as to the reasons for the latter mutiny. One we mention only to dismiss, as something too bad. It is that the Honourable East India Company's agents were the really active parties to getting the affair up, in order that that wealthy corporation might get rid of a great many very expensive pensioners, native princes, and others, who would be sure to join the daring plot with a view to recover their original estates and power. Well, this would be one way of making money,—by saving it. But, for the sake of human nature, in the light of the subsequent events, let us dismiss the frightful thought that such base means could be thought of for an end so dishonest.

Another reason assigned seems to deserve some attention. It was a fact that the mutiny was mainly among the troops of the presidency of Bengal. The Bombay and Madras armies did not join in it to any extent, such as would affect this reason assigned for the rising. Was there any observable difference in the



discipline or the characteristic dispositions of these troops which would account for the disaffection of the Bengalese?

Lord Melville thought there was. He, as General Dundas, had held a command during the Punjaub war; and shortly after the news of the mutiny reached this country, he stated in the House of Lords that there were marked differences in the disciplinary arrangements of the Bengal army from the others. In that army the native officers were, in nearly all cases, selected by seniority, and not by merit. They could not, therefore, rise from the ranks till they began to feel themselves getting old men; and in the middle time of life a sense of hopelessness cankered the minds of the Sepoys. In the armies of Bombay and Madras, on the contrary, the sergeants were selected for their intelligence and activity. This difference Lord Melville thought well worth consideration, when, in point of fact, it had occurred that the one army was mutinous and the other two remained loyal.

He asserted besides that the Bengal troops were notoriously more prone to insubordination than were the men of the other two presidencies. He mentioned one instance at the siege of Moulton, when the Bengal Sepoys refused to dig in the trenches, because their duty was to fight and not to work; and another of three native Bengal officers of the Engineers being

detected in an endeavour to plunder and appropriate stores.

But the preliminary process of preparation for the awful event, which many people seem to regard as having been the most directly effective, was that the Sepoys rose against the British power, with a view to the fulfilment of a prophecy. And every reader of Oriental literature, ancient and modern, is aware of what a mighty and resistless force an idea of this sort is capable of becoming in minds which are influenced by the exciting as well as enervating climate of the East.

The close of the year 1856 was the completion of a century of British rule in India. It is true enough that the East India Company had been trading with that country since about the year 1600, but it was only in the middle of the eighteenth century that their commercial relations with India had been developed into political control over large portions of it. The year 1757 was a year stored up, hoarded with care in the traditions of Hindoos and Mohammedans, especially of the latter. It was a year to be avenged, because it brought on their forefathers a swift retribution. The Black Hole of Calcutta had been crowded with murderous intent the year before by Suraj-u-Dowlah, Nawab of Bengal, with 130 persons, while it had room enough only for little over thirty—the number who died from suffocation.

This brought Robert Clive from Madras with a small body of troops. On February 4, 1757, he with 2000 men defeated the army of the Nawab, numbering 20,000. Five days later he obtained great concessions from Suraj by treaty in the interest of the Company, whose power in Bengal had for a time been utterly extinguished. The treaty was only a blind for treachery; but Suraj had met Clive, and that was more than a realisation of what happens when Greek meets Greek. While the Bengal potentate was craftily plotting, the young British officer had matured an audacious plan. He declared hostilities against Suraj, who had 60,000, while he could only muster 3000; and with his 3000, at Plassey, nineteen days after he had arrived at Calcutta, he utterly routed the Nawab's 60,000, and sent him fleeing, a miserable fugitive, to die of despair in less than a week.

It was on that day, February 23, 1757, that British power became supreme in Bengal.

That was a day to be remembered. And it was. British officers in India noted it, and remembered it well. So, as has been said above, did especially the Mohammedans. The former would intend, no doubt, at every mess-table, to toast it with a bumper. The hundredth anniversary of Plassey was to be observed in great style at home. The latter, with Shylock-like expressiveness, washing their hands with invisible

soap, noiselessly laying the one palm on the other, while they flashed an Oriental resolve on blood from their amber eyes, did something more than intend that on it a merciless centenary should be held. They would, at whatever cost of blood and treasure, expel from their country the Nazarene intruders, and restore the power of the followers of the Prophet.

The prophecy was invented. A paper, purporting to be of no less a character than the scroll of an ancient oracle, was put in circulation among the people. It was represented to contain a prophecy made by a Punjaub Fakeer in the twelfth century. Seven hundred years ago, so the people were informed, it had been foretold that after various dynasties of Mohammedans had ruled for some centuries, the Nazarenes, or Christians, should hold power in India *for one hundred years*; that the Nazarenes would then be expelled; that various events foretold in the Koran would then come to pass; and that Islamism would become triumphant accordingly.

This was the prophecy. It was widely circulated. But its authenticity can easily be dismissed if we read it as referring directly to British Christians; for no such people were known even by name to any Fakeer of India in the twelfth century. But the wily prophecy-mongers of the nineteenth century would easily get over that difficulty by

asserting that Nazarenes, not Britons, were referred to; and the people they were duping would need no such explanation. It could not be made more plain to them than it was as they received it, a prediction of the immediate end of British power in India.

But this was to be a revival

of the Mohammedan power, and yet the Hindoos joined in the plot. True, but not strange. It is the old story of a common danger. Strange bedfellows are admitted on such an occasion, but some of them may take their own several ways after a night's restorative sleep has re-adjusted their brains.

## CHAPTER II.

### LOTUS-FLOWERS AND CHUPATTIES.

FROM about the middle of 1856, indeed ever since the final arrangements for the annexation of Oude, which was regarded by many as the crowning glory of Lord Dalhousie's administration, two procedures, the one among the military and the other among civilians, might have been taken note of; but they did not arouse serious attention till afterwards. The mutiny, being a terrible fact, was felt to require explanation, at which time they were, with due after-wisdom, discovered to have been premonitory symptoms of something wrong in the feelings of a certain portion of the natives.

The one mystery was the delivering and passing-on of the lotus-flower. It was nothing uncommon; in fact it was a common occurrence, for a man to come to a cantonment with this flower and present it to the chief

native officer of a regiment. The flower was handed from soldier to soldier in the regiment, each man took it, looked at it, and passed it on. But no one said a word. The last man looked at it and kept silence like all the others; and having nobody then to give it to, he disappeared, and took it to another military station, where the lotus re-enacted its proverbially silencing charm. Such is what might have been observed among the military under that oppressively subdued state of the atmosphere which prevailed before the earthquake cleared it.

Among the civilians this took place about the same period. A messenger would come to a village, seek out the elder or head man of the village, and present him with six *chupatties*. These were small cakes of unleavened bread, about two inches

in diameter, made of Indian-corn meal, and forming no part of the Sepoys' diet. In making the present to the elder the messenger would say: "These six cakes are sent to you; you will make six others, and send them on to the next village." The six cakes were accepted by that official, and he punctually sent forward the other six according to directions apparently imperative.

What all this meant it was not easy for any one not in the secret to understand. No one would say, whether he knew or not, which was the first village from which the cakes issued. Their earliest appearance was in the north-west provinces around Delhi. In some places it was ascertained that the chupatties were to be kept till called for, others being sent on in place of those left. This being kept till called for is the only additional item which seems to have been added to the knowledge of British officials. What the whole thing may have meant remained to them a secret and a mystery. If it was a secret correspondence being carried on, it had a wide range through that vast and thickly-populated country from the Sutlej to Patna.

The mutiny revealed the fact that an extensive correspondence of some sort must have been carried on. It might have been through the post-office, for it is a well known fact that not a single letter was opened by

way of suspecting anything wrong on a large scale. But arch-plotters never trust their gravest secrets to any ordinary means of communication. They know not the hour when suspicion may alight on it. There was a wide-spread ferment. The prophecy was enough to produce it. Some seemed only more than usually excited, others seemed to labour under a mere general apprehension or expectation; in some it was a panic, but many were no doubt affected deeply with disaffection and aware of the great conspiracy.

The following few facts were taken note of at the time and put on record, as from the voluminous correspondence carried on between India and all the world at the time, every indication was. One evening early in 1856 a Sepoy gave information of the intention of the men at Fort William at Calcutta to rise against their officers and seize that stronghold. On another occasion a fanatical Mohammedan priest of high rank was detected at Oude preaching war against the infidels. A paper was found on his person containing a proclamation to the people, inciting them to rebellion. One day two Sepoys were discovered attempting to sap the fidelity of the guard at the Calcutta mint. An English surgeon at Lucknow got his house burned down for putting his lips to a bottle of medicine before giving it to a Sepoy

patient. This was regarded as a pollution ; a pundit was sent for to exorcise the evil ; but would they have dared to burn down the doctor's house if public feeling had not been dangerously charged with explosive elements? A refusal to accept furlough was significant, but as a sign it was not read at the time. The circumstances were. The commander-in-chief gave notice on March 6, 1856, that the native army would receive as usual the annual indulgence of furlough from the 1st of April to a date specified. But fourteen men of the 63d Native Regiment, stationed at Soorie, would not accept the leave of

absence, asserting that they knew that none of the regiments at Barrackpore intended to take theirs.

Such were a few of the omens. It is an old habit of the historian, witness Livy, to gather as many of them as he can after the battle is over and the book about it is being written. It may not be a very profitable exercise. It lends no comfort to mourners who have lost their loved ones among the brave. Indeed it seems only to gratify a species of afterwit in human nature. But there is such a peculiarity in man, and books are written and compiled, among other things, to gratify it.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE GREASED CARTRIDGES.

THE Mohammedan holds the pig in abhorrence, and the Hindoo venerates the cow. It is sacrilege in the religion of the latter to touch with his lips the animal he is taught to hold sacred ; to do the same with the rooting, cloven-footed grunter is a defilement, and an abomination to the religious sense of the former. The slaughter of a cow in a Hindoo village is a procedure to be carefully avoided. In large towns scrupulous care has to be taken that the natives learn as little about

slaughtering when it goes on as possible. Killing a man may induce fears of retribution from men ; to kill a cow invokes the wrath of the god they fear. If the whole race of swine were annihilated, the result would be a religious joy to the Mussulman, but his lips must not touch even the fat of one of them.

The immediate occasion of the great Indian mutiny was the issuing of greased cartridges to the Sepoys.

This fact is so well put in an article in the *Edinburgh Review*,

—No. 216—that it becomes a duty to refer all readers who desire to become acquainted with an eloquent, comprehensive, and clear discussion of the whole question, to it. The reason assigned for the mutiny by this writer was amply attested by subsequent events. He says: "It is a marvel and a mystery that so many years should have passed away without an explosion. At last a firebrand was applied to what a single spark might have ignited, and in the course of a few weeks there was a general conflagration. But a conflagration which still bears more marks of accident than of deliberate conspiracy and incendiarism. In a most unhappy hour—in an hour laden with a concurrence of adverse circumstances—the incident of the greased cartridges occurred. It found the Bengal army in a season of profound peace, and in a state of relaxed discipline. It found the sepoys pondering over the predictions and the fables which had been so assiduously circulated in their lines and their bazaars; it found them with imaginations inflamed and fears excited by strange stories of the designs of their English masters; it found them, as they fancied, with their purity of caste threatened, and their religious distinctions invaded by the proselytising and annexing Englishmen.

"Still there was no palpable evidence of this. Everything was vague, intangible, obscure.

Credulous and simple-minded as they were, many might have retained a lingering confidence in the good faith and the good intentions of the British Government; had it not been suddenly announced to them, just as they were halting between two opinions, that, in prosecution of his long-cherished design to break down the religion of both the Mohammedan and the Hindoo, the Feringhee had determined to render their military service the means of their degradation, by compelling them to apply their lips to a cartridge saturated with animal grease—the fat of the swine being used for the pollution of the one, and the fat of the cow for the degradation of the other. If the most astute emissaries of evil who could be employed for the corruption of the Bengal sepoy had addressed themselves to the task of inventing a lie for the confirmation and support of all his fears and superstitions, they could have found nothing more cunningly devised for their purpose."

Dissatisfaction first exhibited itself among the native troops attached to the musketry-depôt at Dumdum, a few miles out of Calcutta, about half-way between that city and Barrackpore. It is a place where ordnance and fire-arms are manufactured.

It was on February 7, 1857, that the Governor-General communicated to the home Government the facts connected with this event.

The sepoy's stationed at that Woolwich on a humble scale believed that the grease used in the preparation of cartridges for the recently-introduced Enfield rifle was composed of the fat of pigs and cows. They made no secret of their suspicions. When their complaints became known at the proper quarters, inquiries were sent to England for exact particulars about the lubricating substance used at the ball end of the cartridge to facilitate its movement through the barrel. It was found that in the manufacture of them at Woolwich a composition, formed of five parts tallow, five parts stearine, and one part wax was employed. It contained, therefore, cow's fat, but not the fat of pigs.

Pending this inquiry from home, the men were for a time appeased. The cartridges were not sent out to India ready greased for use, as the grease would soon be absorbed by the paper in so hot a country. Cartridges without grease were issued, and the Sepoys were allowed to apply any lubricating substance they chose. When the ready-made cartridges already in store were used up, no more were to be obtained from England. The bullets and the paper should be sent separately, and put together in India. Experiments would be made both at Woolwich and at Meerut to produce some lubricating substance free from the ingredients which vexed the religious feelings of the men.

A fact of great significance, which should not be passed over, was elicited during the inquiry consequent upon the Dum-dum men's complaints. On the 22d January—that is, just sixteen days before the Governor-General despatched his report of the first beginnings of a revolt, of the issue of which he had not the remotest conception at the time—a low caste Hindoo asked a sepoy of the 2d Bengal Grenadiers to give him a little water from his bottle. The sepoy, being a Brahmin, refused, asserting as his reason that the touch of the applicant would defile his bottle. The low-caste retorted that the Brahmin need not pride himself on his caste, for he would soon lose it, as he would ere long be required to bite off the ends of cartridges covered with the fat of pigs and cows. The Brahmin, alarmed, spread the report, and the native troops became afraid, as it was alleged, that when they went home their friends would refuse to eat with them. When this became known to the British officers, the native troops were drawn up on parade, and encouraged to state the grounds of their dissatisfaction. All the native sergeants and corporals, and two-thirds of all the privates, at once stepped forward, expressed their abhorrence of having to touch anything containing the fat of cows and pigs, and suggested the employment of wax or oil for lubricating the cartridges.

The grumbling at Dumdum and the soothing measures which followed, were but as the gentle letting out of the waters, the first oozings of the destructive inundation which was soon to appall the world.

The story of the mutiny leads the summary-teller of it next to the town of Barrackpore, a suburban residence of the Governor-General, where he possesses a very fine mansion in the midst of a splendid park, about sixteen miles north of Calcutta. The salubrity of the air and the beauty of the Hoogly at this place is, no doubt, the reason of the selection of this place for a vice-regal residence; and these facts, together with the neighbourhood of vice-royalty, have attracted numerous European families to betake themselves to this Oriental Windsor, where they may air themselves in the garden and promenade attached to the Governor-General's magnificent villa.

Six regiments of native infantry, with a full complement of officers, were before the mutiny usually cantoned at Barrackpore. The men were hutted in commodious lines, and the officers had their quarters in bungalows or lodges.

It was here that the second tottering step was taken in that movement which was soon to rush along with the strides of a ruthless demon bent on destruction. The Sepoys at Barrackpore refused to bite off the ends

of their cartridges, on account of the animal fat supposed to be contained in the grease with which the paper was lubricated. General Hearsey held a special court of inquiry at the place on the 6th of February to ascertain the reason why the men would not perform this necessary preliminary to the loading of a rifle. The answers of the sepoys were all pretty much to the same effect. One was afraid that the paper of the cartridge might affect his caste, because it was a new kind of paper which he had never seen before, and it was reported that it contained fat. Besides, the paper was stiff and like cloth, and it tore differently from that formerly used. Another objected to the paper because it was tough, and burned as if it contained grease. He stated that great alarm had been caused to the men on the 4th of February, when a piece of cartridge paper was dipped into water and afterwards burned. It made a fizzing noise, and smelt as if there was grease in it. Everybody, he said, was dissatisfied with the paper because it was glazed, and had the shine of wax-cloth.

A native captain frankly stated that he himself had no objection to the cartridge, but there was a general report that the paper contained fat. A lieutenant was positive that there was grease in it. He felt assured of it. It differed from the paper which had been always used for cartridges. A sepoy had no objec-



tions to the paper at all, but his comrades had, and that was enough to make him refuse to bite the end off the cartridge.

A lieutenant made a most important statement. He said that on the 5th of the month he joined a great crowd which was assembled on the parade ground. They told him they were determined to die for their religion. If they could concert a plan that evening, they would on the next night plunder the station, kill all the Europeans, and then depart whither they pleased. The number of men, he said, was about 300; they belonged to different regiments, and each had his head tied up in a cloth so that only a small part of his face could be seen.

The matter seemed to those who inquired into it a trifling affair. They did not know that these men, at the beginning of February, had sent letters and emissaries to the soldiers at other stations, inviting them to rise in revolt against the British.

A discussion about bits of cartridge and items of grease looked ridiculous. But at the same time the ruling authorities at Barrackpore saw clearly that there was a sincere prejudice to be humoured, if they did not even guess that there was a wide conspiracy to be met and put down. They determined to yield to the religious feelings of the sepoys in this matter, so far as the efficiency of the service was not affected.

If the sepoys would not bite

off the end of the cartridge, they might tear it off. A trial was made, therefore, of this mode of loading a rifle. Tear off the end of the cartridge with your left hand, was the instruction which resulted. The commander-in-chief, finding this method of loading sufficiently practicable, consented to it both for percussion muskets and for rifles. He, like his subordinates, had no wish to keep up irritation by sticking to a mere formalism in such a matter. The Governor-General, by virtue of his supreme command, ordered the adoption of the same system throughout India.

A bolder step was taken at Berhampore, a town above a hundred miles up the Ganges from Calcutta, to which a portion of the 34th Bengal infantry was marched from Barrackpore about the 24th of February. The new comers were made very heartily welcome by the men of the 19th native infantry, stationed there at the time; and, during the feasting which occurred, they gossiped about the greased cartridges, and Dumdum and Barrackpore. These stories excited those who heard them very visibly. Fears and suspicions were aroused among the men of the 19th. They seemed not to know what to believe. They soon showed, by breaking out into insubordination, that they put no trust in the promises of change made by the military authorities.

Being ordered out, on the

26th of February, for exercise with blank cartridges, they refused to receive the percussion caps. This was to render firing impossible; and, of course, to secure that there would be no need for even tearing cartridges. The cartridges were the lion in the way. They alleged that the cartridge paper was of two kinds; that they doubted the qualities of one or both of them; and that they believed there was the fat of cows or pigs in the grease employed. They were acting from their fears, or they were acting a part. There was no ground for their assertions. The cartridges offered them were the very same in kind as they had used for many years, and had been made up before a single Enfield rifle had reached India. If their fears and suspicions were honest, this is only another illustration of the danger of honest ignorance when the public mind gets excited.

This was something more serious than a complaint or a petition. It required a prompt manifestation of the power of military authority. It was a difficult position for the commanding officer; and after the issue, experienced military men, acquainted with the natives and their ways, differed in opinion as to whether Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell took the right course. But he had to act according to his best judgment.

Accordingly, Lieutenant-Col-

onel Mitchell, the commanding officer, ordered a detachment of native cavalry and a battery of native artillery—the only troops at Barrackpore, besides the portion of the 34th Bengal infantry, and the 19th native infantry, already referred to—to be on parade the following morning. But between ten and eleven o'clock at night the men of the 19th broke open the armouries—circular brick buildings called bells—took possession of their muskets and ammunition, and carried them to their lines.

The next day the guns were got ready; and the officers proceeded to the parade ground. But there they found the men in undress, armed, formed in line, and shouting. They threatened to kill the officers if they came near. The commander-in-chief expostulated with them; he pointed out the absurdity of their suspicions; he said their present behaviour was unworthy of the character they had acquired; and commanded them to give up their arms, and return peaceably to their lines. The native officers said the men would refuse to do so, unless the cavalry and artillery were withdrawn. The colonel withdrew them, and the mutineers yielded. What in the circumstances could he do? If he had used force, he had only natives to order to shoot down natives—a very difficult position, indeed, for an officer in such a command.

This affair had to be further looked into. It could not end here. News was sent of it to the Calcutta authorities. They could not venture to proceed to punish the mutineers with so few European troops at hand. So they sent to Rangoon, in Pegu, for her Majesty's 84th foot. The message was sent quietly, and the orders were that the 84th should come up to Calcutta quickly. This was on the 4th of March. On the 20th the regiment arrived. The governor-general and Major-General Hearsey then felt themselves strong enough to take a very decided step. They resolved on the disbandment of the native regiment which had disregarded the orders of its officers.

On the 31st of March the 19th regiment of native infantry was marched from Berhampore to Barrackpore. There the men were disarmed, paid off, marched out of the cantonment, and conveyed across the river in steamers, placed for the purpose. The regiment was punished by being annihilated. There was no personal military punishment inflicted on any of the mutineers. But it was a pretty severe retribution: the men were left penniless and out of occupation.

As to those of the 34th regiment of Bengal infantry, who remained at Barrackpore, they caused a good deal of vexation and embarrassment to the Government. When they heard

of the disturbances at Berhampore, they became greatly excited. They attended to their duties with sullen doggedness; and meetings were held among them by night, at which speeches were made, sympathising with the mutineers up the river.

When her Majesty's 84th arrived at Calcutta, they became more excited. They thought something directly against themselves was intended. They gave over whispering, began to murmur, and even to express openly their sympathy with the mutineers at Berhampore.

When the 19th were marched from Berhampore to be disbanded, the conduct of the 34th became audacious. They sent a deputation, which met the 19th about eight miles from Barrackpore, and proposed that they should that very night kill all their officers, march to Barrackpore, join the 2d and 34th, fire the bungalows, surprise and overwhelm the Europeans, seize the guns, and then march against Calcutta. The 19th were too repentant to listen to these vengeful and daring proposals.

On the 29th of March, a sepoy of the 34th, armed with a sword and loaded musket, traversed the lines in a state of wild intoxication, and called upon his comrades to revolt, declaring that he would shoot the first European he met. Lieutenant Baugh, adjutant of the corps, hearing of this, rode hastily to the lines. The sepoy

fired, but while missing the adjutant, hit his horse. The lieutenant fired his pistol, but also missed. The sepoy then attacked him with the sword he was brandishing, wounded him in the hand, brought him to the ground, and tried to induce the other soldiers to join in the attack. While the men would not join, they looked quietly on without offering to assist the officer so assailed by a drunken sepoy. One of them, a native jemadar or lieutenant, refused to take the sepoy into custody, and forbade his men to render any assistance to the brother officer who was being attacked, and who narrowly escaped with his life. This was a dark feature in the transaction. There were many hundred men looking on.

Major-General Hearsey, on hearing of this savage affair, went at once to the parade-ground, where, to his amazement, he saw the would-be murderer walking up and down, with a blood-smeared sword in one hand and a loaded musket in the other. He advanced with some officers and men, and secured the sepoy—not without considerable difficulty. By the resolute bearing of the major-general, the rest of the men were induced to see that it was their interest to return peaceably to their lines. They did so sullenly.

A court-martial was held on the sepoy and the sympathising jemadar. They were both found

guilty, and were executed on the 8th of April.

Truly, the British power in India was on a mine ready to explode.

The execution of these two men did not seem to produce the effect desired. The 34th still displayed a certain dogged sullenness. The government at Calcutta therefore resolved, after mature consideration, to disarm and disband such sepoys among the 34th as were present in the lines when Lieutenant Baugh was wounded. The whole of the disposable troops, accordingly, in and around Bombay, were marched to Barrackpore on the 5th of May. There they were drawn up in two sides of a square next morning, and about four hundred sepoys of the 34th were halted in front of the guns.

The order for disbandment was read. General Hearsey commanded them to pile arms. He then gave the degrading orders that they should strip off the uniform they had disgraced. Arrears were then paid; and the dishonoured sepoys were dismissed, with their families and baggage, to Chinsura, a town a few miles higher up the Hoogly. The grenadiers of the 84th, and a portion of the cavalry, accompanied them, to see that they settled at Chinsura, and did not cross the river to Chittagong, where three other companies of the regiment, to which they had recently belonged, were stationed. Four of the

disgraced men were officers, and one of them sobbed bitterly at the loss and degradation he had brought on himself.

Thus did these men of the 34th suffer for misleading the 19th to its annihilation.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE MASSACRE AT MEERUT.

*(Sunday, May 10, 1857.)*

THE tale of horrors now transports us to a region far distant from Calcutta. At Umballah, one of the towns of the Cis-Sutlej territory, a report, relative to the grease in the cartridges, led to about twenty attempts at incendiarism. But it was at Meerut, a town on the small river, Kalee Nuddee, about equally distant from the Ganges and the Jumna, and nearly nine hundred miles from Calcutta, that the Indian mutiny, in its cruellest sense, began on Sunday, May 10, 1857—a day to be remembered. The troubles commenced in the latter part of the previous month. The native corps at this important military station had heard all the rumours regarding the greased cartridges. The military authorities had received the orders from Calcutta regarding the newly-introduced mode of adjusting the cartridges by tearing off the end, instead of biting it off. On the 23d of April, Colonel Smyth, the English commander of the 3d regiment

of native Bengal cavalry, caused the havildar-major and officers' orderly to come to his own house, that he might show them how to go through the new exercise. The orderly fired off a carbine under the new system. At midnight his tent was burned down.

Next morning, the troops assembled on parade; and the havildar-major fired off one cartridge to show them how the thing was done. The men, however, would not finger the cartridges, although they were the same as they had long been using, and not the new ones at all. An inquiry ensued, which resulted in the sepoys expressing regret for their obstinacy, and promising ready obedience in the use of the cartridges, whenever they should be called upon to do so.

A fallacious hope was now entertained that all difficulties had been smoothed away. Major-General Hewett, who held the unenviable position of being the chief in command at Meerut

on this awful occasion, wishing to put an end to what seemed only a stupid prejudice, and to settle all doubts as to the spirit of the men, ordered a parade of the 3d cavalry for the morning of Wednesday the 6th of May. On Tuesday evening cartridges of the old sort were distributed to the men ; but eighty-five of the troopers positively refused to receive them. This insubordination could not be overlooked. The men were tried by court-martial, and were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for periods varying from six to ten years. Major-General Hewett proceeded on Saturday to enforce this sentence. The eighty-five mutineers, in the presence of the European 60th Rifle Regiment, the 6th Dragoon Guards, a troop of horse artillery, and the native 3d, 11th, and 12th regiments, were stripped of their uniforms and accoutrements, and were shackled with irons, rivetted on by the armourers. While this was being done, the culprits looked reproachfully at the other troopers, who, on their part, appeared gloomy and crest-fallen. The men were marched off to the common jail at Meerut, two miles distant from the cantonment, and there they were left in the hands of the police. A grave mistake, as the disastrous result proved. The native troops returned to their lines furious, and kept, some of them brooding alone, others whispering

plots and plans, all the afternoon and evening. It is not improbable that that very night emissaries were sent to Delhi, forty miles distant, with news and notes of their plans.

That Sunday dawned quietly, like every other serene day of rest ; and it remained uneventful till the evening, when people were proceeding to church at Meerut, one of the largest and finest Christian churches in India, when some of them passed the mess-room of the 3d cavalry, and saw servants looking anxiously towards the road leading to the native infantry lines. They read evil in their looks and their surroundings. Where were the 3d native cavalry? They were away on the work of blood. The mutiny had indeed broken out.

On that Sunday afternoon, shortly before five o'clock, the men of the 3d native cavalry, and of the 20th native infantry, on a given signal, left their lines and marched to the lines of the 11th native infantry. They were all fully armed. The 11th hesitated for a little, but at last, after much persuasion had been used, and they had even been fired upon by the 20th, they joined the other two regiments ; then these three corps proceeded to give vent to feelings which had been long pent-up, and which were little suspected by their British officers. It was an unfortunate thing that these gentlemen had been in the habit of keeping so much aloof

from the sepoys, that they knew next to nothing of feelings and utterances which were widespread and not particularly restrained. The three regiments set themselves with a will to deeds of violence and bloodshed.

The unfortunate Colonel Finnis, of the 11th native infantry, the moment he heard of what had happened, rode to the parade ground. He harangued the men, and did everything in his power to induce them to return to their duty. His own men had been the last and most hesitant of these mutineers intent on murder. They would, no doubt, listen regretfully to the appeal of a colonel they loved. But the 20th had no such compunctions; they fired a volley, and Colonel Finnis fell riddled with bullets, the first innocent victim of the Indian mutiny. The first deaths in this mutiny had been those of the drunken sepoy and the unfaithful jemadar, who were executed at Barrackpore. They were executed for conduct deserving death. Colonel Finnis was murdered while discharging his duty.

He had failed to stem the torrent, now that the banks were fairly burst. It is needless to attempt to speculate upon what a resolute man of resource might have done in the circumstances. There have been men who would have been equal to such an occasion. Virgil was not romancing when he wrote :

"*Veluti magno in populo quum saepe  
coorta est  
Seditio saevitque animis ignobile  
vulgus ;  
Jamque faces et saxa volant ; furor  
arma ministrant :  
Tum pietate gravem ac meritis si  
forte virum quem  
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auri-  
bus adstant ;  
Ipse regit dictis animos, et pectora  
mulcet.*"

But there was no such hero on that ground. The officers who had come on the scene of confusion felt it was a foolish risk to remain there longer. They saw they could effect no good, and made their escape to the lines of the artillery and carbineers on the other side of the encampment.

The 11th joined the 20th in the work of destruction after Colonel Finnis was shot.

Meantime the 3d cavalry were ominously employed. They were busy releasing their eighty-five imprisoned comrades from the common jail at Meerut. This was very natural, and did not need long time to resolve upon. These men, enraged at a punishment which they, no doubt, thought was for the sake of their religion, would be expected to join in the rising with blood boiling and passions on fire. It was so. The troopers went to the jail, taking native smiths with them to strike the manacles off the limbs of the eighty-five, who had been sent there the day before. They set them free, and armed them. Then they all together returned to the lines

yelling; and in a very short time the three regiments were gloating in fiendish exploits of arson and murder.

It was not to be expected that the 3d cavalry in the excited state of their feelings at the time, after forcing open the gates of Meerut jail, would close them against other prisoners there, when they set their eighty-five comrades free. Nor did they. They set at liberty twelve hundred prisoners besides, scum and dregs of India, fit to enjoy the murder and arson with demoniac relish. And they did revel in it.

The sepoys and their jail-bird allies set fire to nearly all the bungalows of the native lines, and to the government establishments near. They then rushed on; and, as they went, they murdered every European whose sad fate it was to come their way, or be found out by them. When they set fire to the bungalows, they waited till the flames drove out the inmates, and then they slaughtered them as such assassins love to slaughter. The sun set on Meerut that night while rioters were yelling and sufferers shrieking, and lurid conflagrations were making darkness hideous. The rabble of the bazaar and the most degraded portion of the population now joined the mutineers and their twelve hundred companion felons, and the horrors thickened. Flames and smoke shot up on all sides. Everywhere shouts and

curse, shrieks and lamentations.

A few details from correspondents who had been in the midst of this massacre will serve to give individual interest to it.

The wife of an officer of the 3d cavalry writes: "It was a massacre—a carnage! Eliza and I were driving to church, when we saw the rioters pouring into the road, armed with clubs and swords. They warned us back. We drove home furiously. On the way we passed a private of the carbineers unarmed, and running for his life from several men armed with *latthies*, long sticks. We stopped the carriage, and drew in the poor Englishman. The men continued to strike at him as we took him in, but stopped when we held out our arms and screamed to them to desist; and we reached home safely. On telling my husband, he started off at once for the lines, in uniform, but without waiting for the horse, ordering it to be sent after him. When he reached the gate he found —

——— surrounded by three of the 3d troopers, cutting at him with their swords. My husband shouted, 'What are you doing? that's my friend;' and they desisted. On seeing that the gaol was broken open, Henry determined to turn back, and try to save the standards of the 3d from the lines. The roads were in uproar! They with difficulty charged through crowds of infantry mutineers,



and bazaar men, armed and firing. Henry saw a trooper stabbing a woman as she drove by in a carriage. He cut him down with his sword. But the woman, Mrs Courtenay, wife of the hotel-keeper, was already dead. That showed Henry that a massacre of all Europeans was purposed. Soon a ball whizzed by Henry's ear, and, looking back, he saw one of the troopers, not in uniform, and with his head muffled, fire at him again. Henry shouted, 'Was that meant for me?' 'Yes,' said the man; 'I will have your blood!' Henry did not fire at him. He believed the men might mutiny from him were he to do so. He only asked his men, if they would see him shot? They vociferated 'No!' and forced the assassin back again and again, but would not kill him. What an awful position! But I! what a time had I passed since he had gone to his troop! I had just hidden the uniform of the carbineer we had rescued, and dressed him in a coat of Henry's, bidding him sit with us. I fancied that he alone might be the object of possible attack. Crowds began to hurry past our grounds, both in the road and in the open ground behind. They were half in uniform and half without. Many shots were being fired, and the shouting was awful. Bungalows began to blaze around us, nearer and nearer, till the frenzied mob reached that next our own.

We saw a poor lady in the verandah, a Mrs Chambers, lately arrived. We bade the servants bring her over the low wall to us, but they were too confused to attend to me at first. The stables of that house were first burnt. We heard the shrieks of the horses. Then came the mob to the house itself with awful shouts and curses. We heard the doors broken in, and many, many shots; and at the moment my servants said they had been to bring away Mrs Chambers, but had found her dead on the ground, cut horribly, and she on the eve of her confinement! Oh! night of horrors!

"They tell me shots were fired at me; but I saw them not. Oh, agony! every house in sight was blazing, nine or ten I could see. At last a few horsemen rode into the compound. 'Come, come,' I shouted, 'and save me!' And poor Eliza joined. 'Fear nothing,' said the first man; 'no one shall harm you!' They implored me to keep inside; but, oh, how to do that when I was watching for my husband? Alfred joined us first, safe, and reporting Henry the same. And then our cavalry guard kept dashing through the compound, forcing back parties who moved in to fire the house. The pistol shots rang on every side; and now my husband arrived in speechless agony on our account, and made us leave the house, fearing it might

be surrounded. Wrapped in the black stable blankets, to hide our light dresses in the glare of the flaming station, he took us to hide under trees in the garden ; but moved us afterwards into a little temple that stands in the grounds. We sat there whispering for some hours, listening to the noises, as crowds came near or fell away. The cavalry men wished us to remain where we were, promising to keep us unharmed ; but Henry dared not venture our doing so, and only waited till about dawn to drive us away. The roads appearing quieter, we hurried off. All the stable servants had fled, so Henry had much trouble to find the harness, and himself put it on the horse. Eliza and I ventured to return to the house to collect a few clothes and secure our trinkets. There, in darkness and fear, we left our house, so loved and beautiful. We drove off ; and, making a wide circuit to avoid the native infantry lines, we reached the dragoon lines."

The Rev. J. F. Smythe, chaplain at the station, writes : " On reaching church, I found buggies and carriages driving away in great confusion, and a body of people running to me, and pointing to a column of fire and smoke in the direction of the city. We abandoned, of course, the thoughts of commencing divine service. I may mention that a guard of eight or ten sepoy at the artillery depot, or school of instruction—three of

whom were killed shortly after in resisting an officer, who came with his party to take their post—saluted me in passing. I reached my house in perfect safety. We went, just after my return, into the western verandah, and heard a shot in the adjoining road, followed by a cry and the galloping of a horse with a buggy. This proved to have been the murder of Mr Phillips, veterinary surgeon of the 3d light cavalry, who was shot and mutilated by five troopers. Dr Christie, the surgeon of the same regiment, who accompanied him in the buggy, having been sadly disfigured and injured at the same time. The inhabitants of the Suddur Bazaar and city committed atrocities far greater than those of the sepoy, as in the case of Captain Macdonald's wife, whom they pursued some distance and frightfully mutilated, though her children were saved by the ayahs ; and of Mrs Chambers, wife of the adjutant of the 11th native infantry, who was murdered in her garden during Mr Chambers's absence on duty, her clothes having been set on fire before she was shot and cut to pieces. The loss of property, and, alas ! of life, has been very dreadful. The part of Meerut in which the insurrection principally raged is a miserable wilderness of ruined houses, and some of the residents, as was the case with Mrs and Mr Greathed, the commissioner of

the division, escaped miraculously from the hands of their pursuers, by hiding themselves in the gardens and outhouses of their burning bungalows." This was a wonderful escape. Mr Greathed's house, flat-roofed, as it fortunately happened, was one of the first attacked by the mutineers. At the first alarm, Mr and Mrs Greathed betook themselves to the roof, where the miscreant mutineers would have found and destroyed them, had the least hint been given them by any one of the servants. But the servants persisted in asserting that the family had departed; and the bloodthirsty wretches, after searching every room in the house, took their departure. Mr Smythe continues: "Before the European troops arrived on Sunday night at the scene of action, the following were barbarously cut to pieces: Mr V. Tredegar, inspector of schools; Captain Macdonald, of the 20th native infantry, and Mrs Macdonald; Captain Taylor, Mr Pattle, Mr Henderson, all of the same corps; Colonel Finnis, commanding the 11th native infantry; and Mrs Chambers, whose murderer was caught on the 15th, tried at once, and hanged on a tree without further delay, his body being afterwards burned to ashes. In the 3d light cavalry the following were killed: Mr Phillips, veterinary surgeon; Mr and Mrs Dawson; Mr M'Nabb, lately joined; and a little girl of

the riding-master's, Mr Langdale; together with several soldiers of the artillery and 60th rifles, and women and children of the military and general residents in the station. Among other instances of frightful butchery was that of Sergeant Law, his wife, and six children, who were living beyond the precincts of the cantonments. The state in which the father and three of the infants were found defies description. The mother and three other children, though grievously mangled, crawled to the military hospital. Mr Rotton and I have buried thirty-one of the murdered, but there are others whose bodies have not as yet been brought in."

These two quotations supply more than enough of the horrible details.

Mr Smythe in this letter speaks of the barbarous work which had been accomplished before the European troops arrived on Sunday morning. There was a good deal of angry discussion at the time as to whether Major-General Hewett had acted with sufficient promptitude and energy. He was severely blamed by many. An officer of the 11th native infantry, who narrowly escaped being killed in his gallop to the European cantonment, and who accompanied her Majesty's troops to the scene of devastation, wrote afterwards with reference to Major-General Hewett's movements, which

should have been a rush to the rescue: "It took us a long time, in my opinion, to get ready; and it was dark before the carbineers were prepared to start in a body." Well, darkness sets in at that season of the year in Meerut about seven o'clock; and the carnage had commenced fully two hours before. The officer continues: "When the carbineers were mounted, we rode off at a brisk trot through clouds of suffocating dust and darkness, in an easterly direction, and along a narrow road, not advancing in the direction of the conflagration, but, on the contrary, leaving it behind our right rear. In this way we proceeded some two or three miles, to my no small surprise, when suddenly the halt was sounded, and we faced round, retracing our steps, and verging off to our left. Approaching the conflagration, we debouched on the left rear of the native infantry lines, which, of course, were all in a blaze. Striking along behind these lines, we turned them at the western end, and wheeling up to the left, came upon the 11th parade ground, where, at a little distance, we found the horse artillery and Her Majesty's 60th rifles. It appears that the three regiments of mutineers had by this time commenced dropping off westward to the Delhi road, for here some firing took place between them and the rifles; and presently the horse artillery coming up to the front and un-

limbering, opened upon a copse or wood in which they had apparently found cover, with heavy discharges of grape and canister, which rattled among the trees; and all was silent again. The horse-artillery now limbered up again and wheeled round; and here I joined them, having lost the carbineers in the darkness. By this time, however, the moon arose. The horse-artillery column, with the rifles at its head, moving across the parade-ground, we entered the long street turning from the southward behind the light cavalry lines. There it was that the extent and particulars of the conflagration first became visible; and, passing the burning bungalow of the adjutant of the 11th native infantry, we proceeded along the straight road or street, flanked on both sides with flaming and crashing houses in all stages of combustion and ruin; the rifles occasionally firing volleys as we proceeded. It was by this time past ten o'clock; and having made the circuit of the lines, we passed up the east of them, and, joined by the carbineers and rifles, bivouacked for the night."

This whole passage is an implied impeachment of a want of promptitude on the part of Major-General Hewett. An ex-Governor-General of India spoke of him with contempt as an unknown man named Hewett. But with such discussions there is little concern in this succinct

account of the mutiny. Lord Raglan was similarly found fault with two or three years before. There is nothing so easily found fault with as failure. What we do know is that the mutineers escaped from Meerut to Delhi. We know also that there were large magazines at Meerut, which it would have been culpable to leave without being efficiently guarded. Certain it is Major-General Hewett did not win glory for his name. Whether that could have been helped or not is a question usually as foolish as it is superfluous. Individuals make and control circumstances. A man of the youth, vigour, and genius of Clive would have acted differently. Declining years certainly did not prevent this officer from taking part in the operations, such as they were, of the English troops at Meerut. Although in his sixty-eighth year, he slept on the ground among the guns, like his men, on the 10th of May, and for fourteen successive nights did the same; while for many following weeks he never doffed his regimentals except for change of apparel, night or day.

As a relief to the darker shades of the story so imperfectly told above, the following quotation from a letter written by Mr Greathed, on the 16th of May, will be read with sad satisfaction: "Among all the villainies," he wrote, "and horrors of which we have been witnesses, some pleasing traits of native charac-

ter have been brought to light. All the Delhi fugitives have to tell of some kind acts of protection and rough hospitality; and yesterday a fakir came in with a European child he had picked up in the Jumna. He had been a good deal mauled on the way, but he made good his point. He refused any present, but expressed a hope that a well might be made in his name, to commemorate the act. I promised to attend to his wishes; and Hamam Bhartee, of Dhunoura, will, I hope, long live in the memory of man. The parents have not been discovered, but there are plenty of good Samaritans."

The convent and school at Sirdhana, a town in the Meerut district, aroused the attention and sympathies of the Europeans at Meerut to a very high pitch. About five days after the mutiny broke out, news came into the city that the inmates of that institution were in great peril. The postmaster at Meerut behaved with great bravery on the reception of these evil tidings, and thanks to his energy and perseverance, and the assistance he received from a few gentlemen, the poor nuns were brought to Meerut without any of them being injured.

Meerut did not recover its tranquillity for many days. The men of the 3d, 11th, and 20th regiments who remained faithful—and of the 11th more than a hundred did so—were received at the cantonment, and their pre-

vicious insubordination pardoned on account of their subsequent fidelity. There were, however, many causes of uneasiness. In Major-General Hewett's first report of the disasters he wrote: "Nearly the whole of the cantonment and Zillah police deserted." These police are referred to by an officer familiar with the district thus: "Round about Meerut and Delhi there are two or three peculiar castes or tribes something similar to our gipsies, only holding human life at less value, and which in former years gave constant trouble. Of late years they have lived in more peace and quietness, contenting themselves with picking up stray cattle, and things which did not belong to them. They have now, however, in the earliest occasion, broken out again,

and have been guilty of all kinds of depredations. Skinner's Horse was originally raised to keep these people in order about the time of Lord Lake; such men have hitherto been necessary at Meerut, Delhi, and those parts, as watchman; everybody was obliged to keep one, to avoid being robbed to a certainty."

Thus, in addition to their other troubles, the inhabitants of Meerut were uncomfortably aware, after the flight of the mutineers to Delhi, that gangs of desperadoes would be likely to acquire fresh audacity through the defection of the native police, and that probably delinquent members of that force would be the most merciless of all the furies they had to fear.

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## CHAPTER V.

### CARNAGE AND PLUNDER AT DELHI.

DURING the murdering and arson at Meerut, the mutineers of the three regiments started off for Delhi. The infantry made forced marches, the cavalry rode near them for support, and they arrived within sight of the towers of the ancient capital of the Patan and Mogul empires after eight o'clock on Monday morning, May 11. The deeds of darkness com-

mitted at Meerut after they left that city were carried on by the released felons, and others worthy of such association.

It is remarkable that the mutiny should have first assumed its appalling proportions in the region in which this city stands. This was the hot-bed of the fiendish plot. The first outbreak may have been intended to take place in Delhi, and

was only precipitated by the imprisoning of the eighty-five horse soldiers at Meerut. For, as the author of the article in the *Edinburgh Review*, which has been already referred to, says: "If all the movements of the revolt had been pre-arranged there could have been no better stroke of tactics than this. Delhi is the chief city of Mohammedan India—the imperial city—the city of the Mogul! It had been the home of those mighty emperors who had ruled so long in Hindostan—of Shir Shah, of Akbar, and of Aurungzebe, and was still the residence of their fallen successors, the titular kings of Delhi, whom fifty years ago our armies had rescued from the grasp of the Mahrattas. Beyond the palace walls these remnants of royalty had no power; they had no territory, no revenue, no authority. In our eyes they were simply pensioners and puppets. Virtually, indeed, the Mogul was extinct, but not so in the minds of the people of India. Empty as was the sovereignty of the Mogul, it was still a living fact in the minds of the Hindoos and Mohammedans, especially in upper India."

To obtain, then, possession of this great centre of grand associations, and, if possible, to identify the living representative of a line of native conquerors with the mutiny, was an advantage too obvious to need remark. It was an immense advantage. It gave the insurrectionary move-

ment a political significance, and tended to impart to it the character of a national cause. That the Mogul himself was stricken in years, feeble, and incapable of independent action, signified nothing. He was a tool all the more convenient on that account. His name was a tower of strength.

Little is known of Delhi before the beginning of the eleventh century, when Mahmood of Ghiznee, a Tartar sovereign who held sway among the chieftains of Afghanistan, invaded India. Mahmood captured that city. From that time to the period of the British power, the Mohammedans never ceased to regard Delhi as the chief of all Indian cities. It was in the year 1193 A.D., that it was selected as capital of the Moslem sovereigns of India.

This far-famed capital is situated on the river Jumna, about 500 miles by road above the junction of the Jumna with the Ganges at Allahabad; and 900 miles by road from Calcutta. It is still a considerable place, although not entitled to rank with the great cities of the earth. It is walled and fortified, and at the time of the outbreak, had a population of nearly 200,000.

Delhi has seven gates on the land side, regarding the names of which there is some discrepancy, but the following may be taken as the names most generally received: the Lahore, Ajmeer, Turcoman, Cabul, Moree,

Cashmere, and Agra gates. Along the river front there are other four: the Rajghat, Negumbod, Lall, and Kaila gates. A bridge of boats over the Jumna connects Delhi with the road to Meerut; and the great magazine which Lieutenant Wilmoughby blew up, was between the centre of the city and this bridge.

The titular king of Delhi, when the revolt broke out, was but a pile of the very small dust to which the grinding progress of the ages had reduced the descendants of the great Tamerlane—the renowned Timour the Tartar—who laid the foundation of the Mogul dynasty in the year 1398. The grandfather of this pensioned puppet was the Emperor Shah Alum, who, when old, blind, and feeble, was rescued by General Lake in September 1803, from a state of miserable captivity into which he had been thrown by the Mahrattas. General Lake, upon entering the fort of Delhi, which was employed as an imperial prison, found Shah Alum seated under a small tattered canopy, his person emaciated by indigence and infirmity, his countenance disfigured by the loss of his eyes, and bearing marks of an extreme old age, joined to a settled melancholy.

This miserable creature died in 1806, and was succeeded in the nominal sovereignty by his eldest son, Akbar Shah, who existed as a shadowy monarch for thirty years. Upon his

death, the late king of Delhi, his eldest son, named Meerza Aboo Zuffur, entered upon the enjoyment of the annual stipend which had been assured to the emperor Shah Alum and his descendants at the surrender of the kingdom in 1803. It was thirteen and a half lacs of rupees, equal to £135,000.

Upon his accession to the pension, which term expresses all the practical regal honours which were left him, this monarch styled himself Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee. He has been described as neither better nor worse than the average of his predecessors. He was a true Oriental sensualist, and in the ruined paradise of Oriental sensualism, the great palace of Delhi, the house of Tamerlane still revelled in unchecked vileness. The royal family—consisting of many hundreds—idle, dissolute, shameless; too proud or too effeminate for military service, lived in entire dependence on the king's allowance. For their amusement were congregated from all India the most marvellous jugglers, the most cunning bird tamers and snake charmers, the most fascinating dancing girls, the most skilled Persian musicians. Nevertheless he was great in the eyes of the natives of Hindostan; and the wily far-seeing contrivers of the murderous mutiny knew that Delhi was still regarded by the millions of India as their great city.



At the time of the arrival of the mutineers from Meerut, the city was garrisoned wholly by native troops. They consisted of the 38th, 54th, and 74th Regiments of Native Infantry, and a battery of native artillery. The arsenal contained 900,000 cartridges, two complete siege trains, a large number of field guns, and 8000 or 10,000 muskets. The powder magazine stored not less than 10,000 barrels.

About fifteen miles from Delhi, the high road between that city and Meerut crosses a suspension bridge over the Hindoun torrent. When the British commandant, Brigadier-General Graves, was warned of the approach of the mutinous sepoys, his first idea was to advance and cut away this bridge and defend the river. But it was the hot season of the year, and on that account the river was easily fordable. His position, therefore, on the other bank, might be turned, and thus he would be compelled to engage the enemy in front and flank, even if the native troops he commanded remained loyal, of which he had no reason to be over confident, and he had the most disaffected city of India in his rear.

There was no time to waste over abortive plans. The three regiments mentioned were immediately paraded in service order. The guns were loaded, and all the preparations were made for defence that could on

the instant be completed. The brigadier harangued the troops, appealing to their loyalty and valour to prove themselves faithful to the Government. His address was received with cheers; and as they marched out of the lines, to all appearance true and confident, a tumultuous array appeared marching from the Hindoun.

The men of the 54th native infantry were vehement in their protestations of loyalty, but when they met a small number of the 3d native cavalry, who were ahead of the mutinous rabble, they refused to fire on them. At the Cashmere gate the guard of the 38th native infantry also refused to fire on the mutineers, who entered the city. Colonel Ripley and the other English officers of the 54th, were left standing by themselves, while their men were fraternising with the fiercely-excited rebels from Meerut. About fifteen of the 3d light cavalry immediately rode towards the little group, discharging pistols as they approached. Six British officers of the 54th soon fell either killed or wounded: Colonel Ripley, Captains Smith and Burrowes, Lieutenants Edwardes, Waterfield, and Butler. The colonel was the first victim; he was frightfully mutilated by the ferocious troopers, two of whom he despatched with his revolver before he fell disabled.

A party of the mutineers proceeded to the palace, where communications were speedily

opened with the attendants of the king. After a short parley they were by that pensioner's orders admitted within the gate. The poor old man after some time yielded to the clamour of his family, and suffered himself to be proclaimed Emperor of Hindostan. This incident decided the future of the ill-starred descendant of Tamerlane.

In the palace the first person who fell a sacrifice to the fury of the soldiers was Captain Douglas, commandant of the guard of the king. The next victims were the Rev. Mr Jennings, English chaplain to the residency, and his daughter, an amiable young lady of nineteen, who were seized while on their way to seek the king's protection. They were hurried into the titular presence, and when the puppet sovereign was asked by the troopers, "What shall we do with them?" he is reported to have replied, "What you like; I give them to you." What they did had better not be written.

The Goojurs — marauders, cattle lifters, brigands, or whatever else was convenient — of the villages around Delhi, felt that a windfall had come their way, and they rushed into the city ready for action. The sepoys meant massacre; the rabble which followed in their train were intent on plunder. They did not confine their attentions to the Europeans. The rich native inhabitants had as good stuff to plunder as the

Feringhees. Many shopkeepers were murdered for merely asking payment for their goods. Europeans and Christians were butchered without mercy wherever they were found. To obtain possession of the treasure deposited in the Delhi Bank was one of the first deliberate objects they settled down to after their first rage for Christian blood was glutted. Mr Beresford was the manager, and his wife and five children fell sacrifices to their barbarity by having their throats severed and mangled by broken glass. They next plundered the Government treasuries, destroyed the church, demolished the premises of the *Delhi Gazette*, throwing the presses into the river, and melting the types into slugs.

A few Europeans with arms took refuge in a mosque. The agonies of burning thirst compelled them to surrender. Calling to the subahdar in charge of a native guard before the door, they begged for water, and besought him that he would pledge his oath to take them alive to the king. The oath was given, and they came forth from their asylum. The mutineers placed water before them, and said: "Lay down your arms and then you get the water." They could do nothing but obey. The soldiers instantly surrounded them; they gave no water, but seized the whole party—consisting of eight gentlemen, eight ladies, and eleven children—marched them

off to the cattle-sheds, placed them in a row, and shot them. One lady intreated the murderers to give her child some water if they should kill herself. A sepoy, in reply to the mother's appeal, snatched the child out of her arms, and dashed its brains out on the pavement before her face.

The attention of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, the political agent at Dehi, and of Lieutenant Willoughby, the officer in charge of the ordnance stores, was directed to the defences of the powder magazine. The gates were closed and barricaded. Conductor Crow and Sergeant Stewart were placed near one gate, with lighted matches in their hands, in command of two six pounders, double charged with grape shot, which they had orders to fire if any attempts were made to force the gate from without. The principal gate of the magazine was similarly defended by two guns. There were other guns of large calibre available for defence, all double loaded with grape. It seemed doubtful to Lieutenant Willoughby whether to arm the native artillerymen within the magazine, for they were in a state, not only of excitement, but of insubordination, much more inclined to aid the assailants without than the defenders within. The arming was effected as far as practicable, and a train of gunpowder being laid down from the magazine to a distant spot, a little garrison of

nine Europeans awaited in silence the expected attack. It was agreed that, on Lieutenant Willoughby giving the order, Conductor Buckley should raise his hat as a signal to Conductor Scully to fire the train and blow up the magazine with all its contents. Some of the palace guards came and demanded possession of the magazine in the name of the King of Delhi! Of this message no notice was taken by the defenders; and ladders were then brought from the palace for the purpose of an escalade. This decided the course of the wavering native artillerymen. With one accord they all climbed up to the sloping roof in the inside of the magazine, and descended the ladders to the outside. The insurgents now appeared in great numbers on the top of the walls; and the brisk fire of grape shot, commenced by the little band of Europeans, wrought its havoc among the enemy. Those nine kept several hundred men at bay. The stock of grape at hand was at last exhausted, and no one could run to the store-houses for more without leaving the mutineers freedom of entry by leaping from the walls. Two of the nine were wounded; it was impossible to hold out longer; and Lieutenant Willoughby gave the signal, whereupon Conductor Scully immediately fired the train. In a few seconds a dull heavy report boomed above the din of the

city, and the shouts of its maddened votaries of murder and pillage. The ground vibrated, and a huge volume of smoke, ascending in the air, spread like a pall over the palace of the Moguls, and announced, amid the groans and shrieks of its mangled assailants, that the great magazine of Delhi had been blown in the air. All who were not too much injured made their way out of the sally-port, to escape in the best manner they could. How many of the insurgents were killed and wounded by the grape-shot and the explosion was never ascertained. Some British officers estimated it at more than a thousand. It was at the time hoped by the authorities that the whole of the vast store of ammunition had been blown into the air, but subsequent events showed that the destruction had not been so complete. The Governor-General, when informed of this achievement, spoke of the noble and cool soldiership of the gallant defenders. Conductor Scully was killed, but it was resolved by the authorities to provide liberally for his family, should it be ascertained that they survived him. The gallant Willoughby escaped with his life, but he was severely scorched.

In the city, while Major Abbott, an officer of the 74th native infantry, was being importuned by a few of the native officers who had remained faithful, to fly for his life, and was

giving little heed to their urgency, he heard shots whizzing in the main-guard, and asked what they meant. "The 38th are shooting the European officers," was the reply. He then ordered, or rather implored, a hundred of his men to rush with him to the rescue. Their answer was: "Sir, it is useless. They are all killed by this time, and we shall not save any one. We have saved you, and we are happy; we will not allow you to go back and be murdered." A smile, through tears, greets the record of an incident of this nature in the doleful and woe-ful tale of the Indian mutiny. And there were many such incidents. In every native regiment a few faithful were found among the cruelly faithless. As to the major, some of his sepoy formed a ring around him and hurried him off along the road leading to the cantonment, about two miles out of the city. He saw some carriages belonging to officers of his own regiment driving northward; and when he inquired what this meant, the men at the quarter-guard said, with eager devotedness looking out of every feature of their countenances: "Sir, they are leaving the cantonment; pray, follow their example. We have protected you so far; but it will be impossible for us to do so much longer. Pray, fly for your life." He did so, and lived to write a very interesting account of what he saw of the mutiny at Delhi.

To escape from being murdered in the city was to rush into the arms of indescribable misery in the surrounding country. Meerut was forty miles distant in one direction, and Kurnaul eighty miles in another. The villagers were afraid to harbour the fugitives.

Among the many who, according to the arrangements of Brigadier-General Graves, for the safety of the women and children, took refuge in the Flagstaff Tower, a mile and a half north of the Cashmere gate, were two ladies. The one was the wife of an officer of the 38th regiment. An army surgeon was the other's husband. When evening was approaching the two ladies left the city in a buggy. They had been parted from their husbands during the confusion, and one of them had lost her little child. Fearing the high road, they took over the rugged fields. They were sometimes treated with respect by the natives, at other times language was addressed to them unfit for English ladies' ears. They were occasionally robbed. The velvet head-dress of one of them was torn off for the value of the bugles which it showed. Their buggy-horse, and a jewel-box, which had been brought away in haste—the only treasure they had to count on as a means of purchasing assistance—were taken from them. Their outer clothing was not spared.

In the dead of night they

reached a village. Here the surgeon, enfeebled by previous sickness, with an ugly wound on his jaw, managed to join them. He needed them to help and protect him instead of being a defender. After fifteen hours of agony, while hiding in fields and huts, the three sallied forth on Tuesday morning, to be speedily stopped by six ruffians, who robbed the ladies of more of their apparel—and it was scanty enough now—and only stopped short of murdering them all, when the officer's wife implored mercy, in the plea that she was searching for her husband and child, both of whom she had lost. All that night the two ladies and the wounded man dragged themselves onward somewhither. In the morning more of the ladies' scanty attire purchased their lives from yelling fiends. They crept on, obtaining occasionally a little food and water from villagers, who supplied these necessities of life at the imminent risk of their own lives. It was terrible work to roam over burning sands under a scorching sun. They sat down by a well-side, but had to move on to escape insult from brutes in the shape of men. There are many such in all countries. They met a party of irregular horsemen, who had not yet joined the mutiny, and who, but for fear of the rebels, would have befriended them; but they had not the courage of two English ladies, nearly naked, who were help-

ing along the husband of one of them, with his under-jaw shattered, and his health otherwise very infirm.

During another night they crawled forward till they reached a Hindoo village. Here for one whole day kindness was accorded to them; but the humane natives, fearing the sepoys would burn their village, were fain to beseech them to go away. They had been five days wandering, and yet they were only ten miles from Delhi. They received simple but kind assistance in another friendly village, but, again, the villagers dreaded being found out, and got rid of them. They sought shelter under a bridge, where they had to purchase freedom from the presence and molestation of an armed ruffian at the price of a gold cross, which the wounded surgeon, a devout Roman Catholic, took from his bosom. On Sunday, the first day of rest after the outbreak at Meerut, they sought the shelter of an out-house containing twenty cows. That day they learned that Major Paterson, of the 54th native regiment, was in the same village. He sent a short message to them, written with a burnt stick on an old broken pan.

Shortly after, the husband of the other lady, to their great astonishment, entered the village, blistered from head to foot, naked as he was, like a savage. He had sent off their little boy with friends towards Meerut, and had seen the two ladies

start for Kurnaul. After being robbed of his horse, he had three bullets sent through his hat, and one through the skirt of his coat. Ill and exhausted he had run past the blazing houses of the cantonment, and had continued to urge himself onwards till he sank down fainting under a tree. Here a gang of ruffians stripped him, robbed him of everything, and endeavoured to strangle him with a sleeve of his own shirt. He recovered from the partial choking, however, staggered on a mile or two, rested for a short time in a hut, and then walked twelve miles to Alipore under a broiling sun. Here he was refused shelter, but received a little bread and a few fragments of clothing. He toiled on, keeping by the ploughed fields in fear of possible encounters on the high roads. At one village the herdsman gave him an asylum for five days. It was on the sixth day that he learned that his wife and her travelling companion were within a few miles of him. Nearly worn out with sickness and grief, on swollen and blistered feet, he made his way to where he found them in the plight to which they had been reduced.

These four continued to journey, grievously footsore with thorns and sharp-cutting stones. The officer's wife felt the sun's heat beginning to affect her brain, and was thankful to a villager who gave her a wet cloth to cover her temples. Mat-

tersmended by and by, however; they reached Kurnaul, then proceeded to Umballa, and at last got to Simla, like beggars, but with their lives. It was afterwards found that the little boy had been carried safely to Meerut.

One other example will show the difficulties encountered by an officer who chose Meerut rather than Kurnaul as his place of refuge. A youth of nineteen, who held a commission in one of the native regiments in Delhi—and who was an ensign of the 54th—at the time of the outbreak, writes as follows from Meerut. The letter was addressed to a sister, and is dated June 1: "Besides myself there is only one other officer of my unfortunate regiment out of those who were left with it at the time of the mutiny who has escaped to this place; and he, poor fellow, is in hospital with a musket-ball through his thigh—Osborn, our adjutant. But I am glad to say there were three others on leave for a month's shooting in the jungles at the time of the outbreak, and who have consequently escaped.

"There were three native corps at Delhi besides a battery of six guns, and not a single European soldier. It was about ten o'clock on the morning of the 11th, that we first heard of some mutineers having come over from Meerut, and that our regiment was ordered down to the city, where they were to cut them up. Of course, this time

we had not a doubt as to their loyalty. Well, the whole regiment, except my company and our major's, the grenadiers—who were ordered to wait for two guns and escort them—at once went off to the city, distant about two miles. On arriving at the Cashmere gate, which leads into a small fortified bastion, called the main-guard, from which there is another egress to the city, they were met by some troopers of the 3d cavalry from Meerut, who immediately charged down upon them. Not the slightest effort was made by our men to save their officers, and they were nearly all shot down at the head of their companies by these troopers. In fact, our poor colonel was seen to be bayoneted by one of the sepoy's after he had been cut down by a trooper; and then the fact of neither a sepoy nor a trooper having been killed, is enough to convince one of their treachery. Well, soon after our two companies with the two guns—for whom we had had to wait half-an hour—also arrived; and on going through the Cashmere gate into the main-guard, and thence into the city, where all this had taken place, the sepoy's and mutineers all bolted, being frightened at the sight of the guns; and before there was time to open fire upon them, they had all disappeared into the streets. We then went back to the main-guard, determined to hold that against them till

more reinforcements arrived from cantonments, for which we immediately sent. In the meantime we sent our parties to bring in our poor fellows, who were all seen lying about in the mainguard. I myself went out and brought in poor Burrowes. It was a most heart-rending sight, I assure you, to see all our poor chaps, whom we had seen and been with that very morning talking and laughing together at our coffee-shop, lying dead side by side, and some of them dreadfully mutilated. I had never before seen a dead body, so you may imagine what an awful sight it was to me. The poor colonel was the only one not killed outright; but he, poor man, was hacked to pieces. We sent him back to cantonments, where he died in the course of the day. At last some companies of the other regiments came up, and we remained here the whole day, expecting to be attacked every minute. Lots of women and people who had managed to escape from the city, came to us for shelter, little thinking of the scene that was shortly to be enacted among us. By-and-by three of our officers, who had escaped being killed by the troopers, also came in, and from them we learnt what I have told you above. All this while we saw fires blazing in the town, and heard guns firing, which we afterwards found out were the guns of the magazine, which a few Europeans had been defend-

ing against the whole host of the insurgents, and which had at last blown up.

"Well, it must have been about five o'clock in the afternoon, when all of a sudden the sepoys who were with us in the mainguard, and on whom we had been depending to defend us in case of attack, began firing upon us in every direction. A most awful scene, as you may imagine, then ensued; people running in every possible way to try and escape. I, as luck would have it, with a few other fellows ran up a kind of slope that leads to the officers' quarters, and thence, amid a storm of bullets, to one of the embrasures of the bastion. It is perfectly miraculous how I escaped being hit; no end of poor fellows were knocked down all about, and all too by their own men: it is really awful to think of it. However, on arriving at the embrasure, all at once the idea occurred to me of jumping down into the ditch from the rampart—one would have thought it madness at any other time—and so try and get out by scaling the other side. But just as I was in the act of doing so, I heard screams from a lot of unfortunate women, who were in the officers' quarters, imploring for help. I immediately, with a few other fellows, who, like me, were going to escape the same way, ran back to them; and, though the attempt appeared hopeless, we determined to see if we could not take them



with us. Some of them, poor creatures, were wounded with bullets; however, we made ropes with handkerchiefs, and some of us jumping down first into the ditch, caught them as they dropped to break the fall. Then came the difficulty of dragging them up the opposite bank; however, by God's will we succeeded, after nearly half-an-hour's labour, in getting them up; and why no sepoy's came and shot every one of us while getting across all this time, is a perfect mystery. The murdering was going on below all this time, and nothing could have been easier than for two or three of them to come to the rampart and shoot down every one of us. However, we somehow got over; and, expecting to be pursued every minute, we bent our steps to a house that was on the banks of the river. This we reached in safety; and, getting something to eat and drink from the servants, stopped there till dark, and then, seeing the whole of the three cantonments on fire, and, as it were, a regular battle raging in that direction, we ran down the river side, and made the best of our way along its banks in another direction. . . . For three days and nights we wandered in the jungles, sometimes fed and sometimes robbed by the villagers, till at length, wearied and footsore, with shreds of clothes on our backs, we arrived at a village where they put us in a hut, and fed us for four days, and, moreover, took a

note from us into Meerut, whence an escort of cavalry was sent out, and we were brought safely in here. We started from Delhi with five ladies and four officers besides myself, but afterwards in our wanderings fell in with two sergeants' wives and two little children, with two more officers and a merchant; so altogether, on coming into Meerut, we were a body of seventeen souls. Oh, great Heaven, to think of the privations we endured, and the narrow escapes we had! We used to ford streams at night, and then walk on slowly in our dripping clothes, lying down to rest every half-hour; for you must remember that some of the ladies were wounded, and all so fatigued and worn out that they could scarcely move. Of course, had we been ourselves, we would have made a dash for Meerut at once, which is about forty miles from Delhi, but, having these unfortunate women with us, what could we do? . . . At one time, when we were attacked by the villagers, and robbed of everything we possessed, had we not had them with us, we would have fought for it, and sold our lives dearly, instead of quietly giving up our arms as we did; for, you must know, we had a few blunt swords among us, with one double barrelled gun."

These are only two of the stories of hairbreadth escapes which were told at the time by those who had made them. They will

do as average specimens, having been selected for summarising almost at random.

Macaulay somewhere suggests and outlines an epic to be called the *Wellingtoniad*. If epics still were read, and they would be read if there were only Homers inspired with the spirit of their age to write them, a "*Delhiad*" might be written not unworthy to be read after the "*Iliad*." For details of the sorrows, and the perils, and the heroism, which would supply materials more than ample for such a purpose, the readers of this outline will turn to the histories of it which have been written at great length.

Much fault was found with the authorities at the time for not having Delhi in a better

state of defence. Brigadier-General Graves was blamed for inactivity, as, we have seen, was also Major-General Hewett. But it does not take great insight or foresight to see that something must have been wrong, when at the close of that Monday, May 11th, not a single individual of the European inhabitants of Delhi, who had all risen from bed in peace that morning, had escaped death, flight, or the necessity of keeping in terrified concealment. British rule in that city was overthrown in a day. The natives were the rulers. The king was restored to his throne. We will leave him there till eventful circumstances lead the line of the story of the mutiny back to Delhi again.

## CHAPTER VI.

### SIR HENRY LAWRENCE AT LUCKNOW.

A SHORT survey of the situation of affairs at one centre in the North-West mutinous region, will prepare for the account of the treachery and atrocities at Cawnpore, which will be given in the next chapter. But a word or two must be said first of the state of feeling at Calcutta in the meantime. At the time of the mutiny this magnificent city, standing on the left

bank of the Hoogly, one of the numerous streams by which the Ganges finds an outlet to the sea, the chief British city in India, had no less than seventy times as many natives as English. Out of more than four hundred thousand inhabitants, only six thousand were English. Even including the progeny of white fathers and native mothers, the Eurasians as they

are called, the disparity was enormous.

The ebullitions at Dumdum, Barrackpore, and Berhampore did not affect the inhabitants of this great city. They looked upon these transactions as only very remotely concerning them. When, however, about the middle of May the appalling news about Meerut and Delhi became known, there spread among all classes a vague apprehension of hidden danger, a sort of undefined alarm. Demonstrations of loyalty were made by both the Christian inhabitants and the natives. The Calcutta Trade Association held a meeting on the 27th of May, and agreed to a resolution stating that they were prepared to afford the Government every assistance in their power, towards the promotion of order and the protection of the Christian community of Calcutta, either by serving as special constables or otherwise. The Freemasons made a similar proffer of services. The Armenians resident in the city met and declared their apprehension for the safety of Calcutta and its inhabitants, and their sincere loyalty to the British Government. They also were willing and ready to tender their united services and co-operate with their fellow-citizens, in maintaining tranquillity. The French inhabitants were forward to place themselves at the disposal of the Governor-General in case of need.

But it is more interesting to learn how the influential native inhabitants comported themselves. There was a body of Hindoo gentlemen at Calcutta, called the British Indian Association. The managing committee held a meeting on the 22d of May, and framed an address to the Government. They said they had heard of the atrocities at Meerut and Delhi with great concern, and viewed them with disgust and horror; and expressed their belief that the loyalty of the Hindoos, and their confidence in the power and good intentions of the Government, would be unimpaired by the detestable efforts which had been made to alienate the minds of the sepoys and the people of the country from their duty and allegiance to the beneficent rule under which they were placed. The Mohammedans of Calcutta were equally loyal in the sentiments they expressed. They, too, declared that as they had ever lived in safety and comfort under the British rule, and had never been molested or interfered with in religious matters, they were determined, with eagerness and sincerity, in case of necessity, to serve the Government to the utmost of their abilities and means.

Viscount Canning, in each case, professed to believe in the honesty and uprightness of these natives. What else could he do at that early stage of the mutiny? His official replies conveyed in

pointed terms his conviction that the disaffection among the sepoys was only temporary and local.

Before leaving Calcutta, mention must be made here of an inquiry which was made about this time, into the conduct of Colonel S. G. Wheler, connected with the disbanding of the 34th native regiment of infantry at Barrackpore, an account of which has already been given. He was the colonel of that unfortunate regiment. Rumours had reached Government that this gentleman had been in the habit of addressing his men on religious subjects generally, and especially, that he had used language, indicating his expectation and hope that they would be converted to Christianity. Colonel Wheler was requested by Major-General Hearsey to furnish some reply to these rumours. He did so most frankly. He admitted that for twenty years and more, he had been in the habit of speaking to natives of all classes, sepoys and others—making, as he said, no distinction, as there is no respect of persons with God—on the subject of the Christian religion, in the highways, cities, bazaars, and villages, but not in the lines and regimental bazaars. He had done this from a conviction that every converted Christian is expected, or rather commanded, by the Scriptures, to make known the glad tidings of salvation to his lost fellow-creatures. He quoted from the

Epistle to the Romans, to prove that a Christian must necessarily be a better subject to any state than a non-Christian. Viscount Canning wished him to be more explicit as to whether he had held such conversations with his own men of the 34th. He replied, that it was his custom to address all natives, whether sepoys or not. A good deal of correspondence took place in the matter. The colonel showed good fight for his faith, whatever might be thought of his prudence. The result was that the members of the Supreme Council at Calcutta, unanimously decided that an officer holding Colonel Wheler's views of duty, ought not to remain in command of a native regiment, especially at such a critical period as that was in India.

Leaving Calcutta, let us proceed at once away north-west to Lucknow, the capital of Oude, which is a British Indian province, about three times the size of Wales. Lucknow stands on the right bank of the Goomtee, a navigable river thence to its confluence with the Ganges, between Benares and Ghazeepore. The city is rather more than fifty miles north-east of Cawnpore, and about a hundred and thirty miles north by west of Allahabad; and as Cawnpore is on the right bank of the Ganges, that sacred river intervenes between the two cities.

Oude was annexed to the British power in 1856, when an

annual stipend of twelve lacs of rupees—£120,000, a lac being 100,000 rupees, of about the value of £10,000—was settled on the suspended king, who went to live at Garden Reach, on the outskirts of Calcutta. It will be remembered that his mother, the Dowager-Queen of Oude, came to London the same year with a numerous retinue, including the king's brother and the king's son, the former claiming to be heir-presumptive to the titular sovereignty, and the other to be heir-apparent, and all to no practical purpose.

When the mutiny broke out at Meerut, Sir Henry Lawrence held supreme sway at Lucknow as resident, or chief commissioner of the East India Company. He was a sagacious, energetic, and noble-hearted gentleman. His difficulties, too, began with the vexatious cartridge question. Towards the close of April, it was found that many of the recruits, or younger men, of the 7th regiment of Oude infantry evinced a reluctance to bite the cartridges, the new method of tearing, instead of biting, by some oversight, not having been shown to the sepoys at Lucknow. The matter was explained to the men, and confidence seemed to be restored, but a morbid feeling still remained. On the 1st of May, when some of them showed again symptoms of repugnancy to the cartridges, a few of the recruits were imprisoned in the quarter-guard. Captain Watson

addressed his men next day, pointing out the folly of these youngsters, and exhorting them all to behave more like true soldiers. They listened with respectful sullenness, and the captain felt it his duty to report their dogged behaviour to Brigadier Grey, who, accompanied by Captains Watson and Barlow, at once went to the lines, had the men drawn up in regular order, and put the question to each company separately, whether they were willing to use the same cartridges as had all along been employed? They all refused. The native officers had declined before this taking any steps to enforce obedience. They declared that if they did so, their lives would be in danger from the men under them. Brigadier Grey felt that vigorous measures must be taken. Next Sunday morning, the 3d of May, the grenadier company, the crack company of the regiment, went through the lines, threatening to kill some of the European officers, and the threat soon seemed a great deal too near fulfilment. But, after rather humiliating entreaty by the European and native officers, the excitement of the men became in some degree allayed. While this was going on at the station of Moosa Bagh, a messenger was sent by the stimulators of disaffection in the 7th regiment to the cantonment of Murreeoun with a letter inciting the 48th native infantry to join them in a mutinous rising.

Fortunately, there was one subadar true to his duty, and he brought the letter to Colonel Palmer, the commandant of the 48th. Prompt measures were at once taken. A considerable force, with a field battery of guns, was sent from the cantonment to the place where the inciting intriguers were posted. They stood firm for a time, but when they saw cannon pointed at them, some of them fled at their best speed, while others gave up their arms quietly. The cavalry pursued the fugitives, and brought back some of them. Thus the 7th Oude irregular infantry regiment, about 1000 strong, was suddenly broken up into three fragments,—one escaped, another captured, and another disarmed.

Sunday seems to have been a favourite day for these outbreaks. The Rev. Mr Polehampton, chaplain to the English residents at Lucknow, writing about this mutinous proceeding, from what he saw, says, "Towards the end of the prayers, a servant came into the church, and spoke first to Major Reid of the 48th, and then to Mr Dashwood, of the same regiment. They both went out, and afterwards others were called away. The ladies began to look very uncomfortable; one or two others crossed over the aisle to friends who were sitting on the other side, so that altogether I had not a very attentive congregation." When it was found that the officers had been called

out to join the force against the mutineers, Mr Polehampton felt very much inclined to ride down and see what was going, "but," he says, "as the Moosa Bagh is seven miles from our house, and as I should have left my wife all alone, I stayed where I was. I thought of what William III. said when he was told that the Bishop of Derry had been shot at the ford at the battle of the Boyne—"What took him there?"

The course adopted by Sir Henry Lawrence on this occasion was skilfully adapted to Indian understandings. It was of quite an Oriental character. He held a grand military durbar, or levee, pending the receipt of instructions from Calcutta regarding the disposal of the mutinous regiment. He had advised that it should be disbanded, with a provision for the re-enlisting of those who had not joined the rebels. Four native soldiers, a subadar,\* a havildar-major, and a sepoy of the 48th regiment, along with a sepoy of the 13th, who had proved themselves faithful in a time of danger, were to have their merits publicly recognised, and to be rewarded. As suitable to the occasion in such circumstances, carpets were laid on the lawn in front of the residency, and chairs were arranged on three sides of a square for some of the native officers and sepoys, while upwards of twenty European officials, mili-

\* *Subadar*, captain; *jemadar*, lieutenant; *havildar*, sergeant; *naik*, corporal.

tary and civil, occupied a large verandah. Sir Henry opened the proceedings with a vigorous and pointed address in Hindostani, in which he described in the gorgeous language which the natives need, the power and wealth of Great Britain, and dwelt on the freedom of conscience which was everywhere respected in British India. "Those among you," Sir Henry said, "who have perused the records of the past times well know, that Alumghir in former times, and Hyder Ali in later days, forcibly converted thousands and thousands of Hindoos, desecrated their fanes, and carried ruthless devastation amongst the household gods. Come to our times. Many here well know that Runjeet Singh never permitted his Mohammedan subjects to call the pious to prayer—never allowed the Afghan to sound from the lofty minarets which adorn Lahore, and which remain to this day a monument to their munificent founders. The year before last a Hindoo could not have dared to build a temple in Lucknow. All this is changed. Who is there that would dare now to interfere with our Mohammedan subjects?" Sir Henry went on to treat with scorn the reports touching a meditated insult to the faith or the castes of the native soldiers. He adverted to their gallant achievements during the hundred years of British rule; and told them what pain it gave him when he re-

flected that the disbandment of such troops had been found necessary at Barrackpore and Berhampore. Then proceeding to the business on hand, the chief commissioner said: "Now turn to these good and faithful soldiers—Subadar Sewak Tewaree, Havildar Heera Lall Doobey, and Sipahi Ranuna Doobey, of the 48th Native Infantry, and Hossein Buksh, of the 13th regiment—who have set to you all a good example. The first three at once arrested the bearer of a seditious letter, and brought the whole circumstances to the notice of superior authority. You know well what the consequences were, and what has befallen the 7th Oude Irregular Infantry, more than fifty of whom, sirdars and soldiers, are now in confinement, and the whole regiment awaits the decision of Government as to its fate. Look at Hossein Buksh, of the 13th, fine fellow as he is! Is he not a good and faithful soldier? Did he not seize three villains, who are now in confinement, and awaiting their doom? It is to reward such fidelity, such acts and deeds as I have mentioned, and of which you are well aware, that I have called you all together this day—to assure you that those who are faithful and true to their salt will always be amply rewarded and well cared for; that the great Government which we all serve is prompt to reward, swift to punish, vigilant and eager to

protect its faithful subjects, but firm, determined, resolute, to crush all who may have the temerity to rouse its vengeance." Sir Henry then, after some earnest exhortation, said: "Advance, Subadar Sewak Tewaree; come forward, havildar and sepoys, and receive these splendid gifts from the Government which is proud to number you amongst its soldiers. Accept these honorary sabres; you have won them well; long may you live to wear them in honour! Take these sums of money for your families and relatives; wear these robes of honour at your homes and your festivals; and may the bright example you have so conspicuously set, find, as it doubtless will, followers in every regiment and company in the army." The subadar and the havildar were each presented with a handsomely decorated sword, a pair of elegant shawls, a choogah, or cloak, and four pieces of embroidered cloth; and the two sepoys received each a decorated sword, a turban, pieces of cloth, and three hundred rupees in cash. Hossein Buksh was made a naik, or corporal.

By this demonstration, and the general wisdom and firmness of his policy, Sir Henry Lawrence kept matters quiet at Lucknow in the meantime. But things looked very threatening. On the 16th of May, he telegraphed to Calcutta: "Give me plenary power in Oude; I will not use it unnecessarily. I am

sending two troops of cavalry to Allahabad. Send a company of Europeans into the fort there. It will be good to raise regiments of irregular horse, under good officers." An answer returned the same day: "You have full military powers. The Governor-General will support you in everything you think necessary. It is impossible to send a European to Allahabad. Dinapoor must not be weakened by a single man. If you can raise any irregulars that you can trust, do so at once. Have you any good officers to spare for this duty?"

In this manner information and instructions were darting through the telegraph-wire, between the great centres of military force and Calcutta. Viscount Canning was anxious and eager to send troops to where they were wanted, but he and the troops were baffled by the tardiness of all modes of conveyance in India.

Before written instructions came from Calcutta, regarding the mutinous 7th, Sir Henry Lawrence had to take action himself, entrusted as he now was with plenary powers. He held a court of inquiry, the result of which was, that two subadars, a jemadar, and thirty-four sepoys were committed to prison; but he resolved not to disband the regiment just then.

A most absurd story came out at the examination of some of the mutineers. It seems that



a rumour, which had great influence over the conduct of most of them, was to the effect that, in consequence of the Crimean war, there were a great many widows in England, and these were to be brought and married to the rajahs in Oude; and their children, brought up as Christians, were to inherit all the estates!

Sir Henry Lawrence was much more solicitous about Cawnpore, Allahabad, and Benares, than about anything that could happen at Lucknow. He had taken every precaution which could suggest itself to a prudent governor. He armed four posts for defence. At one there were 400 men, and twenty guns; at another, 100 Europeans, and as many sepoy; in another, was the chief store of powder, well guarded; while 130 Europeans, 200 sepoy, and six guns guarded the treasury. On the last two days of May, however, there was serious

agitation at Lucknow, for a number of the native troops broke out in mutiny. They were somewhat formidable, consisting as they did, of half the 48th regiment, about half of the 71st, some few of the 13th, and two troops of the 7th cavalry, but they all fled to Seetapoor, a town to the north of Lucknow. Sir Henry, with two companies of her Majesty's 32d regiment, 300 of the Oude native cavalry, and four guns, went in pursuit; but the cavalry were anything but zealous, and the chief commissioner was vexed to find that he could only get within round shot of the mutineers; and he was annoyed also at the inadequate result of the pursuit—thirty prisoners. In Lucknow, bungalows kept being burned, and a few English officers were shot. Still it was towards other cities, especially Cawnpore, that Sir Henry Lawrence directed his most apprehensive glances.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### NANA SAHIB AT CAWNPORE.

THE revolting treachery and cruelty of the Nana Sahib at Cawnpore secured for him the unenviable notoriety of being the arch-villain of the Indian Mutiny. The unutterable atrocity of the massacres at that

city produced on the minds of men in all countries, when they became known, an indescribable sense of utter astonishment and dismay, just as the mystery which, for many weeks, veiled the fate of the hapless victims,

had heightened to an agonising degree the terror of dismal forebodings regarding them. The troubles of May, the miseries of June, and the horrors of July, "will never, never be forgot."

Cawnpore is a word of terror to most English readers. It is the name of a district and a city in it—the city lying in the Doab, a delta between the Jumna and the Ganges; the city on the right bank of the Ganges, about two hundred and seventy miles below Delhi, and between six and seven hundred miles by land from Calcutta.

Nana Sahib is, or was—whether he is still alive or not, is not known at the present time—the titular or honorary name of Dhundu Punt, the adopted son of Maharajah Bajee Rao, the last chief of the Mahrattas, who dwelt at Bithoor, and died in 1851. The Nana had a quarrel with the East India Company about a jaghire or estate near the town, which he thought he should have inherited along with the rest of the vast wealth of his adoptive father; but to which it was held by the Company's advisers that he had no legal claim. This was considered at the time to be the germ of the deadly hatred for the British, which he had nursed in his heart during the six years from the death of the Peishwa of Bithoor, till the outbreak of the gigantic mutiny.

He cherished this grudge like the consummate hypocrite he

proved himself to be. In the meantime, he made a point of receiving English visitors courteously, and with a show of surpassing kindness. An English traveller, who visited him, was treated with an amount of attention which seemed to flatter both him and the usages of his native country. His rooms were decked with English furniture, arranged according to the Indian ideas. He found a chest of drawers and a toilet table in his sitting-room; a piano, a card-table, tent-tables, and camp-stools, as well as elegant drawing-room tables and chairs in the bed-room, which showed also a costly clock between cheap Japan candlesticks; good prints of Landseer, hung among sixpenny plates of Wellington and Napoleon, sacred prints, and prints of ballet-girls, and winners of the Derby. "This was all meant as princely hospitality to an English guest, whose pleasure in the midst of it was considerably dashed when he heard rumours to the effect that two ladies of rank were kept in a den not far from his apartments, and treated like wild beasts; and that a third, a beautiful young creature, had recently been bricked up in a wall for no other fault than attempting to escape.

The outbreaks at Meerut and Delhi aroused attention to the condition of Cawnpore, where there were only native troops; while its store of ammunition was great, the treasury large, and the

British population considerable. Sir Hugh Wheeler, who was in command, passed troubled nights and days amid rumours of immediate outbreak, telegraphing for British troops, which were not to be had. He was anxious about the numerous women and children. Everything affecting the safety of the civilians and the probable loyalty or disloyalty of the native troops was left entirely to his discretion. On the 2d of June only ninety European troops had reached him at the beginning of the terrible miseries of that month. Lawrence was becoming weak at Lucknow, and Sir Hugh had to send him fifty-two of his highly cherished ninety men. The population of Cawnpore was much excited on the 3d of June, and ominous reports kept coming in from the surrounding district. The telegraph wires were cut on all sides of the city, and the dâk-runners, or running postmen, were stopped. After this, for a time, all remained mystery, for it was only by stealthy means that messages or letters could be sent from or received in the city. Matters remained so throughout June. It was only when escaped fugitives and native messengers came stealing into one or other of the neighbouring towns, that the stories of the intrenchment, the boats, the ghat, the house of slaughter, and the well, became known in a few of their horrifying details.

At the time of the rising the European inhabitants of Cawnpore were numerous. They consisted of not only the Company's military and civil officers and their families, but of European merchants, missionaries, engineers, pensioners, and a great many others not easily classed. There was among them a false reliance on what seemed a favourable feeling of the native infantry towards them, and none of them made any immediate attempt to quit the place. Sir Hugh Wheeler, however, deemed it his duty to prepare for emergencies, the approach of which he had many good reasons to fear. There was no such stronghold in Cawnpore as the Flagstaff Tower at Delhi, to which the women and children might be entrusted for temporary safety. After securing a sufficient number of boats to convey the Europeans down the Ganges, if danger should appear, Sir Hugh formed a plan for protection in that intrenchment, of which so much was subsequently heard. It was a square plot of ground, measuring about two hundred yards in each direction; within it there were two barrack hospitals, a few other buildings, and a well; and it stood distinct from the city, about a quarter of a mile out of the Allahabad and Cawnpore high road. A supply of rice, grain, salt, sugar, tea, coffee, rum, beer, and other necessities of life and refreshments, calculated

at thirty days' consumption for a thousand persons, was stored within its trench and parapet of earth-work.

The native soldiers were huddled in the usual military cantonment, and the few English soldiers were barracked in the intrenchment. It was determined that the English officers should sleep at the cantonment to avoid the appearance of distrust of the native troops under their command; and that their wives and families, and most of the civilians, should repair at night to the intrenchment to be under the protection of the British soldiers. On the first night of this arrangement there was an immense number of ladies and gentlemen huddled inside of that extemporised square. It was an anxious occasion. The children added greatly to the prevailing distress. It rained heavily through the night, during the whole of which the men were kept standing by their guns, expecting and awaiting an instant attack. It did not come on, but there they were in their wretchedness night after night—enemies within and without the camp, treachery and distrust everywhere—scarcely able to realise the frightful changes which had so suddenly overcast all the pleasant repose and enjoyment of life.

Every one had confidence in Sir Hugh Wheeler. Colonel Ewart, in the last letter received from him by his friends in Eng-

land, wrote of the veteran commander: "He is an excellent officer, very determined, self-possessed in the midst of danger, fearless of responsibility—that terrible bugbear that paralyses so many men in command." Sir Hugh was both beloved and trusted by them all. He ordered the Company's treasure to be brought from the city to the intrenchment. The collector experienced considerable difficulty in obeying this order in part, and the aid of three or four hundred men was obtained from Nana Sahib to guard the treasury and its contents—true to treachery to the last!

It was on the 5th of June that the dreaded crisis arrived. Sir Hugh Wheeler had appealed in vain to other quarters for additional British troops, but none could be spared from anywhere, and he was left to meet the emergency manfully with such measures as were at hand.

At two o'clock on the morning of that day, to be dated in blood, after a vain attempt to seduce the native infantry from their allegiance, the 2d cavalry rose in a body and gave a great shout, mounted their horses, set fire to the bungalow of the quarter-master-sergeant, and took possession of thirty-six elephants in the commissariat cattle-yard. They marched out of the lines, but left a number of intriguers behind to assail, only too successfully, the loyalty of the infantry, of whom the 1st regiment,

yielding to the temptation, marched out of the lines about three o'clock. They showed on the occasion the lingering affection which they entertained for their British officers, who had continued to sleep among them. They prayed them, and, indeed, compelled them to seek personal safety within the intrenchment. About ten o'clock in the forenoon the whole of the native officers of the 53d and 56th infantry came to General Wheeler and told him that they had no longer any hold over the fidelity of their men; and, while they were making this ominous announcement, a bugle was heard, and these two regiments were seen marching off to their mutinous comrades. These officers left the intrenchment, with orders to organise a few stragglers, who had not joined the mutineers, but they never returned.

Carts were at once sent to the cantonment to bring away the sick from the hospital, and such muskets and other property as might be useful. The hospital arrangements in the intrenchment became accordingly very much over-crowded, and many of the people had to sleep in the open air. All the civilians were armed and appointed to various posts, to do what they could for the common good.

When the mutineers left the cantonment, they marched to Nawabgunge as their rallying place. Nana Sahib came there to meet them; he placed him-

self at their head, and his first order was that they should march to the treasury, which had been left in good faith by Sir Hugh Wheeler under the guard of his men. The arch-traitor carried off a large amount of government treasure on elephants, which had only the other day belonged to the government. The rest he left to the sepoys as their prize. Sir Hugh Wheeler had issued orders that the magazine was to be blown up, as had been done at Delhi, if it should be deemed necessary. The mutinous sepoys secured possession of it. After securing all papers and burning them, the rebels destroyed the treasury and the collector's office. They all then marched to Kullianpore, one stage on the road to Delhi, leaving behind a few troopers to set fire to as many of the bungalows as they could get the torch at.

Sir Henry Lawrence had sent to Wheeler, a battery of the Oude horse-artillery, in hope that they would be steadfast and helpful. It was a misfortune. These men had been taken within the intrenchment, but finding them smitten with the prevailing mania for mutiny, Sir Hugh disarmed and dismissed them. They now went to Nana Sahib, and, being familiar with the intrenchment, laid before that truculent leader of the Cawnpore rebels a plan for attacking it. There was much ammunition and many guns left in the cantonment. Thirty-five

boats, laden with shot and shell, were lying in the canal near it. All this was at once seized, the information regarding it having been supplied by the Oude artillery men.

The Nana released four hundred prisoners in the town, ordered their fetters to be knocked off, opened the door of the armoury, and let every one who was willing to follow him know that he might arm himself with gun, pistol, or sword, just as he liked best.

The 6th of June dawned upon an anxious scene within the intrenchment, crowded as it was with men, women, and children, nearly all the European inhabitants of Cawnpore. The rebels dragged six guns—two of them 18-pounders—into position near it, and opened fire about ten o'clock in the forenoon. Instantly a bugle sounded within, and every man, from the highest officers down to the drummers and clerks, took up the position assigned, armed, as had been appointed for him. There were nine hundred persons hemmed within this miserable square, and barely a third of them fighting men, while considerably more than a third were women and children, who were to be fed and defended at every hazard. The eight guns within the intrenchment replied vigorously to those without; and all the men not employed at the guns crouched down behind the breast-work, with a hot wind and scorching sun parch-

ing them, ready to defend the place with musketry, if a nearer attack should be made.

Next day it was observed that the mutineers had brought their guns nearer, and that they had brought up more of them. Many of the best of the defenders were shot, and the walls and verandahs of the two hospitals kept being pierced, spreading terror among their helpless inmates. There was but one well within the intrenchment; and, in the words of Mr Shepherd of the commissariat department, to whom we are indebted for most of the information we possess regarding Cawnpore in those days of agony: "It was as much as giving a man's life-blood to go and draw a bucket of water; and while there was any water remaining in the large jars, usually kept in the verandah for the soldiers' use, nobody ventured to the well; but after the second day the demand became so great, that a bag of water was with difficulty got for five rupees, and a bucket for a rupee. Most of the servants deserted, and it therefore became a matter of necessity for every person to fetch his own water, which was usually done during the night when the enemy could not well direct their shots." There was no place to shelter live cattle, so that some of the animals were let loose, when as many as could well be kept in a fit state for food had been slaughtered. Meat-rations were thus exhausted in a few days, excepting when a

stray bullock or cow was seized at night by the commissariat servants. In addition to the difficulty of obtaining suitable food, there was no getting the cooking of it properly attended to, as the native servants seized upon every opportunity to escape. Hogsheads of rum and malt liquor were frequently burst by cannon balls. The chief articles of food for all were chupatties and rice.

The rebels at first fired only cannon; but after the burning of the English church and other buildings near the intrenchment, they kept up an almost incessant fire of musketry from behind the ruined walls; and anything like a daring attempt of Sir Hugh Wheeler and his brave men to make an escape was impossible, when there were so many helpless women and children to be thought of. Illness, heat, fright, want of room, and want of proper food and care, caused the release of many of these hapless dependants within the first week of the attack on the intrenchment. The dead bodies were thrown into a well outside of it, to ward off the engendering of disease by any mode of burial within the stifling enclosure, and it was only under a shower of shot and shell that even this mockery of the last sad office could be rendered. "The distress was so great," says Mr Shepherd, "that none could offer a word of consolation to a friend, or attempt to administer to the wants of

each other. I have seen the dead bodies of officers, and tenderly brought up young ladies of rank—colonels' and captains' daughters—put outside the verandah amongst the rest, to await the time when the fatigue party usually went round to carry the dead to the well; for there was scarcely room to shelter the living."

It is said that, on the 9th of June, Sir Hugh Wheeler sent a message to Nana Sahib, demanding the reason for his thus turning against the English whom he had hitherto treated kindly, and by whom he had been held in esteem. The Nana's only reply was from the cannon's mouth.

A scene of horror was witnessed on the 13th of June, when the mutineers began to fire red-hot shot, which set fire to one of the hospitals, by igniting the thatch of its roof. The wives and children of the common soldiers were accommodated in the building as well as the sick and the wounded. Forty helpless wretches of the latter class were burned to death before any help could be afforded them. The defenders of the intrenchment could not leave the frail protection of their earthen breastwork, otherwise the assailants would be free to leap over it and carry on their bloody work with musket and sword. Despite, then, their eager wish to rush to the assistance of the shrieking sufferers, they had to

endure the agony of leaving them to the flames. Nearly all the medicines and surgical instruments were destroyed.

The besiegers had increased in numbers to about four thousand. They drew closer to the earthwork with their guns, and their firing became more continuous; but the besieged had not yet yielded an inch. This calamity of fire, however, began to tell upon them. There had been before it a few hours of shelter under a roof during the day, but now every man who could fight was obliged to remain permanently in the open air, exposed to an Indian sun at its fiercest season of the year; and no wonder that sun-stroke prostrated many of them. The women and children too, in addition to all the other discomforts, had the most of their clothing destroyed by the fire.

About this time the Nana got other congenial work thrown on his hands. Futteghur, a military station higher up the Ganges than Cawnpore, and near Ferruckabad, contained the 10th regiment of Bengal Infantry, and a few other native troops. On the 3d of June the soldiers showed such mutinous symptoms that the officers stationed there saw the necessity of arranging to send off the women and children to Cawnpore for safety—not knowing that the Europeans of that city were in greater peril than themselves. Next day they took to

their boats in two parties. One party, consisting of about forty, sought refuge with a friendly zemindar on the Oude side of the river; while the other party, amounting to more than a hundred and twenty persons, proceeded down to Cawnpore. It seems that these separated again for some reason, for it turned out that part of them pursued their way down the Ganges as far as Bithoor, while others returned to Futteghur. It is probable that the forty who sought refuge with the friendly zemindar also returned to Futteghur, for it is not likely that he would brave the wrath of the sepoy in the state of matters which then prevailed. From the 12th of June to the 18th there was a lull at the station, but on the latter day the mutiny burst out in cruel earnest. The English defended themselves as best they could. The river was thought too low to render a sail to Cawnpore safe; but, after many were killed, the remaining victims took to their boats in the river for a voyage, brimful of utter misery. The rebels fired on them as they rowed along in their boats. One of the boats went aground, and as a number of the mutineers rowed up towards it, the ladies jumped overboard to escape capture. Many had only a choice of deaths—by drowning or by being shot. Some crept on shore, and wandered about the fields to escape detection. A few found



shelter under friendly roofs. One boat load succeeded in reaching Bithoor—a second batch of victims for the Nana Sahib. He put every man, woman, and child, of both the parties, to death. One young lady, as the native who told the story says, the daughter of some general, was not to meet her death in silence. Addressing the Nana, she said: “No king ever committed such oppression as you have, and in no religion is there any order to kill women and children. I do not know what has happened to you. Be well assured that, by this slaughter, the English will not become less; whoever may remain will have an eye upon you.” But the Nana exhibited Oriental listlessness. He paid no attention to her prophetic words. He ordered his executioners to fill her hands with powder and kill her by the explosion.

As to the occupants of the intrenchment beleagured by demons, both the hospitals got so riddled with shot and so damaged by fire as to afford little or no shelter; and yet the greater portion of those who could not fight preferred to remain in them rather than be exposed to the blighting glare of a scorching sun. Some made holes for themselves behind the earthen parapet; and whole families, in their wretchedness, were fain to shelter themselves in such dens, glad to be covered over with boxes, coats, and

whatever could be laid hands on. Apoplexy found many an underground victim among them. The intrenchment became loathsome on account of this besides many other causes which need not be mentioned, the stench arising from the dead bodies of horses that had been shot and could not be removed.

As the forlorn defenders became weaker and weaker, opportunities presented themselves to men of heroic soul to prove the metal in which they were cast. One day the sepoy blew up an ammunition waggon within the intrenchment, and then it became a matter of terrible import to protect the other waggons from a similar catastrophe. Lieutenant Delafosse, a young officer of the 53d, ran forward, laid himself under the exposed waggons, picked up and threw aside the burning fragments, and covered the flaming portions with handfuls of earth—all the time subject to a cannonading from a battery of six guns, aimed purposely at the objects he was heroically shielding. Not he only. Two soldiers ran to the lieutenant with buckets of water; and, as the reward of their heroism—a reward seldom conferred in such circumstances—they all three returned from the dangerous spot in safety after preserving the ammunition waggons from the peril to which they stood exposed. The following simple record of deaths was

found in Cawnpore after it was retaken by the British in a series of operations to be described subsequently. It is as harrowing as it is hallowed: "Mamma died, July 12; Alice died, July 9; George died, June 27; entered the barracks, May 21; cavalry left, June 5; first shot fired, June 6; uncle Willie died, June 18; aunt Lily died, June 17." It was evidently written by a lady, who was numbered with the dead before the frightful tragedy ended its first act. *Requiescat in pace.*

After thirty-three days of enforced resistance in the intrenchment, and eighteen days of siege, the condition of the victims was truly deplorable. They were driven to the last extremity. A daring sally might have been successfully made by the brave men who had so long held the murderous crew outside at bay; but they could not leave the women and children in such perilous circumstances. They were fathers as well as warriors; many of them; and true British hearts knew how to choose.

A parley was resolved on, to see if no arrangement could be come to by which they might all escape with their lives. An ayah, a native nurse, gave the following account of it afterwards.

Nana Sahib went to the intrenchment after overtures had been made, and said: "Take away all the women and children to Allahabad, and if your men want to fight, come back and

do so; we will keep faith with you."

General Wheeler replied: "You take your solemn oath, according to your custom, and I will take an oath on my Bible, and will leave the intrenchment."

The Nana: "Our oath is, that whoever we take by the hand, and he relies on us, we never deceive; if we do, God will judge and punish us."

The General then went inside the intrenchment and consulted with the soldiers.

They said: "There is no reliance to be placed in the natives; they will deceive you."

A few said: "Trust them; it is better to do so."

The General went outside the intrenchment and gave answer to the Nana: "I agree to your terms; see us away as far as Futtehpore, thence we can get easily to Allahabad."

The Nana's reply was: "No, I will see you all safe to Allahabad."

When the time had come for investigation into this transaction, and how it was brought about, several accounts were given on both these points, but they all agreed in asserting that a safe conduct was guaranteed by the treacherous Nana, only to be villainously disregarded. So also that Sir Hugh Wheeler was mortally wounded before his companions in misery left the intrenchment, under a solemn pledge of safety, is generally ad-

mitted, but the date of his death is not generally known.

On the 27th of June, all who remained of the doomed nine hundred left the intrenchment in which they had encountered so many woes. The Nana's aim seems to have been to grasp what remained of the Company's treasure and ammunition at Cawnpore, and to get rid of the Europeans, so as to obtain their wealth without any more fighting.

Cannonading had ceased on both sides on the evening of the 24th, and, till the 27th, everything was done as expeditiously as possible to get ready for the sail down the Ganges. The imagination shrinks from trying to figure to itself the circumstances in which these preparations were made. The unburied bodies of beloved ones were to be left unprotected in that unconsecrated well; the sick and wounded were more ready to die than be removed; the haggard women and children had been enfeebled by sufferings of every kind; the clothes of all were worn, torn, and blood-stained; and not one of the whole had a spark of confidence in the wily traitor at whose mercy they were now allowed to drag themselves away in unutterable wretchedness.

Twenty boats, each with an awning, were provided for the funeral voyage; and they were obliged to leave behind them three or four lacs of rupees which had been brought within

the intrenchment. On the morning of the 27th, Nana Sahib sent a number of elephants, carts, and doolies, to convey the women, children, sick, and wounded, a distance of a mile and a half to the river side. The men who could walk preceded them on foot, sorely oppressed with hunger, thirst, fatigue, heat, grief, and anxiety. The whole numbered only about four hundred and fifty, one half of the original nine hundred having fallen victims to their three weeks of privation and suffering.

Those who reached the river first took boat and set sail; but later comers were detained a long time, and, while they were still preparing to embark, they were horrified at hearing the report of guns. It was a masked battery of three guns which had begun to play on the wretches who were now within the toils of the heartless traitor, who, in disregard of oaths and treaties, had given orders for the slaughter in this manner of the heroes and their hapless dependants, whom he had found it so difficult to destroy in the intrenchment. Some of the boats took fire; volley after volley of musketry was directed against the unhappy passengers, scores of whom were shot dead in the boats, while others had bullets sent through them while they were endeavouring to swim to the banks, in the vain hope of being in safety there. A few boats were hastily rowed across

the river, only to encounter a body of the 17th native infantry who had just arrived from Azimghur to aid in the bloody work, for the performance of which they had been summoned thither. The murderers on both banks waded into the river, seized the boats within reach, and put all the men still remaining alive to the sabre.

The women were spared for a more horrible fate. Many of them, poor things, were wounded, some with two or three bullets; and they all in their agony of woe, with the children, whose condition defies description, were taken ashore, and placed in a building in Nana Sahib's camp.

There is a gloomy interest of attractive melancholy felt in following the vicissitudes of two separate boat parties. The gallant Lieutenant Delafosse, who so promptly risked his life to avert the blowing up of the ammunition waggons in the intrenchment, has told us the story of one of them, showing how he was among the very few who escaped with his life from the massacre at Cawnpore. He writes: "We had now one boat crowded with wounded, and having on board more than she could carry. Two guns followed us the whole of that day, the infantry firing on us the whole of that night. On the second day, 28th June, a gun was seen on the Cawnpore side, which opened on us at Nujjubgurh, the infantry still following

us on both sides. On the morning of the third day the boat was no longer serviceable; we were aground on a sandbank, and had not strength sufficient to move her. Directly any of us got into the water, we were fired upon by thirty or forty men at a time. There was nothing left for us but to charge and drive them away, and fourteen of us were told off to do what we could. Directly we got on shore the insurgents retired; but, having followed them up too far, we were cut off from the river, and had to retire ourselves, as we were being surrounded. We could not make for the river, we had to go down parallel and come to the river again a mile lower down, where we saw a large force of men right in front waiting for us, and another lot on the opposite bank, should we attempt to cross the river. On the bank of the river, just by the force in front, was a temple. We fired a volley, and made for the temple, in which we took shelter, having one man killed and one wounded. From the door of the temple we fired on every insurgent that happened to show himself. Finding that they could do nothing to us while we remained inside, they heaped wood all round and set it on fire. When we could no longer remain inside on account of the smoke and heat, we threw off what clothes we had, and, each taking a musket, charged through the fire. Seven of us

out of the twelve got into the water, but before we had gone far two poor fellows were shot. There were only five of us left now, and we had to swim whilst the insurgents followed us along both banks, wading and firing as fast as they could. After we had gone three miles down the stream, one of our party, an artilleryman, to rest himself began swimming on his back, and not knowing in what direction he was swimming, got on shore and was killed. When we had got down about six miles, firing from both sides ceased; and soon after we were hailed by some natives on the Oude side, who asked us to come on shore, and said they would take us to their rajah, who was friendly to the English." This turned out true; and Lieutenant Delafosse, with two or three companions, were entertained in security and comparative comfort throughout the month of July, till an opportunity occurred of joining a British force.

The last that this world heard of the brave old General Sir Hugh Wheeler, after his fifty-four years' service in India, was that he and his daughter were in another boat with a large party who rowed many miles down the Ganges till they got upon a sandbank. The sepoys ran along the shore and took to boats after them, shooting down their prey as soon as they got within musket range, and receiving many fatal shots in return. A freshet in the river

released the boat from the sandbank, and to prevent the escape of this party, Nana Sahib ordered three companies of the 3d Oude Artillery to pursue the boat and effect a complete capture. This was accomplished, and the sixty gentlemen, twenty-five ladies, three girls and a boy it contained alive, fell into the hands of their ruthless, relentless enemy. A native afterwards informed the commission of inquiry, that a contest took place on this occasion between the Nana and some of the soldiers regarding the putting to death of the aged general, many of the sepoys wishing to preserve his life. The result was death in some cruel form or other. The true story of this boat's load of victims will never be told.

Nana Sahib thought that the time had now fully come for him to declare himself the sovereign of the restored Mahratta kingdom. He held a great review, and caused it to be proclaimed by tuck of drum throughout Cawnpore and the surrounding district, that he had entirely conquered the British, and that he was prepared to drive them foot by foot from India. During the short hey-day of his ill-gotten kingly power, the Nana issued many crafty proclamations, which had the influence on the people he knew so well how to exert. They are all of a piece, and one will serve as a specimen of the lies that lent him a fleeting ascendancy. It

is fraught with bare-faced fictions, and reads thus: "A traveller just arrived in Cawnpore from Calcutta states that in the first instance a council was held to take into consideration the means to be adopted to do away with the religion of the Mohammedans and Hindoos, by the distribution of cartridges. The council came to this resolution, that as this matter was one of religion the services of 7000 or 8000 European soldiers would be necessary, as 50,000 Hindoos would have to be destroyed, and the whole of the people of Hindostan would become Christians. A petition, with the substance of this resolution, was sent to Queen Victoria, and it was approved. A council was then held a second time, in which English merchants took a part, and it was decided that, in order that no evil should arise from mutiny, large reinforcements should be sent for. When the despatch was received and read in England, thousands of European soldiers were embarked on ships as speedily as possible, and sent off to Hindostan. The news of their being despatched reached Calcutta. The English authorities there ordered the issue of the cartridges, for the real intention was to Christianise the army first, and this being effected, the conversion of the people would speedily follow. Pigs' and cows' fat was mixed up with the cartridges; this became known through one of the Ben-

galese who was employed in the cartridge-making establishment. Of those through whose means this was divulged one was killed, and the rest imprisoned. While in this country these councils were being adopted, in England the ambassador of the Sultan of Roum—Turkey—sent news to the Sultan that thousands of European soldiers were being sent for the purpose of making Christians of all the people of Hindostan. Upon this the Sultan issued a firman to the King of Egypt to this effect: 'You must deceive the Queen Victoria, for this is not a time for friendship, for my Vakeel writes that thousands of European soldiers have been despatched for the purpose of making Christians of the army and people at Hindostan. In this manner, then, this must be checked. If I should be remiss, then how can I show my face to God? and one day this may come upon me also, for if the English make Christians of all in Hindostan, they will then fix their designs upon my country.' When the firman reached the King of Egypt, he prepared and arranged his troops before the arrival of the English army at Alexandria, for this is the route to India. The instant the English army arrived, the King of Egypt opened guns upon them from all sides, and destroyed and sunk their ships, and not a single soldier escaped.

"The English in Calcutta, after the issue of the order for the

cartridges, and when the mutiny had become great, were in expectation of the arrival of the army from London; but the great God, in His omnipotence, had beforehand put an end to this. When the news of the destruction of the army of London became known, then the Governor-General was plunged in grief and sorrow, and beat his head."

The women and children, who were conveyed from the boats into captivity, numbered 115. We shall pass over the temptations held out to some of the women and the elder girls to enter the Nana's harem. Death rather than dishonour was the resolution of every one of them. They refused the harem, however, only to encounter the sensual licence of the sepoys. The horrors put on record must not be rehearsed in these pages.

The heroic conduct of Miss Wheeler, a worthy daughter of the brave Sir Hugh, is said to have deterred the ruffians for a time. Her story is differently reported. One version of it is, that she shot down five sepoys in succession with a revolver, and then threw herself into a well to escape outrage. Another is, that being taken to his hut by a trooper of the 2d native cavalry, she rose in the night, secured the trooper's sword, killed him and three other men, and then threw herself into a well. Another says, that Miss Wheeler cut off the heads of no

less than five men in the trooper's hut. Whatever the facts may have been, the rumours all agree in ranking Miss Wheeler among the bravest of the brave, styling her, as has been done, the "Judith of Cawnpore."

The women and children were incarcerated in the out-buildings of the medical depot, which had been shortly before occupied by Sir George Parker. Here thirty other unhappy victims joined them. "It is not easy to describe," says Mr Shepherd, "but it may be imagined, the misery of so many helpless persons; some wounded, others sick, and all labouring under the greatest agony of heart for the loss of those so dear to them, who had recently been killed, perhaps before their eyes; cooped up night and day in a small, low, pukha-roofed house in the hottest season of the year, without beds or pun-kahs, for a whole fortnight, and constantly reviled and insulted by a set of brutish ruffians keeping watch over them." He proceeds to tell that "certain spies, whether real or imaginary, were brought to the Nana as being bearers of letters supposed to have been written to the British by the helpless females in their captivity, and with these letters some of the inhabitants of the city were believed to be implicated. It was therefore decreed by Nana Sahib that the spies, together with all the women and children, as also the few gentlemen whose lives had been

spared, should be put to death." At length, on the 13th of July, before quitting Cawnpore to check, as he vainly hoped, the advance of a British column, he put the decree of blood into execution. "The native spies were first put to the sword, after them the gentlemen, who were brought from the outbuildings in which they had been confined, and shot with bullets. Then the poor females were ordered to come out, but neither threats nor persuasions could induce them to do so. They laid hold of each other by dozens, and clung so closely that it was impossible to separate or drag them out of the building. The troopers therefore brought muskets, and after firing a great many shots through the doors and windows, rushed in with swords and bayonets. Some of the helpless creatures in their agony fell down at the feet of their murderers, and begged them in the most pitiful manner to spare their lives, but to no purpose. The fearful deed was done deliberately and determinedly, in the midst of the most dreadful shrieks and cries of the victims. From a little before sunset till dark was occupied in completing the dreadful deed. The doors of the buildings were then blocked up for the night, and the murderers went to their homes. Next morning it was found, on opening the doors, that some ten or fifteen females, with a few of the children, had managed to escape

from death by hiding under the murdered bodies of their fellow-prisoners. A fresh command was thereupon sent to murder these also, but the survivors not being able to bear the idea of being cut down, rushed into the compound, and seeing a well there, threw themselves into it. The dead bodies of those murdered on the previous evening were then ordered to be thrown into the same well, and julluds were appointed to drag them away like dogs."

Poor Mr Shepherd had himself a woeful experience. When the victorious English column entered Cawnpore on the 17th of July, he was a prisoner in the city, having stolen out of the intrenchment to see and try if anything could be done there for the relief of the sufferers within, and fallen into the cruel fangs of the Nana's agents. Not till the manacles had been struck from his wasted limbs did he learn the full bitterness of the cup of woe he had to drain to the dregs. "I am the only individual saved," he wrote to a brother stationed at Agra, "of all the European and Christian community that inhabited this station." This was nearly, but not exactly, true. In the agony of his grief he proceeds: "My poor dear wife, my darling sweet child Polly, poor dear Rebecca and her children, and poor innocent children Emmeline and Martha, as also Mrs Frost and poor Mrs Osborne," all members of his family, "were all most inhu-



manly butchered by the cruel insurgents on the day before yesterday."

The account of how a small band of heroes forced their way to Cawnpore will be given subsequently. Here it may be remarked that when they entered that city they were horror-stricken. An officer wrote: "I have seen the fearful slaughter-house, and I also saw one of the 1st native infantry men, according to order, wash up part of the blood which stains the floor before being hanged. There were quantities of dresses clogged thickly with blood; children's frocks, frills, and ladies' under-clothing of all kinds; boys' trousers; leaves of Bibles, and of one book in particular which seems to be strewed over the whole place, called 'Preparation for Death'; broken daguerreotypes; hair, some nearly a yard long; bonnets, all bloody; and one or two shoes. I picked up a bit of paper with the words written on it—'Ned's hair, with love,' and opened it and found a little bit tied with ribbon. The first troops that went in, I believe, saw the bodies, with their arms and legs sticking out through the ground. They had all been thrown into a well." Other letters, written on the

occasion, give details of the most revolting kind. For these the reader must turn to the fuller accounts of the mutiny, given in such books as Chambers's "History of the Revolt in India." As to the sepoy who was washing up a part of the blood before being hanged, an explanation of this preliminary to execution will be found in a private letter, written by Brigadier Neill. He wrote: "Whenever a rebel is caught, he is immediately tried, and unless he can prove a defence, he is sentenced to be hanged at once; but the chief rebels or ringleaders I make first clean up a certain portion of the pool of blood, still two inches deep, in the shed where the fearful murder and mutilation of women and children took place. To touch blood is most abhorrent to high caste natives; they think, by doing so, they doom their souls to perdition. Let them think so. My object is to inflict a fearful punishment for a revolting, cowardly, barbarous deed, and to strike terror into these rebels. . . . The well of mutilated bodies, containing, alas! upwards of 200 women and children, I have had decently covered in and built up as one grave."

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## CHAPTER VIII.

## A. PROSPECT OF THE MUTINOUS REGION IN JUNE.

THERE were no very serious tumults connected with the mutiny during the month of June in the eastern divisions of Bengal. Incipient symptoms of disaffection were checked before they attained any perilous development. Calcutta was indeed thrown into a state of considerable agitation on the 13th of that month by an apparently well-grounded rumour that the sepoys of Barrackpore and that city had agreed to mutiny that night. The civilians enrolled themselves as volunteers, or armed special constables, and patrolled the streets in the English parts very vigilantly for two or three nights. Military arrangements as effective as were possible in the circumstances were made. It was discovered that the deposed King of Oude, residing in a splendid mansion at Garden Reach, in the suburbs, had been engaged in some machinations with a prince of the Delhi family against the Europeans, and a military force marched to his house at four o'clock in the morning of Monday the 15th, surrounded the grounds, entered the house, and seized the ex-king and his prime minister, together with a large quantity of papers. A document was found containing a sketch map of Calcutta, and also a plan for a general rising of the natives

on June 23d, the centenary day of Clive's great victory at Plassy, the murder of all the Feringhees, and the establishment of a native dynasty on the ruins of that of the East India Company. This rendered prompt measures necessary. All the native troops in Calcutta, with the exception of the Governor-General's body-guard, were disarmed as a precautionary measure, although it was intimated to them that they would receive pay and perform sentry duty as before, and that their arms would be returned to them as soon as public tranquillity was restored. After this the inhabitants of the capital recovered their equanimity.

When the news of this fight reached London, it alarmed the relatives of the deposed king fully as much as it had appalled the most timid of the European inhabitants of Calcutta. It will be remembered that the queen-mother of the deposed sovereign and his son and his brother, went to the British capital to plead his case with Parliament against the action of the Company in annexing Oude. They never had the semblance of a chance of gaining anything they came for. On this occasion they prepared a petition for the House of Lords and a memorial to Queen Victoria, asserting that their royal relative "dis-

dained to use the arm of the rebel and the traitor to maintain the right he seeks to vindicate." But facts were decidedly against them, and both petition and memorial came to nothing.

The most serious mutinous event in the districts around the Anglo-Indian capital occurred at the Sonthal Pargunnahs, where the 5th irregular cavalry displayed symptoms which would have become exceedingly disastrous if they had not been sternly repressed. On the 12th of June, Lieutenant Sir Norman R. Leslie, the adjutant of that regiment; Major Macdonald, and Assistant-Surgeon Grant, were sitting in Sir Norman's compound at Rohnee in the dusk of the evening, when they were suddenly attacked by three men, armed with swords. Major Macdonald's head was laid open by a blow, which left him insensible for many hours; Mr Grant was severely wounded, and Sir Norman Leslie was killed. The murderers, who belonged to the regiment, were seized, tried, and speedily executed. The following extract from a letter, written by Major Macdonald, explains how this was effected. He writes: "Two days after [the attack] my native officer said he had found out the murderers, and that they were three men of my own regiment. I had them in irons in a crack, held a drum-head court-martial, convicted, and sentenced them to be hanged next morning. I took on my own shoulders the respon-

sibility of hanging them first, and asking leave to do so afterwards. The day was an awful one of suspense and anxiety. One of the prisoners was of very high caste and influence, and this man I determined to treat with the greatest ignominy, by getting the lowest caste man to hang him. To tell you the truth, I never for a moment expected to leave the hanging scene alive, but I was determined to do my duty, and well knew the effect that pluck and decision had on the natives. The regiment was drawn out; wounded cruelly as I was, I had to see everything done myself, even to the adjusting of the ropes, and saw them looped to run easy. Two of the culprits were paralysed with fear and astonishment, never dreaming that I should dare to hang them without an order from Government. The third said he would not be hanged, and called on the Prophet and on his comrades to rescue him. This was an awful moment; an instant's hesitation on my part, and probably I should have had a dozen of balls through me, so I seized a pistol, clapped it to the man's ear, and said, with a look there was no mistake about, 'Another word out of your mouth, and your brains shall be scattered on the ground.' He trembled, and held his tongue. The elephant came up, he was put on his back, the rope adjusted, the elephant moved, and he was left dangling. I then had the

others up, and off in the same way. And after some time, when I had dismissed the men of the regiment to their lines, and still found my head on my shoulders, I really could scarcely believe it."

These are the two most stirring incidents that occurred during the month of June, in what have been called the eastern divisions of Bengal; or, in other words, the region extending from the Burmese frontier to the Doab.

In the western divisions the troubles were more serious. The districts of which Patna and Dinapoor are the chief towns, were thrown early in the month into a state of great excitement by the general spread of rumours, traceable to the deserters from Barrackpore, that the Government were taking active measures to force the people to change their religion.

The most serious outbreak, in consequence of this state of feeling, occurred about the close of the month at Patna. One evening a large body of Mohammedians assembled at the house of one of their number, Peer Ali Khan, a bookseller, and proceeded thence to the Roman Catholic church and mission-house in the city, with two large green flags, a drum beating, and shouts of Ali, Ali! The priest, whom they intended to murder, escaped. They then called on the populace to join them. Dr Lyell, principal assistant to the opium agent, immediately proceeded to the focus of excitement, accompanied by nine

Sikhs. Riding ahead of his attendants, the doctor was shot by the rioters, and his body was mangled and mutilated before the Sikhs came to the spot. Receiving an accession of force, they soon recovered the unfortunate gentleman's body, killed some of the insurgents, and put the rest to flight. The fanatics, in return, destroyed the property of the Catholic mission; but, showing that it was really a religious frenzy which had seized them, they were guilty of no plundering. Not an article was removed.

Thirty-six of the insurgents were afterwards captured, tried, and sixteen of them, including Peer Ali Khan, who was believed to be the murderer of Dr Lyell, were condemned to death. Peer Ali Khan was offered a reprieve if he would divulge the nature and the branchings of the conspiracy, but nothing could be extracted from him. It was afterwards ascertained, however,—and this is what gives wide significance to the murderous incident—that he had been in secret communication with an influential native at Cawnpore ever since the annexation of Oude, and that the details of some comprehensive plot had been arranged between them. The plot had been in existence for many months, and there were men in Patna under regular pay to stir up the people to fight for the King of Delhi. Letters found in the arch-conspirator's house, after his execu-

tion, disclosed that the conspiracy aimed at re-establishing Mohammedan supremacy on the ruins of the British power.

At Tirhoot, Ghazepore, and Azimghur, there were weary watchings, outbreaks, bloodshed, and plundering; but the events at Benares were more serious than anything that occurred eastward of that city during the month of June; and they would have been very much more deplorable, as any one may infer from a short statement of the facts, if Lieutenant-Colonel Neill had not reached Benares on the 3d of June. He had with him sixty men and three European officers of the 1st Madras Fusileers. Five companies of that regiment were in the rear, all having been despatched by Viscount Canning, with the eager hope that they would reach Cawnpore in time to relieve Sir Hugh Wheeler and his unfortunate companions. At Benares Colonel Neill was informed that the 17th Bengal native infantry had mutinied at Azimghur, and that the treasure passing through that town on its way from Goruckpore to Benares had been plundered. Neill resolved that the 37th regiment of Bengal native infantry, stationed at the latter city, should at once be disarmed. He appeared on parade at five o'clock the same afternoon, accompanied by a strong reliable force. The 37th, suspecting what he intended to do, rushed to the bells—that

species of armoury which has already been mentioned—seized and loaded their muskets, and fired on the Europeans, several of whom fell wounded, and Brigadier Ponsonby, the commandant at Benares, was disabled by a sun-stroke.

Colonel Neill, assuming the command, made a dash at the native lines, opened an effective fire, expelled the 37th, burned their huts, and secured his own men and guns in the barracks for the night. Before going on parade the next morning he sent all the European families to the mint for refuge; and this continued to be their chief place of residence during a considerable portion of the month. Additional European troops arrived in a few days, and the capture and execution of the insurgents were proceeded with in that vigorous fashion which prevailed wherever Colonel Neill felt himself constrained, for necessary reasons, to assert the prerogatives of stern, implacable penal justice. Acting along with Mr Tucker, the commissioner, and Mr Gibbins, the judge, he instituted such proceedings as were fitted to strike terror in the hearts of the rebellious. The Rev. Mr Kennedy, who was resident in Benares at the time, writes: "The gibbet is, I must acknowledge, a standing institution among us at present. There it stands, immediately in front of the flagstaff, with three ropes always attached

to it, so that three may be executed at one time. Scarcely a day passes without some wretches being hurled into eternity. It is horrible, very horrible! To think of it is enough to make one's blood run cold; but such is the state of things here, that even fine delicate ladies may be heard expressing their joy at the rigour with which the miscreants are treated. The swiftness with which crime is followed by the severest punishment strikes the people with astonishment; it is so utterly foreign to our modes of procedure, as known to them. Hitherto the process has been very slow, encumbered with forms, and such cases have always been carried to the Supreme Court for final decision; but now the Commissioner of Benares may give commissions to any he chooses—the city being under martial law—to try, decide, and execute on the spot, without any delay, and without any reference.”

An outbreak at Allahabad, in the early part of June, excited inexpressible astonishment; it was so utterly unexpected by the authorities, who believed in the protestations of loyalty obtrusively made by the troops. There was indeed felt by all the Europeans a vague undefined uneasiness. The fort was anxiously looked to as a place of refuge when trouble did come, but the trouble was always looked for from without—from Benares, Lucknow,

or other places—not from within.

The 6th Bengal infantry, stationed at Allahabad at the time, was one of the most trusted regiments in the whole native army. The sepoys of this corps made effusive protestations of faithfulness to their British rulers. It was on the 5th of June that Colonel Simpson received instructions from Viscount Canning to thank his men for their loyalty; and, on the same day, news reached Allahabad of the occurrences on the 4th at Benares, and of the probable arrival of some of the mutineers from that city.

The Europeans had betaken themselves to the fort as a precaution; but matters looking favourable, several families slept outside that night. All remained quiet till about nine o'clock next evening, the 6th of June, when, to the unbounded dismay of the officers, two guns, which had been sent under the command of Captain Harward, to guard the bridge of boats across the Ganges, in the direction of Benares, were seized, and the captain had to run for his life. In the cantonment the officers were at mess, with their confidence in what they considered their trusty men, till then mistaken, when the sepoys sounded the alarm bugle, as if to bring them on parade. Those who rushed out were at once fired at, and nearly all shot dead; and nine young ensigns, mere boys, just beginning that

career in which boys see so much that is glorious, were bayoneted in the mess-room. Captain Alexander, of the 3d regiment of Oude irregular artillery, when he heard of the rising, hastened towards the lines with a few of his men, but he was caught in an ambush by the sepoys and at once shot down. The jail birds were then set free by the mutineers, and murder and devastation were inaugurated in all directions. Europeans were shot wherever they happened to be seen ; women suffered worse than death, and death to end with ; the telegraph wires were cut, the boats on the river seized, the treasury plundered, and the houses of both wealthy natives and Europeans indiscriminately pillaged.

Frightful details of cruelty were perpetrated. A whole family was roasted alive ; persons were killed by inches ; the ears, the nose, the fingers, and the feet were successively cut off ; some were chopped to pieces ; children were tossed on bayonets before the eyes of mothers, who were being violated, or were just receiving the murderous stroke which mercifully freed them from life.

An incident is related of one of the youthful officers, which must be repeated here. An ensign, only sixteen years of age, who was left for dead among the rest, escaped in the darkness to a neighbouring ravine. Here he found a stream, the waters of which sustained

his life for four days and nights. Although desperately wounded, he contrived to raise himself into a tree at night-time for protection from wild beasts. On the fifth day he was discovered, and dragged by the brutal insurgents before one of their leaders. There he found another prisoner, a Christian catechist, formerly a Mohammedan, whom the sepoys were endeavouring to terrify and torment into the renunciation of Christianity. The firmness of the native was giving way as he knelt before his persecutors ; but the boy-officer, after anxiously watching him for a short time, said, "Oh, my friend, come what may, do not deny the Lord Jesus !" Just at this moment the arrival of Colonel Neill and the Madras Fusiliers—presently to be noticed—at Allahabad was announced. The ruffians made off ; the poor catechist's life was saved ; but the gentle-spirited young ensign sank under the wounds and privations he had endured. When this incident became known through the medium of the public journals, the father of the young officer, town-clerk of Evesham, told how brief had been the career thus cut short. Arthur Marcus Hill Cheek had left England so recently as the 20th of March preceding, to commence the life of a soldier. He arrived in Calcutta in May, was appointed to the 6th native regiment, reached Allahabad on the 19th of the same month,

and was shot down by his own men eighteen days afterwards.

An agony of suspense was suffered by the inmates of the fort on the night of the 6th. They thought that the alarm-bugle meant the arrival of mutineers from Benares. But the reality soon startled them. Fortunately Lieutenant Brayser had the presence of mind and the energy to disarm eighty sepoys, who, under his command, guarded the main gate of the fort, whose muskets he found loaded and capped. For twelve days the Europeans in this place of refuge were kept in terror. Night and day bands of marauders rushed from place to place in the city, plundering and burning as they rushed. The civilians were organised as volunteers; the male inhabitants of the fort were glad to escape from it in these ranks, for no other change than to skirmish and fight with the insurgents in the streets.

Colonel Neill no sooner heard of the occurrences at Allahabad than he proceeded towards it. The distance from Benares is about seventy-five miles, but leaving that city on the evening of the 9th, he reached Allahabad on the afternoon of the 11th. He found the neighbouring villages swarming with insurgents, the bridge of boats partly broken up, and in the hands of the mob, and the fort almost completely invested. But by careful manœuvring, he succeeded in obtaining boats to cross to the

fort, with the one officer and forty-three men of the Madras Fusiliers, with whom he had set out in advance. Assuming the command at once, he arranged for having the mutineers driven out of the villages and the bridge of boats recaptured the following morning. In this he succeeded, and thus secured a safe road for the approach of a detachment commanded by Major Stephenson, who arrived in the evening of that day. Neill gained completely the upper hand, and proceeded by a prompt, firm, and stern course of action, to re-establish British authority in Allahabad and the neighbourhood. Two steam-boat loads of women and children were sent down the Ganges to Calcutta; and by the end of June tranquillity was restored. Colonel Neill now planned the best expedition he could arrange for in the circumstances, to march for the relief of Sir Hugh Wheeler and the other beleaguered Europeans at Cawnpore.

Meantime the process of selecting salient incidents from the thousands of exciting events and thrilling adventures which were daily occurring, leads one to follow the course of events back again into the turbulent country of Oude. The 30th of June 1857, was a day of gloom and evil omen at Lucknow. Sir Henry Lawrence had continued watchful, hopeful, and constantly on the look-out for how he could be helpful to other cities in this perturbed region. On



the evening of the 29th, however, he received information that a rebel force, six or seven thousand strong, was encamped near the Kookra Canal, on the Fyzabad road, eight miles distant from Lucknow. Determining at once to attack them, he set out at six o'clock next morning with about six hundred men and eleven guns. Misled by his informants, probably designedly, Sir Henry fell into an ambush of considerable force near Chinut. Nothing daunted, this brave soldier, taken at a disadvantage, struggled against superior numbers, confident of victory, till, just at the most critical moment, his Oude artillerymen, proving themselves the traitors they were, overturned their six guns into ditches, cut the traces of their horses, and went over to their kindred rebels. Lawrence saw that retreat was inevitable. Completely outflanked, exposed to a terrible fire on all sides, weakened by the desertion of these artillerymen, having few guns of any use, and almost destitute of ammunition, the retreat became a disastrous rout. Under a scorching sun, and the scathing fire of the mutineers, officers and men fell rapidly. Colonel Case, of Her Majesty's 32d, being mortally wounded, was succeeded by Captain Steevens, who immediately fell; his command was assumed by Captain Mansfield, who, although he escaped a soldier's death that day, died soon after of cholera.

It took a hero of the finest mould to look the difficulties in the face which Lawrence had now to encounter, and not quail before them. They aroused him to more determined efforts. In Lucknow, for the defence of the English, he had hitherto garrisoned the Residency, the fort of Muchee Bhowan, and other posts. The disaster of the 30th of June so weakened him, that he had not men left to put in effective strength more than one of these. He resolved to blow up the Muchee Bhowan. At midnight on the 1st of July, after the troops were removed, 240 barrels of gunpowder and 3,000,000 ball cartridges, were sent into the air.

After that the Residency was the only stronghold left to the English; and it became only too apparent later that had Fort Bhowan not been blown up, scarcely a European would have been spared to tell the tale of subsequent miseries at Lucknow. Six months' provision for a thousand persons was collected into the Residency; and all arrangements were made which foresight and farsight could suggest for a successful defence.

But the last of the gallant, brave, and wise chief-commissioner with unlimited military authority was at hand. A shell, sent by the insurgents, penetrated into his room on the 1st of July; his officers advised him to leave a part of the Residency so dangerously exposed, but he re-

fused. Next day another shell entering the same room, and bursting, wounded him mortally. Sir Henry knew that his last hour was approaching, and he made such arrangements for the protection of his people as seemed to him wise and necessary. He appointed Brigadier Inglis his successor in military matters, and Major Banks Chief-Commissioner of Oude.

It was a heavy burden of sorrow that had settled down upon the Residency. One thought possessed every heart, and in the midst of innumerable miseries, one case minimised all the others during the two days he survived after the fatal blow from a splinter of a shell. It was hushed on the 4th of July, the day on which Sir Henry Lawrence breathed his last; and it would be an impertinence to aim at depicting in words the grief, deep and earnest, which took possession of every breast when this became known.

The following estimate of his character and tribute to its worth is from *Fraser's Magazine*, No. 336: "Every boy has read, and many living men still remember, how the death of Nelson was felt by all as a deep personal affliction. Sir Henry Lawrence was less widely known, and his deeds were in truth of less magnitude than those of the great sea-captain; but never probably was a public man within the sphere of his reputation more ardently beloved. Sir Henry Lawrence had that

rare and happy faculty—which a man in almost every other respect unlike him, Sir Charles Napier, is said also to have possessed—of attaching to himself every one with whom he came in contact. He had that gift, which is never acquired—a gracious, winning, noble manner; rough and ready as he was in the field, his manner in private life had an indescribable charm of frankness, grace, and even courtly dignity. He had that virtue which Englishmen instinctively and characteristically love—a lion-like courage. He had that fault which Englishmen so readily forgive, and when mixed with what are felt to be its naturally concomitant good qualities, they almost admire—a hot and impetuous temper; he had in overflowing measure that God-like grace which even the base revere and the good acknowledge as the crown of virtue—the grace of charity. No young officer ever sat at Sir Henry's table without learning to think more kindly of the natives; no one, young or old, man or woman, ever heard Sir Henry speak of the European soldier, or ever visited the Lawrence Asylum, without being excited to a nobler and truer appreciation of the real extent of his duty towards his neighbour. He was one of the few distinguished Anglo-Indians who had attained to something like an English reputation in his lifetime. In a few years his name will be familiar to every

reader of Indian history, but for the present it is in India that his memory will be most dearly cherished; it is by Anglo-Indians that any eulogy on him will be best appreciated; it is by them that the institutions which he founded and maintained will be fostered as a monument to his memory."

How, after this, Lucknow was defended and delivered, will be told in the proper place.

The mutiny of Fyzabad was attended with great sufferings and a sad loss of life. On the 7th of June Colonel Lennox was informed that the insurgent 17th regiment of Bengal native infantry was approaching that station from Azimghur. He resolved to advance to Surooj-Khoond, a place about five miles distant, to meet the mutineers, and repel them before they reached Fyzabad. The native troops under his command refused to go, but promised to fight in the cantonment if it should become necessary. But on the evening of the 8th they showed their true colours, by placing an armed guard over their officers for the night, two of whom, trying to escape, were fired at, and brought back. The men held a council of war, at which the cavalry proposed to kill the officers, but the representatives of the 22d regiment objected to this. The officers were informed that they would be allowed to leave, and might take with them their private arms and property, but no public

property—all that belonged to the King of Oude. Colonel Lennox, powerless to resist, departed in a boat with his wife and daughter, and after many perils, owing to the friendly assistance of Meer Mohammed Hossein Khan, a noble and considerate chieftain, they reached Calcutta with their lives. The main body of the Fyzabad officers were sent off by the mutineers in four boats. They were soon attacked by sepoys. Lieutenants Currie and Parsons were drowned while attempting to escape by swimming. Eight who reached the shore, in the course of their flight, had to cross a stream which took them only up to the knees; here Lieutenant Lindesay was literally cut to pieces; and when the remaining seven reached the opposite bank, five were butchered at once, the two survivors ran for their lives, but Lieutenant Cautley was speedily overtaken and killed; and the only one alive, Sergeant Busher, outrunning his pursuers, reached a Brahmin village, where a bowl of sherbet was given him. After a little rest he ran on again, but finding that he was closely pursued, the sergeant tried to hide under some straw in a hut. He was discovered, dragged out by the hair of the head, exhibited from village to village for the rabble to jeer at and scoff, but by a miracle he escaped, and reached Ghazeepore alive seventeen days after he had sailed from Fyzabad. The boat which con-

tained the civilians and the women and children suffered terribly. Many lives were lost. One of the most affecting incidents of the mutiny was the escape of Mrs Mill and her children. In all the dreadful hurry of departure, she became separated from her husband, and was the last Englishwoman left in Fyzabad. How she escaped and how she fared was more than she herself could clearly narrate; for the whole appeared afterwards as a dreadful dream, in which every kind of misery was confusedly mixed. During two or three weeks she was wandering up and down the country, living in the jungle when man refused her shelter, and searching the fields for food when none was obtainable elsewhere. Her poor infant, eight months old, died for want of its proper nourishment; but the other two children, seven and three years old, survived all the privations to which they were exposed. On one occasion, seeing some troopers approaching, and being utterly hopeless, she passionately besought them, if their intentions were hostile, to kill her children without torturing them, and then to kill her. The appeal reached the hearts of the rude men; they took her to a village, and gave her a little succour; and their conveyance to Goruckpore, where danger was over, was facilitated by a friendly native.

At Sultanpore, on the 9th of June, Colonel Fisher, Captain

Gubbins, and two other Europeans, were murdered. The mutinous sepoys urged Lieutenant Tucker to escape, which he did. In many other instances they showed a special affection for one or more of their officers, and tried to save them.

A very orderly mutiny, conducted with the utmost quietness, took place at Pershadpore on the 10th of June, in the 1st regiment of Oude irregular infantry. Here one of the tricks of the intriguers was detected. He caused ground bones to be mixed with the attah (coarse flour with which chupatties are made), and then sent a rumour round the bazaar where it was sold that the Government intended by compelling the people to eat this flour to take away their caste. Captain Thomson detected and exposed this calumny, and lived till the 9th day of June under the pleasant delusion that he had scotched the snake of mutiny. But on that day a troop of the 3d Oude irregular cavalry arrived from Pertabghur, and the news of the rising at Sultanpore spread. It proved infectious. Captain Thomson rose on the morning of the 10th to find his regiment all dressed—a corps of respectful mutineers. He knew there were some good and faithful men among them, and these he tried to induce to accompany him to Allahabad, but the prospect of loot was too much for even their loyalty; the temp-

tation of treasure was more than they could resist, so they all joined in the spoliation, and felt this a good reason for believing that their allegiance had come to a natural close. At four o'clock in the afternoon all the Europeans left the station. Not a shot was fired, nor an angry word uttered. They were escorted to the fort of Dharoo-poor, which belonged to Rajah Hunnewaut, a friendly chieftain, who treated them courteously, and after some days forwarded them safely to Allahabad. This particular mutiny comes in as almost a pleasant variety, amid the scenes of bloodshed which have to be encountered even when writing the barest summary of that tale of woe and agony which is vaguely styled the Indian Mutiny.

The troops which broke out in open mutiny at Lucknow on the last two days of May, fled towards Seetapoor, a town about fifty miles due north of Lucknow. What became of them is not known; but the native troops stationed at Seetapoor—infantry and military police, in all, about 3000 men—showed themselves in undisguised mutiny on the 3d of June. They began by plundering the treasury. They set fire to the officers' bungalows, then attacked and shot all of them who came their way, and eagerly sought them out for slaughter. The surviving officers hurried to the house of Mr Christian, the commissioner; and when all were

assembled, with the civilians, the ladies, and the children, it was at once resolved to quit the burning bungalows and ruthless soldiers, and seek refuge at Lucknow. Some made their exit without any preparation, among whom was Lieutenant Burnes of the 10th Oude irregular infantry—roaming through jungles for days, and aiding women and children as best they could, suffering all those miseries, which have so often been depicted. The great body of Europeans, however, left the station in buggies and other vehicles; and as the high roads were perilous, the fugitives drove over hills, hollows, and ploughed fields, where perhaps vehicles had never been driven before. Fortunately, twenty troopers remained faithful to them, and escorted them all the way to Lucknow, which place they reached on the night of the third day, reft of everything they possessed, like many other fugitives in those days. Many of the Europeans did not succeed in quitting Seetapoor in time, and among these the work of death was ruthlessly carried on. The professedly faithful troopers were unwilling or unable to check these deeds of barbarity.

At almost every station in Oude, where there was a native regiment or a treasury in store, scenes of murder and plunder were exhibited. At Nynee Tal, a healthy spot a few miles from Almora, in Ruamon, and not far from the Nepaulese border, many

refugees found a place of repose. It became a second Simla during the disturbances. Women and children, whose lives were not sacrificed, were hurried off thither, and to one or two other towns among the hills, to remain there till days of peace returned, or till means of safe conveyance to Calcutta or Bombay could be procured. Jung Bahadoor, the Prime Minister of Nepaul, but virtually its chief or king, was friendly to the English, and sent Goorkha regiments to defend Nynee Tal, and protect those who had sought refuge there. About the middle of June seven gentlemen, three ladies, and five children, escaped from the Oude mutineers into the jungle region of Nepaul, and Jung Bahadoor issued orders whenever he heard of them, to see that they were treated with every kindness, and that elephants and other means of conveyance should be supplied them for their safe retreat to Goruckpore.

At Bareilly, in Rohilcund, the native soldiers, on the 29th of May, concerted a plan of mutiny while bathing in the river. The morning of Sunday, the 31st—Sunday again, observe!—ushered in a day of bloodshed and rapine. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon the rattle of musketry, the roar of cannon, and the howls and yells of the rabble, were only too plain an announcement that cavalry and infantry were busy at their infernal work. The only safety for

the Europeans, military as well as civilian, lay in precipitate flight. About twenty-five military officers escaped, but there was a large list of missing, many of whom, it was afterwards ascertained, had been brutally massacred. Captain Mackenzie, of the 8th irregular cavalry, clung to his troopers in the earnest but vain hope that they would remain faithful, but only nineteen of them did so, and they escorted their officers all the way to Nynee Tal.

This mutiny was headed by a hoary-headed traitor, named Khan Bahadoor Khan, who had for many years been in receipt of a double pension from the East India Company. He was the living representative of one of the early Rohilla chiefs of Rohilcund, and a retired judge of one of the native courts of justice. An old, venerable-looking man, of insinuating manners, Khan Bahadoor Khan was thoroughly relied on by the civil authorities at Bareilly. He was loud in the protestation of his indignation against the Delhi mutineers, and yet he ordered the murder of all Europeans who unfortunately did not succeed in making their escape. By his orders, as self-elected chief of Rohilcund, a search was made for all who might still be hiding in Bareilly, and Judge Robertson and four or five other European gentlemen were, after a mock trial, hung in the Kotwal Square.

During the month of June Bareilly remained entirely in

the hands of the mutineers. Not an Englishman remained alive in the place.

It would only be going over the rehearsal of similar atrocities to linger in Rohilcund and relate what happened in Boodayoun, Mooradabad, and Shah-jehanpoor. At the last-named military station the native troops broke out in mutiny on Sunday the 31st of May. The 28th regiment of infantry rose, surrounded the Christian residents when they were at church engaged in divine worship, and murdered nearly the whole of them, including the Rev. Mr M'Callum, in the sacred edifice itself. The few who escaped only rushed on an accumulation of miseries before they encountered a similar cruel fate. They first sought shelter at Mohammerah, in Oude; after that they came in the way of the 41st regiment, hot from the mutiny at Seetapoor, who shot them down, and sabred them without distinction, leaving scarcely one alive to tell the dismal tale to English ears.

Nynce Tal was now overcrowded with refugees from Oude and Rohilcund. At the end of June there were five times as many women and children as men among the Europeans at that place; and the proceedings in the districts around it were regarded anxiously by many sorrowing hearts and eager eyes.

Futtehpoor, in the Lower Doab, about mid-way between

Allahabad and Cawnpore, became a perilous place for European residents after the news of the outbreak at the former city reached that small civil station in the centre of a group of Mohammedan villages. On the 9th of June the residents held a council on their roof, and resolved to quit the station. A few troopers befriended them; and they succeeded, after many perils and sufferings, in reaching Banda, a town southward of the Jumna. Not all of them, however. Mr Robert Tucker, the judge, resisting entreaty, determined to remain at his post to the last. He rode all over the town, promising rewards to those natives who would be faithful; he endeavoured to shame others by his heroic bearing; he appealed to the gratitude and good feeling of many of the poorer natives, who had been benefited by him in more peaceful times. But all in vain. The jail was broken open, the prisoners liberated, and the treasury plundered; and Mr Tucker, flying to the roof of the court of justice, there bravely defended himself until a storm of bullets ended the earthly career of a noble Englishman. Robert Tucker was one of the many civil servants of whom the Honourable East India Company had just cause to be proud.

Agra was kept in a state of fearful excitement during this month. Meerut remained in the hands of the British, but Major-General Hewett was su-

perseded, and another commander appointed in his place. Dâks were re-established between Meerut and Agra in the one direction, and Meerut and Kurnaul in the other.

Simla, during these various operations, was a place to which, like Nynee Tal, ladies and children, military officers and civilians, fled for refuge, generally after being despoiled by the mutineers. Throughout June it was defended by the gentlemen who had reached its shelter, and by a few British troops. The people of the bazaar, and all the native servants, were disarmed.

Delhi continued to be the centre towards which the attention of all India was directed with absorbing anxiety. The mutineers from every centre in the disturbed region, either fled thither after the bloody work in their respective localities seemed to be accomplished, or they shaped the course they continued to pursue in dependence on the military operations going on there. All the British troops that could be sent were hurried off to join the ranks of the besiegers, who began their gigantic labour of recovering for the British the city of the Mogul about the middle of June.

The region of Central India, extending from Lower Bengal to Rajpootana, and separating Northern India from the Southern or peninsular portion of the empire, was in a state of wild disorder during this month. To

notice many of the incidents in this wide area would be impossible in such space as is at the disposal of the writer of this summary of the great revolt in India, which has been recorded for all ages of the world in deeds of blood, which can never be blotted from the memory of mankind. Jhansi, in Bundelkond, was the scene of a frightful outrage. Nearly all the Europeans were at once put to death. The native troops rose on the afternoon of the 4th of June, and shot at all the officers in the cantonment. Many were killed, and those who escaped for the time, barricaded themselves in a fort as well as they were able.

The place was too weak to stand a siege for any length of time. Musketry and sword cuts—for the besieged often met their assailants hand to hand at the gates—brought down many of the brave little garrison of Europeans; and some of the civilians who tried to escape disguised as natives, were caught by the mutineers and killed. At last when many of the officers had fallen, and the scarcity of ammunition and food disheartened the survivors, Major Skene accepted terms offered to him on oath. The whole garrison was to be spared if he opened the gate and surrendered. But the oath was merely a blind of the most unhallowed perjury. The bloodthirsty villains soon demonstrated its value. They seized all, men,



women, and children, and bound them in two rows of ropes, the men in the one row, and the women and children in the other. The whole were then deliberately put to death. The poor ladies stood with their infants in their arms, and their elder children clinging to their gowns; and, when the husbands and fathers had been slaughtered, then came the other half of the tragedy. It is even said that the innocent children were cut in halves before their mothers' eyes. One relief, and one only, marked the scene; there was not, so far as is known, torture and violation of women as precursors of death. About thirty officers—military, civilian, and non-commissioned—nineteen ladies, and twenty-three children, all were killed.

It was afterwards ascertained by Mr Thornton, the collector of a district between Jhansi and Cawnpore, that the mutinous troops had originally no intention, beyond seizing the treasure and sharing it, before they set out for Delhi. The murder was an afterthought, or rather a suggestion from beyond their own circle. A Bundelkhand chieftainess, the Ranee of Jhansi, wished to regain power in the district, and, to attain this end, she bribed the sepoy and sowars with large presents to take the fort, and to put all the Europeans to death. It was thus a woman, a lady of rank, who was mainly responsible for the guilt of the murder of more

than forty European ladies and their children.

One account which reached the ears of officers at other stations was, that one of the victims, Major Skene, when he became aware of the treachery meditated by the perjured sepoys and their instigators, kissed his wife, shot her, and then shot himself, to avert atrocities he feared, which are worse than death.

The disasters at Gwalior began on Sunday the 14th of June—on Sunday as usual—at nine o'clock in the evening. The alarm was given at the cantonment; all rushed out of their respective bungalows, and each family found others in a similar state of alarm. Shots were heard; officers were galloping or running past; horses were wildly rushing with empty saddles; and no one could give a precise account of the details of the outbreak. Then occurred the sudden and mournful disruption of family ties; husbands became separated from their wives; ladies and children sought to hide in gardens and grass, on house-tops, and in huts. Then arose flames from the burning bungalows; and then came bands of reckless sepoy hunters out the poor homeless English who were in hiding. Dr Kirk, with his wife and child, hid in the garden all night; in the morning they were discovered. Mrs Kirk was robbed, without being otherwise ill-treated, but her husband was shot dead be-

fore her eyes. After this miserable sight, Mrs Kirk begged the murderers to put an end to her also; but they replied, "No, we have killed you already," pointing to the dead body of her husband.

The ladies and children were allowed to depart with little else but their lives. Their sufferings

were fearful during five days of weary journeying. How they bore up against hunger, thirst, heat, illness, fatigue, and accumulated anxieties, they could not tell. Many arrived at Agra without shoes or stockings, and all were beggared of their worldly possessions when they reached that city.

## CHAPTER IX.

### SIR JOHN LAWRENCE IN THE PUNJAUB.

THE Punjaub has scarcely been mentioned yet in this compressed narrative. The British took this country of "five rivers," as the word Punjaub is well known to mean in Persian, in full sovereignty in March 1849. Sir Henry Lawrence distinguished himself greatly as one of the first commissioners. His brother, Sir John Lawrence, now Lord Lawrence, was knighted for eminent services while acting with Sir Henry, and had succeeded him as chief commissioner in the Punjaub.

The capital of this country is the famous city of Lahore. The outbreak at Meerut, which occurred on the 10th of May, was known there on the 12th. The authorities had observed symptoms of restlessness among the native troops, but this news required something more energetic than observation of symptoms.

Sir John Lawrence being absent, away at Rawul Pindee, a station between Lahore and Peshawur, had happily left behind him colleagues in power who knew what to do. They held a council of war, and resolved to deprive the native troops of ammunition and percussion caps, and to place more Europeans within the fort. But a native officer of the Sikh police revealed to the authorities the outlines of a conspiracy he had discovered, and this led Brigadier Corbett, commandant of the British military cantonment for Lahore, which stood at Meean Meer, six miles distant from the capital, to determine on the complete disarmament of the native regiments.

There was a ball to be given on the night of the 12th by the officers at Meean Meer. It was given, and while the jocund

dance was going on, preparations were being made for another kind of entertainment. Early on the morning of the 13th the whole of the troops, native and European, were ordered on parade, avowedly to hear the Governor-General's order relating to the affairs at Barrackpore, but really that the Europeans might disarm the natives. After this reading, a little manœuvring was ordered, whereby the whole of the native infantry regiments—the 16th, 26th, and 49th Bengal infantry, and the 8th Bengal cavalry—were confronted by the guns and by five companies of the Queen's 81st. At a signal, the sepoys were ordered to pile arms, and the sowars to unbuckle sabres; they hesitated, but grape shot and port fires were ready; they knew it, and they yielded. Thus were disarmed 2500 troops by only 600 British soldiers. Meanwhile the fort was not forgotten. Major Spencer, who commanded the wing of the 26th stationed there, had the men drawn up on parade on the morning of that same day. Three companies of the 81st entered the fort under Captain Smith, and these 300 British, or thereabouts, found it no difficult task to disarm the 500 or 600 sepoys. This done, the 81st and the artillery were quickly at such posts as they might most usefully strengthen, in the lines of the 81st, on the artillery parade ground, and in an open space in the centre of the cantonment, where

the brigadier and his staff slept every night. The ladies and children were accommodated in the barracks, while the regimental officers were ordered to sleep in a certain selected house in the lines of their own regiments, regiments disarmed but not disbanded, and professedly disarmed only as a matter of temporary expediency.

It is important to notice the date of this restlessness at Lahore, and its dependence on the news from Meerut. In the eastern part of the Punjaub, from the 11th to the 14th of May, were days of critical importance. The centenary day of Clive's victory at Plassy was drawing on, but it would seem from evidence subsequently procured that the 15th day of May was the day fixed for a simultaneous rising in rebellion of the Bengal sepoys—the "poorbeahs," as they are called there. Did they mean to have the work completed by the 23d and celebrate it as the great day of another kind of victory? Were eight days considered a long enough time to exterminate the British? Had the plot succeeded, the time might have been sufficient. There were, comparatively speaking, not so many to kill, and there were of willing murderers a thousand for each victim. But the outbreak at Meerut seems to have been unseasonable. It occurred before the time agreed on—five days before it—and that is a serious item of time in the maturing or

marring of a plot. Major-General Hewett's initial promptitude, then—inasmuch as it brought the monster mutiny to birth before its due time, and thus exposed its weakness with all its ferocity to those whose life depended on smothering it—was the accident which arrested the combination of evil which was intended by those who planned the Titanic, or rather Satanic, plot. Those five days probably prevented the shedding of an amount of European blood which it would be frightful to try to imagine.

Peshawur is the chief city of the western division of the Punjab. On the 21st of May, news reached that capital that the 55th Bengal native infantry had mutinied at Murdan, one of the military stations, on the previous day; that they had their officers under surveillance, although they did not molest them; and that Colonel Spottiswoode, their commander, had committed suicide through grief and mortification. It was at once resolved to disarm the native troops at Peshawur. This was cleverly and successfully accomplished on the 22d, very much against the will and even to the deep chagrin of many British officers. There always are people blind with their eyes open who yet keep asserting that they only can see.

The 24th, 27th, and 51st regiments of native Bengal infantry were on this occasion deprived of their arms, as were

also the 5th regiment of light cavalry; and a subadar-major of the 51st was hanged in presence of all his comrades and would-be companion mutineers.

The disarming was effected by confronting each regiment with small parties of European artillery and cavalry in such a way as to prevent the regiments from assisting one another. The disarmed men were not allowed to desert. Instant death was the punishment of an attempt at desertion. The Europeans and a body of irregular troopers who had no sympathy with the hitherto petted sepoys of Bengal, kept a vigilant watch over them.

When the disarming was thus thoroughly accomplished, a relieving force was at once sent to Murdan. Arrived there, it attacked the mutinous 55th, killed or captured 200 of them, and drove the rest away.

The misguided insurgents had counted on sympathy and support from the Mohammedan hill tribes. But these half-trained mountaineers on the Afghan border had come under the spell of the powerful character of the chivalrous Colonel Edwardes, who had so greatly distinguished himself in the Punjab war, and whose subsequent admirable management of these rough materials had added signally to his laurels. The hill-men hated the Brahmins, and held all traitors in contempt. When, therefore, Colonel Edwardes sent them against the mutineers, the latter found good

reason to rue the day. The sepoys were brought back to the British cantonment in fives and tens, and were instantly put to death. No quarter was given to men who had gloried in being blind and deaf to justice and mercy. The authorities in the Punjaub, like Neill at Benares and Allahabad, believed that mercy would be a mistake and ultimately a cruelty to them, as it was all through to all besides. They shot, hanged, and blew away from the guns with appalling promptitude.

On one occasion a letter was intercepted, revealing the fact that three natives of high rank—giving names—were to sit in council on the morrow to decide what to do against the British; a telegraphic message was sent off to Sir John Lawrence for advice how to act; a message was returned—"Let a spy attend and report." This was done, and a plot discovered. Another question brought back another telegram—"Hang them all three;" and in a quarter of an hour the hanging was completed. The importance of retaining artillery in European hands was strongly felt at Peshawur; to effect this, after many guns had been sent away to strengthen the moving column, 160 European volunteers from the infantry were quickly trained to the work, and placed in charge of a horse battery of six guns, half the number on horseback and the other half sitting on the guns and waggons, all actively put

in training day after day to learn their duties. Fearful work the European gunners had sometimes to perform. Forty men of the 55th regiment were "blown from guns" in three days. An officer present on the occasion says: "Three sides of a square were formed, ten guns pointed outwards, the sentence of the court read, a prisoner bound to each gun, the signal given, and the salvo fired. Such a scene] I hope never again to witness—human trunks, heads, arms, legs, flying about in all directions. All met their fate with firmness but two; so to save time, they were strapped to the ground and their brains blown out with musketry."

At Jullundur, Jelum, and Sealkote, mutinies took place, and blood was shed, and treasures were plundered, much in the same way as in the places of which a slight account has been given. When the mutinous troubles began in the Punjaub there were about twenty regiments of the Bengal native army in that country. These regiments were at once and everywhere distrusted by Sir John Lawrence and his chief officers. All the sepoys were disarmed and the sowars dismounted as soon as suspicious symptoms appeared. Some regiments remained at the stations disarmed throughout the whole of the summer and autumn. Others mutinied before and after the disarming, but very

few of them lived to reach the scene of rebel supremacy at Delhi. Many of them set out for the great centre of all the disaffected, but on the way, at one place or another, they were killed or frightened out of their attempt to join the fray by Europeans, Sikhs, Punjaubees, or hill-men.

How to respect the liberty of the newspaper press at such a time, and also keep it from becoming an instrument of mischief by circulating untruths or truths it were more judicious not to publish, is always felt a difficulty by rulers who know its power for good or for evil. Sir John Lawrence adopted a very commendable course. He caused the *Lahore Chronicle* to be made the medium of conveying official news of all that was occurring in India. A rapid outline of all reliable information was supplied to the conductors of that paper every day by the Government Secretary. This summary of the most important public news was printed on small sheets of paper, and despatched by each day's post to all the stations in the Punjaub. Thus people were candidly told how events proceeded, and false rumours and sinister reports were much less prevalent in the Punjaub than in Bengal. Of course, the high character of the Chief-Commissioner was accepted by the readers as a guarantee that the news supplied in the epitome, whether it was less or more, was honestly come by and given

forth again. A chief who did not command respect could not have worked out a scheme, controlling the almost unmanageable power of the press in such a way and to such wise ends, as this was done by Sir John Lawrence. As the summer advanced and dâks were interrupted and wires cut, the news became very scanty; and the English in the Punjaub, aware that things were going wrong at Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpore, had little idea of how far wrong matters had gone. Events that happened at Allahabad, for example, were known in London sooner than at Lahore.

Sinde, the country through which the Indus flows in its lower course, after the "five rivers" have all found flowing accommodation in one channel, was affected only by insurgent proceedings, when the very few incidents glanced at in the foregoing pages were happening north and east of it. This was owing partly to its great distance from the disturbed provinces of Hindostan, and partly to the vicinity of the well-disposed Bombay army. The excellent organisation of Jacob's irregular horse also contributed to keep Sinde in comparatively good order. This corps was much talked of in India. Colonel, afterwards Brigadier, John Jacob was the originative genius who gave it form and substantial influence. It consisted of two regiments of about 800 men each, carefully drilled, and armed

and equipped in the European manner, yet having only five European officers, the squadron and troop commanders being native officers. Brigadier Jacob was proud of his two regiments, and never missed an opportunity of pointing out the superiority of the system in the Bombay army, according to which men were enlisted irrespective of caste, and where there were better means of rewarding individual merit. The brigadier would allow no religious scruples to interfere with the military efficiency of his men. On one occasion, during the Mohurram or Mohammedan religious festival in 1854, there was great uproar and noise among 10,000 Mussulmans assembled in and near his camp of Jacobabad to celebrate their religious festival. He issued a general order: "The commanding officer has nothing to do with religious ceremonies. All men may worship God as they please, and may act and believe as they choose in matters of religion, but no men have a right to annoy their neighbours or to neglect their duty, on pretence of serving God. The officers and men of the Sinde Horse have the name of, and are supposed to be, excellent soldiers, and not mad fakeers. . . He therefore now informs the Sinde Irregular Horse that in future no noisy processions, nor any disorderly display whatever, under pretence of religion or anything else, shall ever be allowed in, or in neighbourhood of,

any camp of the Sinde Irregular Horse."

Nationally speaking, Jacob's men were not Sindians at all. They were drawn from other countries of India, and were in the ratio of three-fourths Mussulmans to one-fourth Hindoos. They remained faithful when the mutiny began in the regions farther east, though that was in the teeth of numerous attempts to seduce them by sepoys and troopers of the Bengal army.

Still Sinde had a few troubles during the year. At one time a body of fanatical Mohammedans would unfurl the green flag, and call upon each other to fight for the Prophet. At another time gangs of robbers and hill-men, of which India has in all ages had an abundant supply, would take advantage of the troubled state of public feeling to rush forth on marauding expeditions, caring much for plunder and little for faith of any kind. At another, alarms would be given which induced European ladies and families to take refuge in the forts or other defensive positions. At another, regiments of the Bengal army would try to tamper with the fidelity of other troops in Sinde. But of these varied incidents, few were so serious in results as to need record here. One, interesting in many particulars, arose out of the following circumstance: When some of the Sinde forces were sent to Persia, the 6th Bengal irregular cavalry arrived to supply their place.

These troopers, when the mutiny was at least four months old, endeavoured to form a plan with some Beloochee Mohammedans for the murder of the British officers at the camp of Jacobabad. A particular hour of the 21st of August was named for this outrage, in which various bands of Beloochees were invited to assist. The plot was revealed to Captain Merewether, who immediately confided in the two senior native officers of the Sinde Irregular Horse. Orders were issued that the day's proceedings should be as usual, but that the men should hold themselves in readiness. Many of the border chiefs afterwards sent notice to Merewether of

what had been planned, announcing their own disapproval of the conspiracy. At a given hour the leading conspirator was seized, and correspondence found upon him tending to show that the Bengal regiment, having failed in other attempts to seduce the Sinde troops from their allegiance, had determined to murder the European officers as the chief obstacles to their scheme. The authorities at Jacobabad wished Sir John Lawrence to take this Bengal regiment off their hands, but the experienced chief of the Punjaub would not have the dangerous present; he thought it less likely to mutiny where it was than in a region nearer to Delhi.

## CHAPTER X.

### BEGINNING TO STEM THE TORRENT.

At the outbreak of the mutiny, just at the time when the services of a military commander were most needed in the troubled provinces of the north-west, General Anson, the commander-in-chief, was not to be heard of. At Calcutta he was supposed to be somewhere between Simla and Delhi, but dâks and telegraphs had been interrupted, and his movements were not known where it was of urgent national importance that they should be under control. Viscount Can-

ning sent messages, in the hope that some of them would reach; duplicate telegrams flying in different directions, flashed the fearful news that British India was in peril so long as Delhi was not in British hands. That city must be delivered from marauders and murderers, was the tone of the Governor-General's adjurations, and all power must be brought to bear upon it with the greatest possible expedition.

Major-General Sir Henry Bar-



nard, military commander of the Umballa district, received telegraphic news on the 11th of May regarding the outrages at Meerut and Delhi. He knew where to find the commander-in-chief, and immediately sent off an aide-de-camp to gallop to Simla, seventy or eighty miles distant, with this information to General Anson. The commander-in-chief at once hastened from the hills, and hurried to Umballa, the nearest military station on the great highway of India, and then began in earnest those arrangements for the recovery of Delhi, the nature and results of which will be recorded in next chapter. The stemming of the torrent was begun.

The successful beginnings were in India, and by means at the disposal of the authorities there. For it is not to be forgotten, the crisis was passed before a single additional regiment from England could reach the scene of the mutiny.

There were warlike armaments on the Indian seas at the time the Meerut outbreak tapped the great furnace of affliction, but no one dreamed that there was warfare for them in India just then. One army was returning from Persia, where it had made the power of Britain felt to a practical purpose; another was on its voyage to commence hostilities in China. What might have become of British India, if these forces had not been so near hand as they were, is one of those vain specu-

lations which the imagination shudders at and yet will indulge in.

Three days after that fatal Sunday at Meerut—in other words, on the 13th of May—Mr Calvin, lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces, telegraphed to Calcutta, suggesting that the force returning from Persia should be ordered round to Calcutta, in order to be sent up the country to strengthen the few English regiments; for it was by them alone that the mutiny could be suppressed. Orders were at once sent by telegraph, when it was available, to Madras, Bombay, Pegu, Rangoon, and Moulmein, to hurry on every British regiment under the control of the authorities at these governing centres to Calcutta. On the 16th of May a telegram was sent to Lord Elphinstone at Bombay, requesting him to send round to the Anglo-Indian capital two of the English regiments about to return from Persia. On the next day Lord Harris telegraphed from Madras to the Governor-General, recommending that the army on its way to China under Lord Elgin and General Ashburnham should be stopped, and rendered immediately available for emergencies in India. On the same day Sir John Lawrence announced his intention of disarming the Bengal sepoys in the Punjaub, and of raising new regiments in that country; and Mr Frere, commissioner of the Sinde, was ordered by Lord

Elphinstone to send the 1st Bombay Europeans from Kurachee up the Indus to Moul-tan, and thence to Feroz-pore on their way to Delhi.

Similar earnest efforts were put forth, and prompt steps taken during the month of June to bring British troops to bear upon the mutiny-stricken territories. Towards the close of the month arrangement was made to receive the aid of an army of Nepaulese from Jung Bahadoor. It was to advance from Khatamandoo, the capital of Nepaul, through Goruckpore towards Oude. About twenty regiments altogether, besides artillery, arrived at Calcutta during the following six or seven months, irrespective of any plans laid in England after the terrible news of the mutiny reached.

The Indian Government was throughout the year 1857 very deficient in cavalry. During a long period of peace the stud establishments had been to a considerable degree neglected; and when the dire emergency arose, there were more soldiers able and willing to ride than horses to mount. This defective supply of horses affected the artillery and baggage departments also. When information of this reached Australia the colonists bestirred themselves to remedy the defect. The whole of New South Wales was divided into eight districts, and committees formed to ascertain how many horses available for cavalry

could be supplied by each district. Colonel Robbins was sent from Calcutta to make purchases, and he succeeded in obtaining several hundred good strong horses, at prices satisfactory to both the stock-farmers and the Government. The committees did good service in bringing together willing sellers and a ready buyer.

It was unfortunate that the Viscount Canning was not a popular Governor-General with a great many Europeans unconnected with the East India Company. They accused him of favouring the natives at the expense of the English. The hatred of the latter for the former was unbounded at this time, intensified by the cruelties exercised by the mutineers and the rabble of budmashes on their unhappy victims. The outcry raised against the viceroy complicated the miseries of the time. It tended to paralyse action both in Calcutta and in London. In the former capital the Government had to defend itself against both Europeans and natives.

The missionaries of various Christian denominations also, with the best of motives, pursued a course which did not lighten the labours and anxieties of the supreme council. In September 1856 a number of these gentlemen, in the Bengal presidency, presented a memorial, setting forth in strong terms the deplorable condition of the natives, enumerating a series

of abuses and defects in the Indian Government, and recommending the appointment of a commission of inquiry, to comprise men of independent minds, unbiassed by official or local prejudices. The alleged abuses bore relation to the police and judicial systems, gang-robberies, disputes about unsettled boundaries, the use of torture to extort confession, the zemindary system, and many others. The memorialists asserted that, if remedies were not speedily applied to those abuses, the result would be disastrous, as "the discontent of the rural population is daily increasing, and a bitter feeling of hatred towards their rulers is being engendered in their minds." Mr Halliday, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in reply to the memorial, pointed out the single omission of the missionaries to make any, even the most brief mention of the numerous measures undertaken by the Governor to remove the very evils complained of, thereby exhibiting a one-sided tendency inimical to the ends of justice. He declined to accede to the appointment of a commission on these grounds: That, without denying the existence of great social evils, "the Government is in possession of full information regarding them; that measures are under consideration, or in actual progress, for applying remedies to such of them as are remediable by the direct executive or legislative action of the Government ;

while the cure of others must of necessity be left to the more tardy progress of national advancement in the scale of civilisation and social improvement." He expressed his "absolute dissent from the statement made, doubtless in perfect good faith, that the people exhibit a spirit of sullen discontent on account of the miseries ascribed to them, and that there exists amongst them that bitter hatred to the Government which has filled the memorialists, as they declare, with alarm as well as sorrow." The British-Indian Association, consisting of planters, landed proprietors, and others, supported the petition for the appointment of a commission, evidently with the view of fighting the missionaries with their own weapons, by showing that the missionaries were exciting the natives to disaffection. Mr Halliday declined to rouse up these elements of discord. Viscount Canning and the supreme council supported him, and the court of directors approved of the course pursued. All this greatly added to the embarrassments of the Governor-General.

But if whips had been cracked at him thus far, there were scorpions yet in store. The bitter pens of ready writers in the newspapers were nibbed with caustic to resent a check which was placed upon a degree of licence which they called liberty. On the 13th of June the legislative council of Calcutta, on the

motion of the Governor-General, passed an act restricting the liberty of the press in India for one year. All printing-presses, types, and printing-machinery throughout British India were by this act to be registered, and were not to be used without a licence from the Government. A copy of every paper, sheet, or book, was required to be sent to the authorities immediately on its being printed; and the Government might prohibit the publication of the whole or any part of it. In India it produced great exasperation in some quarters; but generally it was observed with a reasonable amount of respect. In London it was the occasion of some violent attacks being made against Lord Canning, especially after a discontented editor arrived there from India, and brought with him a petition signed by some of the Europeans at Calcutta who were not connected with the Government; and which prayed for the removal of Viscount Canning from the office he held.

As to the line of policy adopted by the Home Government to stem the torrent of mutiny, on the 29th of June, two days after the first dreadful news from Meerut reached London, the court of directors of the East India Company ordered officers at home on furlough to return to their regiments at once; those on sick-leave also to return so far as health would permit. They also made a

requisition to the Government for four full regiments of infantry in addition to those that had previously been ordered to proceed to India, in the ordinary course of military movement. The Government acquiesced. On the 14th of July, after another mail had arrived, making known further and more terrible disasters, the directors applied for six more regiments of infantry, and eight companies of royal artillery—the men to be sent from England, the horses from the Cape of Good Hope, and the guns and ammunition to be provided in India. In two days Government named the six regiments. Steps were taken to send out drafts to bring up the whole of the Queen's regiments in India to their full strength, and also the European regiments belonging to the Company.

These various additions to the number of armed Europeans in India amounted to about 24,000 men.

General Anson having died of cholera at Kurnaul on the 27th of May, the Calcutta Government appointed Sir Patrick Grant provisionally as commander of the forces in India, the permanent appointment to that high office being retained in the hands of the Government in London. It was known in London early in July that General Anson was dead, and Sir Colin Campbell was appointed his successor. It was generally felt that this was a wise selection.

The news of General Anson's death reached London on the morning of Saturday the 11th of July; at two o'clock the same day a cabinet council was held; immediately after the council an interview took place between the Minister of War and Sir Colin Campbell, at which the latter was appointed Commander-in-Chief for India; being asked how soon he would be ready to take his departure, Sir Colin replied, "To-morrow."

He left England on Sunday evening, taking very little with him but the clothes on his back; and availed himself of the quickest route to India.

The 24,000 men chosen for India by the middle of July were duly despatched; and before the end of the year, in consequence of the organisation of further plans, very nearly 40,000 men had been sent off to take a part in quelling the mutiny.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE SIEGE OF DELHI.

THE British authorities knew well that if their position, and the power they had acquired in India, were to be retained, Delhi must be retaken. The insurgents were intimately aware of this; and accordingly they flocked in bands to the rallying city.

On the part of the British, plans were laid and preparations made from the very day that the startling news spread that Delhi was in the hands of rebellious sepoys, and that the debauched, dethroned descendant of Timour the Tartar was enthroned again in the palace of the Moguls. But every soldier necessary for forming a siege army had to be brought from a distance. The cantonment outside of the city

was wholly in the hands of the rebels; and the British force at Meerut, under the command of General Hewett, did nothing for Delhi till it was set in motion by orders from a distance.

Major-General Sir Henry Barnard was the first to take the active steps which led to the organisation of the siege. As mentioned above, he sent a message to General Anson whenever he heard the ill-omened news, which, reaching Barnard at Umballa on the 11th of May, was communicated to Anson on the 12th. He was aware of the paucity of European regiments in all the region eastward of Delhi to Calcutta. Any available force to recover that city must come, therefore, from Sir-

hind and the Punjaub. The regiments at the various hill stations were summoned from these healthy quarters to engage in death-dealing work on the insanitary plains; and orders were sent to Lahore, which, we shall see, were more than amply attended to.

These arrangements were made before General Anson left Simla on the evening of the 14th; and he arrived at Umballa on the 15th. Here he, along with Sir Henry Barnard, took strict account of the forces they could reckon on for instant effective work. The Umballa magazines were nearly empty of stores and ammunition, and the commissariat was ill-supplied with vehicles, as well as beasts of draught or burden.

In these circumstances, it was resolved to bring small detachments from many different stations to Umballa, and to send them off at once to form the nucleus of a besieging army at Delhi. This, accordingly, was done.

General Anson resolved to leave Sir Henry Barnard at Umballa, and head the siege army himself. It was to consist of three brigades—two from Umballa, and one from Meerut, which was to form a junction with the other two at Bhagput on the 5th of June. After this they were all to advance together towards Delhi.

This scheme was put forth by General Anson on the 23d of May; he left Umballa on the 24th, and reached Kurnaul on

the 25th, where he died the following day, carried off by cholera in a few hours. Feeling the hand of death upon him, he hastily summoned Sir Henry Barnard from Umballa, and his last instructions were that the Delhi force should be placed under the command of that officer. Viscount Canning, when the news reached Calcutta, immediately confirmed the appointment of Sir Henry to this trying post; but the appointment was not communicated to the army under his command for some considerable time. Major-General Reed became provisional commander at Anson's death by seniority, and he came to the headquarters of the siege army, but did not seek to supersede Sir Henry Barnard. He was so thoroughly broken down in health that he could not command in person.

Major-General Hewett organised a brigade at Meerut, according to General Anson's plan; it set out on the evening of the 27th of May, under the command of Brigadier Archdale Wilson, and reached Bhagput on the morning of the 6th of June, after fighting two severe but successful battles with the mutineers, who disputed the passage of the river Hindoun with him, doubtless anxious to prevent a junction of the Meerut force with the other two brigades.

Sir Henry Barnard, advancing from Kurnaul, effected a junction with Wilson on the

6th; and next day the united force was reorganised at a point so near Delhi that the troops looked eagerly forward to a speedy encounter with the enemy.

Many of these soldiers had marched great distances. The Guides had performed a determined exploit in the marching way, which proved how little they shrank from fatigue and heat when a post of duty and honour was assigned to them.

This remarkable corps was raised on the conclusion of the Sutlej campaign, to act either as regular troops or as guides and spies, according as the exigencies of the service might require. The men were chosen for their sagacity and intelligence, as well as for their courage and hardihood. They were inhabitants of the Punjaub, but belonged to no selected race or creed; for among them were to be found mountaineers, borderers, men of the plains, and half-wild warriors. Among them nearly all the dialects of Northern India were more or less known, and they were as familiar with hill fighting as with service on the plains. They were often employed as intelligencers, and to reconnoitre an enemy's position. They were the best of all troops to act against the robber hill-tribes, with whom India is so much infested. Among the many useful pieces of Indian service effected by Sir Henry Lawrence was the suggestion of this corps. They were stationed at a remote

post in the Punjaub, not far from the Afghan frontier, when orders reached them to march to Delhi, a distance of no less than 750 miles. They accomplished the distance in twenty-eight days, a really great achievement in the heat of an Indian summer.

A gallant regiment of the ordinary service, the 1st Bengal European Fusileers, known in old times as Lord Lake's "dear old dirty shirts," accomplished a march little less severe. The various regiments, notwithstanding their long marches and constant exposure to the fierceness of the heat, reached Delhi in admirable health. The last four miles of their approach to that city was accomplished by continual fighting: the rebels disputing their advance foot by foot.

The rocky ridge which bounds the north of Delhi was bristling with cannon and bayonets. Sir Henry Barnard made his dispositions, and advancing rapidly, ascended this ridge, took the enemy in flank, and soon compelled them to abandon it, leaving twenty-six guns, with ammunition and camp equipage. The besieging army then took up that position before Delhi which it never left, till, after months of hard fighting, the city was reconquered.

Two incidents occurred during this preliminary struggle for the ridge which greatly irritated the siege army. The one was that a cart which they captured,

and which they supposed was loaded with ammunition, was found to be full of the mangled limbs and trunks of murdered Europeans; and the other was that two or three Europeans were fighting with and for the rebels—soldiers of fortune probably, that is, men destitute of both fortune and character, selling their services to the mutineers, who were not unwilling to pay handsomely for such assistance. The enraged soldiery knew of no feelings of mercy for such men, they regarded them with a far more deadly hatred than the sepoy was capable of inspiring.

The British having effected a permanent lodgment on the ridge, had their camp pitched behind it, on the old cantonment. The enemy made repeated sorties from the various gates of the city with the view of dislodging them, but were invariably driven back. Not a day passed without some such struggle.

On the 19th of June it came to the knowledge of Brigadier Grant that the enemy intended to attack the camp in the rear; and as the safety of the camp had been placed under his keeping, he made instant preparations to frustrate the insurgents. These troops are believed to have been augmentations of the insurgent forces, consisting of the 15th and 30th native regiments from Nuseerabad. The brigadier advanced with six guns and a squadron of lancers to reconnoitre, and found the ene-

my in position half a mile in rear of the Ochterlony Gardens, north-west of the camp. Troops quickly arrived, and a rapid exchange of fire began, the rebels being strong in artillery as well as infantry. Just as the dusk of the evening came on, the enemy, by a series of skilful and vigorous attacks, aided by well-served artillery, very nearly succeeded in turning the flank of the British, and in capturing two guns; but both these disasters were frustrated. The dusk deepened into darkness; but the brigadier felt that it would not do to allow the enemy to occupy that position during the night. A charge was made with great impetuosity by horse and foot, with so much success, that they were driven back quite into the town.

Sir Henry Barnard kept a vigilant watch over every movement of the mutineers who sallied forth from Delhi. On the 23d of June, the centenary of the decisive battle at Plassy, he saw a body of them come out of the city, and as they were not seen to return at night, he expected a masked attack. He sent Guides and sappers to demolish two bridges which carried the great road over the canal westward of the camp, and by which the enemy might attack his camp in the rear. The demolition of the bridges was warmly contested; but in six hours it was successfully accomplished.

A valuable convoy was expected from the Punjaub on that



day. Sir Henry Barnard sent out an escort, which brought it safely into the camp; but scarcely had he done this, when the enemy emerged from the city in vast force, and commenced to attack the British on the right side of their position. Here a combat was maintained the whole day; but at length the mutineers were driven back into the city.

It was afterwards ascertained that, remembering the 23d of June, the Indians in Delhi had resolved to attempt to achieve a signal victory over the British on that day of evil memory to them; and they were incited, moreover, by the circumstance that two festivals—one Mussulman and the other Hindoo—happened to occur on that day. If the rebels could have crossed the canal they would have got to the rear of the camp, and thus might have accomplished their object; but the demolition of the bridges prevented this. As it was, many officers were brought away sunstruck and powerless. The Guides fought for fifteen hours uninterruptedly with no food and only a little water. At one o'clock, when the enemy were strengthened by large reinforcements from the city, the Guides found themselves without ammunition, and sent back to the camp for more. Great delay occurred, and they were in imminent peril; but, fortunately, a corps of Sikhs, who had arrived at the camp that morning, rushed forward at

a critical moment, and aided them in driving back the enemy.

It was a fixed conclusion in the minds of the British authorities by this time, that Delhi was not to be taken by a *coup de main*, and Sir John Lawrence, when he became aware of this, acted with rare energy and judgment. He sent reinforcements down from the Punjaub as rapidly as they could be collected. He had lessened his own danger by disbanding the sepoys. He trusted his Sikhs, Punjaubees, and Guides; and on that account he was able to send Europeans and artillery to Delhi. The reserve and dépôt companies of the regiments already serving before Delhi were sent down from the hills to join their companions. Artillery from Jullundur and Lahore, Punjaub rifles and Punjaub light horse, followed the Guides and Sikhs to the great centre of action.

Fortunately, supplies were plentiful; the country from Delhi to the Sutlej was kept pretty free from the enemy, and the villagers were willing vendors of commodities readily bought and paid for by the besiegers.

On the 1st of July, the mutineers turned out in great force from the Ajmeer and Turcoman gates, and assembled on the plain outside. At sunset, five or six thousand infantry approached the British lines, taking cover of the buildings as

they passed. The extreme right of the line was held by only 150 Punjaubees and Guides under Captain Travers. Major Reid sent him a message to reserve his fire till the enemy approached nearer, and at the same time sent another 150 men. Throughout the whole night this little band of 300 men resisted a large force of infantry and artillery, yielding not an inch. The enemy with increased force renewed the attack next morning at daybreak; Major Reid sent a few more of his gallant men to help the 300. This handful defended their position for twenty-two hours continuously, never flinching till the enemy retired into the city. During the first twenty-eight days of the siege, Major Reid was attacked twenty-four times in the line of pickets and defence-works over which his command extended; and his medley of troops—Guides, Sikhs, Punjaubees, and Goorkhas—fought loyally in a common cause, never thinking of national or religious differences.

The escapes made by individuals in these encounters were more strange than fiction could invent. Take one example. An artillery officer in command of two horse-artillery guns, on one occasion was surprised by 120 of the enemy's cavalry; he had no support, and could not apply his artillery because his guns were limbered up. He fired four barrels of his revolver and killed two men; he then knock-

ed a third off his horse by throwing his empty pistol at him. Two horsemen then charged full tilt and rolled him and his horse over. He got up, and seeing a man on foot coming at him fiercely, sword in hand, he rushed at him, got inside his sword, and hit him full in the face with his fist. At that moment he was cut down from behind, and was only saved from being slaughtered by a brother officer, who rode up, shot one sowar and sabred another, and carried him off, bleeding, but safe.

On the 2d of July, five regiments and a battery of artillery of the Rohilcund mutineers from Bareilly, Moradabad, and Shahjehanpore, crossed the Jumna and marched into Delhi with bands playing and colours flying.

On the 5th, Major-General Sir Henry Barnard died. He had borne much anxiety and bodily suffering during the five weeks of his command of the Delhi field force. He had received General Anson's summons to assume this responsibility while he was confined to bed with sickness. He was on horseback all day on the 4th under the fierce heat of the sun. Early next morning he sent for Colonel Baird Smith, and explained his views concerning the mode in which he thought the siege operations should be carried on; and in a few hours he was at rest from all sickness and anxiety.

Brigadier Chamberlain now assumed the main part of the active direction of the siege, Major-General Reed, invalid as he was, taking the command of the forces.

At this time another complication engaged the attention of the army in front of Delhi. There were two regiments of Bengal irregular cavalry among the troops in the siege army, and there were a few "poorbeahs" in the Punjaub regiments. It became apparent by degrees that these men were a danger instead of a help to the British. They had been carefully watched from the first. Early in the month of July a Brahmin subadar in a Punjaubee regiment was detected inciting his companions-in-arms to murder their officers, and to go over to Delhi, saying it was God's will the Feringhee rule should cease. One of the Punjaubees immediately informed the officers of what was going on, and the would-be incendiary was put to death that same evening. The other poorbeahs in the regiment were immediately paid up and discharged from the camp.

About the middle of the month, the severity of the heat was a little alleviated by rains; but sickness and other discomforts set in. Many fell ill after remaining for hours in damp clothes; young officers lately arrived from England, and not yet acclimatised, were pros-

trated by sun-stroke, and a few of them died of apoplexy. Still the army was surprisingly healthy for the season and the circumstances.

Major-General Reed, utterly broken down in health, gave up even the nominal command he had held since General Anson's death. On the 17th of the month, Brigadier Chamberlain being wounded, Reed named Brigadier Archdale Wilson his successor.

The new commander wrote urgently to Sir John Lawrence for further assistance, at least one more European regiment and two more regiments of Sikhs. He said he might have to raise the siege and retreat to Kurnaul if these additional forces did not speedily reach him. Lawrence, redoubling his exertions, sent 900 European fusileers and 1600 Punjaubees in reply.

To the end of July, the struggles outside Delhi continued, but the frequency became somewhat lessened. The defence-works on the ridge had been gradually strengthened. As has been said, "It was not yet really a siege, for the British poured very few shot or shell into the city or against the walls. It was not an investment, for the British could not send a single regiment to the southwest, south, or east of the city. It was little more than a process of waiting till further reinforcements could arrive."

## CHAPTER XII.

## CAWNPORE RECAPTURED AND LUCKNOW RELIEVED.

SIR HENRY HAVELOCK commanded a division in the war with Persia in 1857. After that war was over, he came to Bombay, but left immediately for Calcutta. The wreck and perilous adventures he experienced during this voyage would have been explained in a more superstitious age as the vain interposition of the enemy of man, to cut off before he entered on his career a great benefactor of suffering men, women, and children.

Havelock arrived at Calcutta on the 17th of June in the same steamer as Sir Patrick Grant, and at once received the appointment of brigadier-general, to command such a force as could be hastily collected for the relief of the Europeans at Cawnpore and Lucknow. On the 1st of July, Havelock and his staff arrived at Allahabad, just a few hours after the first relieving column had been sent off from that city towards Cawnpore under Major-General Renaud. An auxiliary force under Captain Spurgin set off by steamer up the Ganges on the 3d, partly with a view of controlling the mutineers on the banks, but partly also on account of the want of convenient means of land conveyance. The steamer was called the *Brahmaputra*, and great interest was

taken in this voyage, as no steamer had hitherto had much success in sailing that portion of the Ganges. A prime difficulty in working her was the want of coals. The engineers were obliged to forage every day on shore for wood. On the second day of the trip, this foraging had to be carried on under the protection of half the force on board against 500 insurgents on the Oude bank, who were provided with a large piece of ordnance. The steamer never made more than two miles an hour, but this slowness was not entirely due to the struggle against the rapid stream and other difficulties of navigation; it was partly owing to the necessity of keeping time with the columns which were fighting their way onward on land.

Brigadier-General Havelock's column set out from Allahabad with all possible expedition. Dismal news of some dreadful calamity at Cawnpore quickened his movements. Among the troops he had collected was a handful of volunteer cavalry, twenty in number, which consisted chiefly of officers who had been left without command by the mutiny of the native regiments they had belonged to, most of them having narrowly escaped being massacred. This score of men were just the sort

of cavalry required in a column, proceeding on an enterprise such as that one was devoted to.

During the first nine days of his march, Major Renaud had every reason to be satisfied with the progress he made. He pacified the country, and punished the ringleaders of mutiny wherever he went. On the 10th of July, however, he found himself rather awkwardly situated. Cawnpore had fallen, the British at that station had suffered the miseries which have been referred to in a previous chapter, and the mutineer force, thus freed from occupation, pushed down rapidly to the vicinity of Futtehpore. They were 3500 men strong, and had twelve guns. Renaud had only 820 men and two guns.

When Havelock heard of this, he hastened on as quickly as possible to join Renaud. He overtook him during the night of the 11th and 12th, and the two columns joined and formed that admirable little army which was destined to work those wonders which made the wide world admire Havelock's campaign.

The mutineers at Futtehpore had not learned of the junction of the two columns. They supposed they had only Renaud's small force to contend with; and pushed forward two guns and a force of infantry and cavalry. Havelock was constrained to undeceive them sooner than he could have wished. He was anxious to

allow his worn-out soldiers a few hours of the rest they were so much in need of, but this prudence and forethought had to give way before the formidable work presented to them. The main trunk-road was the only tolerably easy approach to Futtehpore: the fields on either side of it were covered with water to the depth of several feet: there were along it many enclosures of great strength, the walls of which were high: and in front of the city there were numerous villages, hillocks, and mango-groves, which were occupied by the enemy in force.

Havelock placed his eight guns on and near the main road, protected by 100 riflemen; the infantry came up at deploying distance, covered by rifle-skirmishers; and the cavalry moved forward on the flanks.

The struggle was over in ten minutes. The Enfield rifle settled the affair. The rebels saw a few riflemen approach, but they had to learn the deadly power of the weapon these riflemen could handle with ease and skill. When they learned this a panic seized them, and they shrank back in amazement. The Enfield rifle, against the ordinary use of which they had rebelled, shot terror and death at once.

The artillery having dashed over the swamps, poured in upon the terrified mutineers such a fire as completed their discomfiture in a few seconds. They abandoned their guns.

Havelock advanced and drove

the enemy before him at every point, capturing their guns one by one. The garden enclosures, the barricades on the road, the city wall, the streets of Futteh-pore—all were gained.

The rebels made a stand a mile beyond the city, only to be put to flight again. Thus the conquering hero became master of Futteh-pore, and parked twelve guns.

There was no time to rest. The high road to Cawnpore passes over a small stream called Pandoo Nuddee about twenty miles from that city. The enemy resolved to dispute the passage of the bridge at Aong, a village four miles from it. They knew this time what to expect from the Enfield rifle. The struggle was rather a severe one; it was harassing, because the thickly-wooded country interfered with the effect of the cannon and the rifles; but, after a time, the mutineers beat a hasty retreat through the village, abandoning guns, tents, ammunition, and other materials of war.

The British troops needed rest for a few hours, and refreshment. The heat of the July sun was fierce; but another struggle awaited them at the bridge, which the enemy had not destroyed. They had placed two guns on it, and Captain Maude disposed his artillery so as to bring a converging fire on these two guns, while the Madras Fusiliers picked off the gunners with their Enfield rifles. When the vigour of the cannonade on

the bridge was somewhat lessened by such means, the Madras Fusiliers, commanded by Major Renaud, rushed upon the bridge and captured the guns—an exploit in which the gallant major was wounded. The mutineers retreated precipitately, and thus did Brigadier-General Havelock and his heroic band achieve two victories in one day.

Havelock disarmed and dismounted the sowars of the 13th irregular cavalry and the 3d Oude irregulars. Like other commanders at that critical time, he found they were not to be trusted.

The victorious band was now approaching Cawnpore. Nana Sahib, being a Maharatta, had not acquired that absolute influence over the Hindoos, who constituted a large proportion of the mutineers, which he had aimed at and hoped for. The Mohammedans favoured him more, and influenced the Hindoo sepoys in his favour.

When the Nana heard that Renaud had started from Allahabad with his little band, he gathered an army of sowars, sepoys, Maharattas, artillery, and miscellaneous rabble, to crush any British force which might make its appearance from Allahabad. The Maharatta chieftain did not know that Brigadier-General Havelock had joined Major Renaud, and he sent forward such bodies of troops as he believed would be quite sufficient to check the advance of the deliverers. But the success

which had attended the operations of the small brigade gave the matter rather a serious aspect in the eyes of the arch-traitor of Bithoor. So far as has been ascertained, it would seem that it was when he heard of the passage of the Pandoo Nuddee that Nana Sahib ordered the slaughter of all captives still alive at Cawnpore. He then headed an army, and took up a position at Aherwa, a point at which the road to the cantonment branches out from the main trunk road to Cawnpore. Here he commanded five villages, with numerous entrenchments, armed with seven guns; and he had his infantry in the rear.

The position was too strong to be taken at a rush. Havelock, therefore, who, with his men, had marched sixteen miles during the night, resolved on a flank movement on the enemy's left. He gave his exhausted troops two or three hours' rest in a mango-grove during mid-day of the 16th, until the distressing heat of the sun abated a little. Havelock then wheeled his force round to the left flank of the enemy's position; and a struggle began in which the British infantry showed the qualities of which a general is always most proud. It was like a realisation of a very old note of encouragement: "Five of you shall chase an hundred, and an hundred of you shall put ten thousand to flight." Villages were attacked and captured by handfuls of men so small that they them-

selves marvelled at the enemy yielding so readily. Havelock wrote regarding one exploit: "The opportunity had arrived, for which I had long anxiously waited, of developing the prowess of the 78th Highlanders. Three guns of the enemy were strongly posted behind a lofty hamlet, well entrenched. I directed this regiment to advance; and never have I witnessed conduct more admirable. They were led by Colonel Hamilton, and followed him with surpassing steadiness and gallantry under a heavy fire. As they approached the village they wheeled and charged with the bayonet, the pipes sounding the pibroch. Need I add that the enemy fled, the village was taken, and the guns captured."

The Nana was not yet routed. He planted a 24-pounder on the cantonment road, as a preparative to renew the attack. Havelock did not give him time, although his artillery cattle were so weak that they could not drag the guns into position, but cheered on his infantry to capture the 24-pounder; and they rushed along the road, amid a storm of grape-shot from the enemy, never slackening till the gun was in their possession. The mutineers retreated, blew up the magazine of Cawnpore, and pushed on to Bithoor.

Cawnpore was once more in the hands of the British.

The individual adventures and escapades in such battles are almost incredible, and are difficult for civilians to imagine.

Indeed, language, whether read or written, is little more than a symbol when it describes the operations of the battle-field to one who has never witnessed them. But personal vicissitudes give living interest to the record. Take these two. A youth of eighteen, who had joined the volunteer cavalry, had been on picket all the preceding night, with no refreshment save biscuit and water; he then marched with the rest sixteen miles in the forenoon; he stood sentry for an hour with the enemy hovering around him; then fought during the whole afternoon. He then lay down supperless to rest at nightfall, holding his horse's bridle the while; then mounted night-guard from nine to eleven, and then had his midnight sleep broken by an alarm from the enemy. It was on this occasion too that Lieutenant Marshman Havelock, son of the general, to whom he acted as aide-de-camp, performed a perilous duty in such a way as to earn for himself the Victoria Cross—a badge of honour established in 1856 for acts of personal heroism. The general thus narrated the incident in one of his despatches: "The 64th regiment had been much under artillery fire, from which it had severely suffered. The whole of the infantry were lying down in line, when, perceiving that the enemy had brought out the last reserved gun, a 24-pounder, and were rallying round it, I called up the regiment to

rise and advance. Without any other word from me, Lieutenant Havelock placed himself on his horse in front of the centre of the 64th, opposite the muzzle of the gun. Major Stirling, commanding the regiment, was in front, dismounted; but the lieutenant continued to move steadily on in front of the regiment at a foot pace on his horse. The gun discharged shot until the troops were within a short distance, when it fired grape. In went the corps, still led by the lieutenant, who still steered steadily on the gun's muzzle, until it was mastered by a rush of the 64th."

It was on the 17th of July that Havelock entered Cawnpore and learned the tales of horror of which a very defective account has been given in a previous chapter. His attention was, however, more engrossed with the living than with the dead. He sent forward part of his troops the same afternoon, and they found that the Nana had collected a force of 4000 men on a plain in front of Bithoor, which was diversified by thickets and villages; had two streams running through it which were not fordable, and could only be crossed by two narrow bridges.

The enemy held both bridges. When Havelock's infantry assaulted this position they were received with a heavy musketry and rifle fire, but after an hour of severe fighting they effected a crossing, drove back the



mutineers, captured their guns, and chased them towards Sorajpore. Thus was Cawnpore recovered and the road cleared of rebels between that city and Allahabad, and the fame of Havelock spread far and wide throughout the surrounding districts.

But there was Lucknow to be thought of. The garrison of Cawnpore was now beyond help or harm, but at Lucknow there was a group of suffering British men, women, and children, and the dreadful details witnessed in the well and the slaughterhouse were sufficient to render Havelock and his men eager to get forward in the hope of rendering effective help.

Havelock knew what he was undertaking. It was desperate work. His forces had been reduced by the severe fighting they had gone through, and sickness had lent its evil aid to weaken them. But Brigadier Inglis and his companions were not to be abandoned to a fate cruel as Cawnpore without an attempt, at least, to rescue them. He had sent to Allahabad an urgent message to Brigadier-General Neill to come to Cawnpore himself, if possible, and to bring reinforcements with him. It was not easy to find the means, but Neill ventured to draft off 227 soldiers of the 84th foot from his little force, and these he started off on the 15th in the hopes that they would reach Cawnpore on the 20th. He left next day

himself—that was the day of the decisive battle—and when he arrived at the recently recovered city, he assumed the military command of it and its neighbourhood, and assisted Havelock in the preparations necessary for crossing the Ganges into Oude.

Major Renaud died of his wound soon after the arrival of Neill, who valued him highly as a trusty officer.

Havelock began to cross the Ganges on the 20th. The river at this place varies from 500 to 2000 yards in width; there was no bridge, and the stream is usually very rapid. The steamer Brahmaputra was had in effective requisition for taking the troops across, and on the 23d 1100 soldiers had crossed over into Oude territory. The general crossed the river himself on the 25th, and joined his band of 1500 men, supported by ten guns. It was not very promising.

On the 29th, Havelock had again two well-fought battles in one day. At Onao he found that the enemy had taken up a strong position to dispute his march to Lucknow. They were posted in and behind the village, the houses being loopholed and defended by fifteen guns. He ordered the 78th Highlanders and the 1st Fusiliers to drive them out of their fastness. The attack was made by these brave soldiers, supported by two guns. They encountered a hot fire from the loopholed houses. A

party of the 84th foot advanced to aid them, and then a determined struggle took place. The village was set on fire, but still the mutineers held out; but at length a passage was made, and the enemy, drawn up in great strength on an open plain, was seen, attacked, routed, and their guns captured.

After two or three hours' rest, Havelock advanced from Onao to Busherutgunje, a walled town, with wet ditches, a gate defended by a round tower, four pieces of cannon on and near the tower, loopholed and strengthened buildings within the walls, and a broad and deep lake beyond the town. Havelock again sent the Highlanders and the Fusiliers, under the cover of guns, to capture the earthworks and enter the town, while the 64th made a flank movement on the left and cut off the communication from the town, which was by a bridge over the lake. The place was soon captured by the infantry and the guns, and the enemy again routed. In a despatch, Havelock mentions the following incident of this day's killing work. After describing the brief but desperate contest among the loopholed houses, he says: "Here some daring feats of bravery were performed. Private Patrick Cavanagh, of the 64th, was cut literally in pieces by the enemy while setting an example of distinguished gallantry. Had he lived, I should have deemed him worthy of the

Victoria Cross; it could never have glittered on a more gallant breast." This mode of noticing the merit of private soldiers endeared Havelock to his troops. Cavanagh had been the first to leap over a wall from behind which it was necessary to drive the enemy; he found himself confronted by at least a dozen troopers, two or three of whom he killed; but he was cut to pieces by the rest before his comrades could come to his aid.

On the 31st of July, General Havelock felt with agony that he was not able to advance farther on his glorious march of mercy to the sufferers at Lucknow. Nay, retreat was imperative. The odds were so fearfully against him that to advance, or even to remain where he was, seemed to be courting destruction. He had no means of crossing the river Sye, which lay in his way, or the great canal, for the bridges the enemy had not destroyed were so guarded that to force his way was impossible. His 1500, a little band, had been reduced, by fighting, sun-stroke, and sickness, to 1364; and he saw no probability of reaching Lucknow with more than 600 capable men; and then there would be two miles of street fighting before the Residency could be relieved.

When the order to retreat was given, the men felt disheartened, but they had faith in their commander. They marched back to Onao, and

then to Mungulwar, a place six miles from the opposite bank of the Ganges to Cawnpore, to which city he sent his sick and wounded, and there they were committed to the faithful care of General Neill. This energetic and careful soldier sent on a few dozens of men, which raised Havelock's effective force to 1400.

With these, Havelock again marched as far as Buserutgunje, where they met the enemy a second time. After a terrible struggle the mutineers were once more shelled out of the town, and pursued by bayonets and rifles through the whole of the hamlets to a plain beyond. Another victory for Havelock, but one which did not cheer him much. The enemy were still between him and Lucknow.

On the morning of the 6th of August, with another bitter pang Havelock was forced to the conclusion, that to reach Lucknow and then force his way to the Residency was wholly beyond the power of the force at his command. He returned again through Onao to his old quarters at Mungulwar. He telegraphed to the commander-in-chief that he must give up his fondly-cherished enterprise till he received reinforcements, adding, "I will remain till the last moment in this station, strengthening it, and hourly improving my bridge accommodation with Cawnpore, in the hope that some error of the enemy will enable me to strike

a blow against them, and give the garrison an opportunity of blowing up their works and cutting their way out."

Early in the morning of the 11th, Havelock received information that 4000 of the mutineers had advanced to Buserutgunje again. It did not suit his views to have such a force within a few hours' march of Mungulwar. He set his column in motion again; his advanced guard drove the outlying parties of the rebels out of Onao, and reaching the vicinity of Buserutgunje, he found the enemy in far greater force than had been reported. Havelock postponed his attack on them till the following day.

On the 12th, the artillery was brought into play, and the Highlanders made a rush and captured two gun batteries without firing a shot. The enemy's extreme left was turned, and they were soon once more in full retreat. But still they commanded the road to Lucknow.

The conqueror marched back a third time, of course weaker in men than when he advanced, and this time he re-crossed the Ganges to Cawnpore, there to wait for a considerable increase of strength before making another attempt to relieve Lucknow.

This retreat elated the mutineers. They had no doubt that it was a concession to their superiority, and an admission that even the renowned Have-

lock was overcome by them. The general grieved over this loss of prestige to the British arms, but more for the appalling danger to which Brigadier Inglis and his companions in cruel captivity were exposed.

While Havelock was battling and being baffled thus, in the fond but as yet vain hope of delivering those who were in the heartless fowler's snare at Lucknow, Nana Sahib had not been idle. The miscreant had been gathering together a motley assemblage of troops near Bithoor for the purpose of consolidating the power he had partly regained in that region. He had had a month—from the middle of July to the middle of August—to busy himself in, and in that time he had collected three or four regiments of infantry mutineers, troops of mutinied cavalry regiments, and a miscellaneous rabble of Maharrattas.

The Nana's evident intention was to attack Neill with his weakened force—and at strongest it was but very weak—at Cawnpore. He re-occupied Bithoor without difficulty, for Neill had no troops to leave at that place; and he was planning an attack on Cawnpore when Havelock re-crossed the Ganges.

As soon as this general arrived, General Neill and he resolved to attack the Nana. They would turn his left wing and then march to Bithoor. Neill, with a mere handful of men, accomplished the first

part of the programme, and drove the rebels with precipitation from the vicinity of Cawnpore. Next day Havelock marched for Bithoor with about 1300 men, nearly all the soldiers that he and Neill had between them, and came up with the enemy about noon. They had established a very strong position in the front of Bithoor. Havelock said it was the strongest he had ever seen. They had two guns and an earth redoubt in and near a plantation of sugar and castor-oil plants, entrenched quadrangles filled with troops, and two villages with the houses and walls loopholed.

Havelock sent his artillery along the main road, while the infantry advanced in two wings on the right and left. After a brief exchange of artillery fire, the 78th Highlanders and the Madras Fusiliers made one of their reckless and fearless rushes, and it struck astonishment and panic into the mutineers; they then burned a village, forced their way through the sugar plantation, took the redoubt, captured two guns, and drove the enemy before them at every point. They pursued the rebels into and right through the town of Bithoor. Worn out with fatigue after marching and fighting during a fiercely hot day, the British bivouacked at Bithoor that night; and next day, the 17th, they returned to Cawnpore.

This was the last battle in

which Havelock was the indisputable chief. Between the 12th of July and the 17th of August he had fought and won ten battles.

The state of matters was dreadful at the Residency in Lucknow. Havelock received at Cawnpore, on the 23d of the month, a message which Inglis had despatched on the 16th, the messenger having been exposed to seven days of the utmost peril in bringing it, in which the terribly trying position of the garrison is described. There were 120 sick and wounded; 220 women, and 230 children; a scarcity of food and all the other necessities of life; disease and filth everywhere; officers doing labourers' work from morning till night; soldiers and civilians exhausted with toil and grinding anxiety; the enemy attacking them every day; forming mines to blow up the feeble intrenchments; and no means of carriage, even if the garrison were to succeed in escaping from their loathsome prison-house.

For the rest of this month Havelock remained reluctantly inactive at Cawnpore; but, like all brave men, he was hoping against hope. He wrote to Inglis, urging him to remain firm, assuring him that aid would come before the necessity of surrender—that last act of despair!

Another gallant soldier now appears on the scene. Major-

General James Outram, after bringing the war in Persia to a successful issue, was appointed by the Governor-General to the military command of the Cawnpore and Dinapoor districts. He arrived at Dinapoor to assume his office on the 18th of August. The rest of the month he spent making the wisest and most energetic arrangements in his power to assist Havelock and Neill, and then to join them in liberating Inglis.

On the 1st of September Sir James Outram arrived at Allahabad. Reckoning up the various fragments of regiments, which had by arrangement arrived there, he found that they amounted to between 1700 and 1800 men. Leaving Allahabad on the 5th, he reached Cawnpore on the 15th; and then Outram, Havelock, and Neill resolved more sternly and cheerfully than ever to prosecute the noble work before them to a successful issue.

Outram was superior in rank as a military officer, and held a higher command in that part of India than Havelock. But he was proud of the achievements of a brother commander, and he was determined that the crowning glory of relieving Lucknow should be his.

On the 16th, accordingly, Sir James Outram issued the following order:

"The important duty of first relieving the garrison of Lucknow has been intrusted to Major-General Havelock, C.B.; and

Major-General Outram feels that it is due to this distinguished officer, and to the strenuous and noble exertions which he has already made to effect that object, that to him should accrue the honour of the achievement.

"Major-General Outram is confident the great end for which General Havelock and his brave men have so long and gloriously fought, will now, under the blessing of Providence, be accomplished.

"The Major-General, therefore, in gratitude for, and admiration of, the brilliant deeds in arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops, will cheerfully waive his rank on the occasion, and will accompany the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity as chief-commissioner of Oude, tendering his military services to General Havelock as a volunteer.

"On the relief of Lucknow the Major-General will resume his position at the head of the forces."

Outram sent a telegram to Calcutta, inquiring whether, if Lucknow should be recaptured, it should be held at all hazards as a matter of prestige. The answer of Viscount Canning was: "Save the garrison; never mind our prestige just now, provided you liberate Inglis; we will recover prestige afterwards. I cannot just now send you any more troops. Save the British in the Residency, and act afterwards as your strength will permit."

Outram planned the new operations in Oude, placed Havelock at the head of them, and did not omit to arrange for Neill securing a share in the glory.

On the 19th of September the British army again crossed the Ganges—this time by a bridge of boats, laboriously constructed by Captain Crommelin. The enemy had assembled near the banks, but retired after a mere show of resistance to Mungulwar. The British came up with them again on the 21st, and drove them from the position they had taken up, Sir James Outram, as a volunteer under Havelock, leading one of the charges. On the 23d the triumphant column found themselves again in the presence of the rebels, with their left posted on the enclosure of the Alum Bagh, so near Lucknow that the firing in the city was distinctly heard. Here Havelock ordered a volley of his loudest guns, to announce to the beleaguered garrison that relief was near. The British again drove the enemy before them; and since they had been marching three days under a deluge of rain, irregularly fed, and badly housed in villages, Havelock determined to pitch camp and give his troops a whole day's rest on the 24th.

At last the eventful 25th of September dawned, the day on which the long beleaguered garrison was to be gladdened by the deliverance for which

they had yearned in agony, and were often tempted to despair of. It was a day of mighty deeds of heroic valour. At one point the palace of Kaiser, or Kissurah Bagh, where two guns were pushed, the fire of the enemy was so tremendous that, in the words of Havelock, "nothing could live under it." The troops had to pass a bridge partly under the withering blight of this cannonade. When darkness set in, it was proposed that they should halt for the night in and near the court of the palace, but Havelock would not hear of the Residency being left another night in terror of the enemy. He therefore ordered his doughty Highlanders, and trusty Sikhs, to take the lead in the terrible ordeal of a street fight through the spacious city of Lucknow. It was a desperate die to cast, the struggle was fearful, but it ended in a glorious victory.

That night, in the Residency of Lucknow, Havelock and Outram clasped hands with Inglis; and what brimming eyes from bursting hearts were all around them! The sick and the wounded, the broken-down and the emaciated, military and civilians, officers and soldiers, women and children, who had spent a day of agonised suspense, were now in a dream of joy almost delirious. They found it hard to believe that their deliverance had indeed been wrought. But it was joy overcast with grief for

the brave who had fallen. The gallant Neill had fallen! He had fought his good fight, he had finished his course, and there he was crowned with a glory which has never dimmed. Going to India, a stripling sixteen years of age, he had spent thirty years of his life in India, a true and trusted officer of the East India Company. It is pleasant to mention that the Queen afterwards conferred on this valiant general's widow a title which she would have acquired in due course had her gallant soldier lived a few weeks longer—the title of Lady Neill.

Havelock had to lament a melancholy list of other brave companions, no less than 10 officers of the 78th Highlanders alone being among the killed and wounded. Sir James Outram, early in the day, received a flesh wound in the arm; but, though faint from loss of blood, he continued to the end of the day unsubdued, sitting on his horse till he dismounted at the gate of the Residency.

On the evening of that eventful and auspicious 25th of September, Major-General Havelock, within the Residency at Lucknow, gave back to Major-General Sir James Outram the position at the head of the forces, which he had so generously intrusted to him. Something of what the besieged had suffered, and how they bore it, will be told in next chapter.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## WHAT AND HOW THEY HAD SUFFERED IN LUCKNOW.

WHAT the garrison suffered and did during those three months of imprisonment in the Residency was learned afterwards. By the Residency is meant the part of Lucknow which contained the offices and dwellings of most of the English officials—an irregular quadrangle a few hundred yards square, its northmost side nearly parallel with the Goomtee, the river on which Lucknow stands, and the north corner near to an iron bridge, which carried a road over the river to the cantonment. Within those enclosures were numerous buildings for purposes military, political, civil, or private.

Although the European residents had had ample opportunities of forecasting trials from what was occurring daily throughout Oude in other cities—in their own the conduct of the mutineers and the extensive preparations for coming events made by Sir Henry Lawrence—yet after all, the actual calamity fell suddenly upon them. The unfortunate result of the battle at Chinut, and the ill-omened retreat, drove all the British into the Residency, even those who had lived in the native city rushing in without preparation, many leaving all their property behind them.

Therebels marched into Lucknow after the retreating troops

under Sir Henry Lawrence's command, invested the Residency, set up a howitzer battery in front of it, and loopholed the walls of houses for musketry.

The confusion within for the first few days was frightful; newcomers were looking about for somewhere to lay or hide their heads, and military men began to turn everything upside down, with a view of making the place more defensible.

The siege began on the 1st of July, the day after the disaster at Chinut. On the 2d, the day on which Sir Henry Lawrence was struck by the fatal shell while he was resting on a couch exhausted and anxious, shells, balls, and bullets were being fired into the enclosure by ten thousand rebels. When Sir Henry Lawrence's body was returned to its kindred dust on the 4th, there was neither opportunity nor time for display; no military honours marked that funeral; a hurried prayer was read amid the booming of cannon, and a few spadefuls of earth speedily covered the mortal remains of one whose name is among the immortals.

The rebel artillery displayed both ingenuity and vigour in planting batteries in unlooked-for positions, such as house-tops, and other spots, to the fire from



which the garrison could not respond ; but most of the deaths were caused by musket-bullets, there being many excellent marksmen among the enemy. Captain Anderson, who wrote "A Personal Journal of the Siege of Lucknow," says : "A man could not show his nose without hearing the whiz of bullets close to his head. The shot, too, came from every direction ; and when a poor fellow had nearly jerked his head off his shoulders in making humble salutations to passing bullets, he would have his penance disagreeably changed into a sudden and severe contortion of the whole body to avoid a round shot or shell. So soon as a man left his post he had no time for meditation ; his only plan was to proceed rapidly. In fact, to walk slowly was in some places very, very dangerous, and many a poor fellow was shot who was too proud to run past places where bullets danced on the walls like a handful of peas in a frying-pan."

In the third week the besiegers began to fire at the Brigade Mess, where the ladies and children had mainly sought refuge, and this distracted the attention of officers and soldiers from pressing duties at other points. The insurgents received large reinforcements, and they kept firing all night, thus tiring out the defenders, who were afforded no rest, and were bewildered by vigorous attacks of cannon and musketry on almost

every part of their widely-exposed intrenchment. For it must be admitted that in the original preparations against a siege, Sir Henry Lawrence had been more influenced by considerate feelings for the opinions and prejudices of the natives, than by the sterner resolves of a soldier driven to bay. He might have prevented the enemy from converting many of the houses around into strongholds from which they rained death on the English quarters with impunity, as he had been urged to do by the military officers under him. Brigadier Inglis adverted to this point subsequently in language which has a shade and dash of bitterness in it. He wrote a report, in which he said : "When the blockade commenced only two of our batteries were completed, part of the defences were yet in an unfinished condition, and the buildings in the immediate vicinity, which gave cover to the enemy, were only very partially cleared away. Indeed, our heaviest losses have been caused by the fire from the enemy's sharpshooters, stationed in the adjoining mosques and houses of the native nobility, to the necessity of destroying which the attention of Sir Henry had been repeatedly drawn by the staff of engineers, but his invariable reply was : 'Spare the holy places, and private property too, as far as possible ;' and we have consequently suffered severely from our very tenderness to the religious prejudices, and

respect to the rights of our rebellious citizens and soldiery."

During these attacks every one of the besieged who could load a gun or handle a musket was forward with his services. Others helped to construct stockades and barriers of earth, and many of the sick and wounded rose from their corners, staggered away to the points most fiercely attacked, and rendered what aid they could, some dropping dead in the attempt. The enemy dug a mine to blow up a redan battery which had been constructed at the north part of the enclosure by Captain Fulton—decidedly the most effective battery in the whole place, but while, from a miscalculation of distance, they failed to silence it, the explosion was followed by a desperate struggle in the glacis outside, in which the insurgents were mowed down by grape-shot before they abandoned the attempt to enter the quarter at that point. Every attack was repelled with the vigour of desperation. The grape-shot poured forth by the garrison worked terrible destruction among the assailants.

Brigadier Inglis sent out messengers repeatedly, but had hitherto obtained not a word of news from the world of India. He was shut out from it, knowing nothing but his own crushing cares and responsibilities; and now it was the fourth week of the siege. But on the 23d of the month a messenger, who had made his way through many

perils, brought news from Cawnpore about Havelock's victories in the region of the Doab. Inglis sent the messenger away again immediately with an urgent request to the gallant conqueror to press on to Lucknow as quickly as possible. The residents now began to count the days which must elapse before this hope would be realised. On the 25th a letter from Colonel Tytler at Cawnpore was brought in safety—the former messenger having only reported the scraps of news he had picked up. It announced Havelock's advance towards Lucknow, and Inglis at once sent off to him a plan of the city to aid his proceedings, offering the messenger 5000 rupees if he brought back an answer. It was an anxious period, and the readers of the previous chapter know how Havelock was baffled at that very time. During it Major Banks, whom Sir Henry Lawrence had appointed civil commissioner when he named Brigadier Inglis for the military command, was shot dead while reconnoitring from the top of an outhouse. He had served the East India Company faithfully and with great ability for thirty years, and was in high repute both as a soldier and as a linguist. His death was a heavy loss to Brigadier Inglis, who, now that there was no civil commissioner, was under the necessity of placing the whole community under the strict rules of a military garrison.

The tale of the non-combatants during the month of July is sad enough, but it is truly heroic. The heat was excessive, while cholera, dysentery, and small-pox worked their wonted havoc. The commissariat chief took ill, and there was no one who could promptly organise his department on a sudden emergency. The food and draught bullocks roamed about the place, and many of them tumbled into the wells, or were shot. It was terrible work to bury the killed bullocks, to keep the air free from the taint of their decaying carcases. Some of the military horses went mad from want of water and proper food. Working hard in the trenches all day, the officers had to busy themselves at night burying dead bullocks and horses, for the men could not be spared for this kind of work, they were all employed on sentry and other duties. The stench from dead animals became one of the greatest annoyances to which the garrison was exposed as the heat increased. The vapours that followed a fall of rain engendered fever, cholera, dysentery, and diarrhœa. In these circumstances, children died rapidly, and the hospital-rooms were always full.

The officers were put on half rations early in July; and, as the native servants had fled, many of them robbing their masters before they went, the officers had to turn their hands to cooking. The ladies suffered unnumbered privations and

inconveniences with heroic patience. They swept their rooms, drew water from the wells, washed their clothes, and performed every menial household duty. Families were huddled together, differences of rank obliterated, and all privacy destroyed. As to the sick and the wounded, officers and men were lying about in the hospital-rooms covered with blood and vermin; while the wards being kept closed and barricaded against shot, the pestilential atmosphere did as deadly work as stray missiles could possibly have accomplished.

There was another bitter torment. Mr Rees, a Calcutta merchant, who unfortunately got shut up in the enclosure when the troubles began, wrote a "Personal Narrative," in which, speaking of the flies, he says: "They daily increased to such an extent that we at last began to feel life irksome, more on their account than from any other of our numerous troubles. In the day, flies; at night, mosquitoes. But the latter were bearable, the former intolerable. Lucknow had always been noted for its flies; but at no time had they been known to be so troublesome. The mass of putrid matter that was allowed to accumulate, the rains, the commissariat stores, the hospital, had attracted these insects in incredible numbers. The Egyptians could not possibly have been more molested than we were by this pest. They swarmed in

millions, and though we blew daily some hundreds of thousands into the air, this seemed to make no diminution in their numbers; the ground was still black with them, and the tables were literally covered with those cursed flies. We could not sleep in the day on account of them. We could scarcely eat. Our beef, of which we got a tolerably small quantity every day, was usually studded with them; and when I ate my miserable boiled lentil soup and unleavened bread, a number of scamps flew into my mouth, or tumbled into and floated about in my plate."

It required all Brigadier Inglis's energy and tact to keep up the spirits of himself and his companions when Havelock did not arrive at the time they had calculated upon. They expected him at the end of July, but when the 2d of August passed and he did not come, their hopes were cruelly dashed. About the beginning of August great numbers of fresh rebels flocked into Lucknow. New mines were begun, especially one under the Brigade Mess, in which many of the ladies and children were sheltered, and it required all the energy of the officers to frustrate the designs of their underground enemies. Captain Fulton, an engineer officer, laboured unremittingly, and most skilfully, in baffling the enemy's mining by his own counter-mining. He organised a body of sappers from among

the humbler members of the garrison, and instructed every one on sentry duty to be on the alert for any sounds beneath ground that might denote the driving of galleries or mines. Mining and counter-mining were perpetual during the siege; the enemy constantly attempting to blow up the defence works, and the defenders anticipating this by blowing up the enemy.

Not a messenger could be found during the fifth week of the siege who would risk the perils of carrying to Havelock a letter so small that it went into a quill. The offer of a great reward was no inducement to any one. The brigadier redoubled his offer, and during the sixth week of the siege an adventurous native started with a small note to Havelock at Cawnpore. The 15th of August was a notable day: no burial took place! But a letter arrived from Havelock announcing his inability to bring succour at present. This was always something; it aroused the energies of all in the garrison to further exertions. But about this time the Residency, the house in which Sir Henry Lawrence had been shot, was felt to be no longer secure, so much had it been shaken and shattered by shot and shell; and the inmates were removed to other quarters, an unspeakable increase of discomfort.

On the 18th the insurgents succeeded in exploding a mine under the Sikh barracks, and

made a wreck of thirty feet of the defence boundary. This challenge was bravely accepted—all hands were at work in the instant. Boxes, planks, doors, beams, all available stop-gaps, were brought, while muskets and pistols scared the outsiders. Not only so, but the fearless defenders, after repelling the enemy, made a sortie, and blew up some of the buildings, which had hitherto proved themselves to be in dangerous proximity.

A brilliant sortie was made on the 20th, headed by Captain M'Cabe and Lieutenant Browne. They spiked two of the enemy's guns, and also blew up a house called Johannes House, which had been a perpetual source of heavy annoyance to the garrison; from it an African eunuch who had belonged to the court of the late King of Oude, kept up a most fatal and accurate fire on the enclosure, bringing down more Europeans than any other marksman in the enemy's employment.

A letter from Havelock in the last week of August cheered up the besieged very much, even though the information that three weeks more must elapse before he could possibly reach them was in itself no very cheering news.

During August the women and children, and the sick and wounded, suffered, of course, more terribly, as every kind of peril and discomfort increased, and every means of succour and solace was rendered less effec-

tive. A few little "siege babies" came into the world during this stormy period, and, poor things, their initiatory struggle for existence was exceptionally hard. Food was becoming rapidly scarce. There was fresh meat as long as any healthy bullocks remained alive; an immense store of attah, the coarse meal from which chupatties were made, had been laid in by Sir Henry Lawrence, but this was nearly exhausted by the end of August, and the women and children were constantly employed grinding corn by means of hand-mills. Tea and sugar were quite used up, with the exception of a small store reserved for the invalids. Tobacco was all gone, and the soldiers, yearning for a pipe after a day's hard work, took to smoking dried leaves. There were still a few casks of porter, but they were guarded as a treasure for special use. When an officer died, the trifling comforts he might leave were put up to auction. A dozen of bottles of brandy left by Sir Henry Lawrence were about this time sold for £16; a dozen of beer, £7; the same amount for a dozen of sherry; the same price for a ham; for a quart bottle of honey, £4; for two small tins of preserved soup, £5; and £3 for a cake of chocolate.

The early days of September ushered in the tenth week of this memorable and melancholy drama. New mines everywhere. Officers and men

assiduously attended to their "listening-galleries," mines in which they listened wakefully for miners. On the 5th of the month the enemy exploded two mines near the mess-house, and brought ladders with them to effect an escalade. They seemed determined to carry the place by storm this time; but the garrison, almost worn to death with toil and weariness, rushed gallantly to every spot in danger, repelled them, and hastily reconstructed such defence works as had been destroyed, and repaired those which were damaged.

Neither time nor place, when active service would be required, could be thought of in these circumstances. The officers especially could not count on a single minute's peace. Captain Anderson says: "In the midst of all these miseries you would hear the cry of 'turn out,' and you had to seize your musket and rush to your post. Then there was a constant state of anxiety as to whether we were mined or not; and we were not quite sure, whilst we were at a loophole, that we might not suddenly see the ground open, or observe the whole materials of the house fly into the air by the explosion of a mine. Shells came smashing into our rooms and dashed our property to pieces; then followed round-shot, and down tumbled huge pieces of masonry, while bits of wood and brick flew in all directions. I have seen beds literally blown to atoms."

On the 14th of this month Captain Fulton's head was completely blown off by a cannon-ball. The loss of this able engineer officer was much lamented by all, his kindness of manner having rendered him a general favourite. But to Brigadier Inglis it was irreparable, for Captain Fulton had been one of his chief counselors in all his trials and difficulties. This was the second chief engineer he had lost. Fulton had succeeded Major Anderson, a most valuable and intrepid officer, who was also mourned for by the whole garrison; and now Captain Anderson became chief engineer.

The twelfth week of the siege, the week before Havelock and Neill relieved them, found the beleaguered residents in great despondency. There had been many deaths, and harder work than ever had, of course, to be gone through by the survivors. The look-out was never for a moment neglected. At all hours of the day and night, officers found such shelter as they could on the roofs of the Residency and the post-office, while they watched intently the river, the hedges, the roads, and the buildings in and around the city. Every fact of any obvious importance was at once reported to Brigadier Inglis, who immediately made such defensive or other arrangements as the case might seem to require. What harassing days and sleepless nights were thus apportioned to the

defenders of Lucknow can easily be supposed.

The enemy's batteries were now more numerous and nearer than ever; the whole place was, in fact, surrounded by batteries, bristling with great guns and mortars, some of which were perpetually belching shot and shell.

During the three weeks of September the personal life within the enclosure was miserable beyond the previous misery. The men toiled and watched while nearly overcome by heat and noisome odours. When they had a chance of getting a sleep during the damp nights, after the great heat of the day, in the trenches—for they had neither tents nor change of clothing—they suffered terribly in their limbs and bones. No sanitary cleansing could be attended to, for there was not a hand for surplus labours, and not a drain at their command. At one time half the officers were ill from disease, fatigue, and insufficient diet. Poor Lieutenant Graham's mental firmness gave way under privation, grief, and wounds, and he committed suicide.

The live stock, the rum, and the porter were all getting very low; tea, coffee, chocolate, and sugar had long disappeared from the rations. A bottle of brandy was sold for £2; £1, 12s. paid for a bottle of curaçoa; £2 for a small fowl; and any price almost would have been paid for sugar. Mr Rees sold his gold

watch to a companion who had a little money to spare, and, with the proceeds, bought, among other things, cigars at 2s. a piece. Tobacco was sold at 4s. a leaf. Any of the officers or civilians who had it in their power were willing to give unheard of prices for a few of the luxuries still remaining in private hands, that they might possess the means of, in some degree, alleviating the sufferings of their wives and children.

The clothing of all was worn away and dirtied to the most piteous condition. Many of the officers had had theirs burnt with their bungalows before the siege began, and had not had an opportunity of replacing them in the city before they were hemmed up in that direful enclosure. Now all clothes were worn away to rags. Scarcely a vestige of military uniform was to be seen in the place. Officers worked and fought, dined and slept in shirt, trousers and slippers. One made a billiard table-cloth into a sort of coat; another contrived a shirt out of a piece of floor-cloth. When the few remaining effects of one of the deceased officers were sold, £4 were given for a new flannel shirt, and £12 for five others that had seen some wear.

On the 21st a clever spy brought to Brigadier Inglis a note, from Havelock, to the effect that Outram and he were on the road from Cawnpore, and expected to reach Lucknow in three or four days. The 22d

passed in suppressed hopes and anxious fears, and on the 23d musketry was heard on the Cawnpore road, and much anxiety was visible within the city. Next day cannonading and musketry were heard again. The first movement which denoted to the agonised prisoners within the enclosure, that the arms of their deliverers were being attended with success, was multitudes escaping out of the city and over the bridge to the other side of the river. Prodigious agitation and alarm were observable in the city that night—movements of men and horses, everything in commotion.

At noon on the 25th, the day of deliverance, the sounds told the garrison plainly enough that street fighting was going on. The look-out could see the smoke of musketry, but nothing more. As the afternoon advanced, the sounds came nearer and nearer; later on was heard the sharp crack of the rifles, then the flash of the musketry was gradually seen, and then the well-known uniforms.\*

\* The *Jersey Times*, of December 10, 1857, contained what professed to be an extract from a letter from M. de Bannerol, a French physician in the service of Mussur Rajah, dated October 8th, and published in *Le Pays*, a Paris paper, giving an account of the feelings of the Christian women shut up within Lucknow just before their relief. It went on to state how Jessie Brown, a corporal's wife, cheered the party in the depth of their terrors and despair, by starting up and declaring that, amidst the roar of the artillery, she caught the faint sound of the

Outram and Havelock fought their way through a continuous line of streets to the Bailey Guard entrance of the enclosure, the troops suffering terribly as they advanced. It was a grasp eloquent as with the tongues of angels, with which Inglis seized the hands of his brother officers and deliverers.

It was with a great shout—wonderful whence the strength for it came!—that the deliverers were all welcomed by that garrison just kept from entering the hideous jaws of death in its cruellest aspect. "The immense enthusiasm," says Mr Rees, "with which they were greeted defies description. As their hurrah and ours rang in my ears, I was nigh bursting with joy. . . . We felt not only happy beyond imagination, and grateful to that God of mercy who, by our noble deliverers, Havelock and Outram, and their gallant troops, had thus snatched us from imminent death; but we also felt proud at the defence we had made, and the success with which, with such fearful odds to

slogan of the approaching Highlanders, particularly that of the Macgregor, "the grandest of them a'!" The soldiers intermitted firing to listen, but could hear nothing of the kind, and despair once more settled down upon the party. After a little interval Jessie broke out once more with words of hope, referring to the sound of the Highland bagpipes, which the party at length acknowledged they heard; and then, by one impulse, all fell on their knees, "and nothing was heard but the bursting sob and the voice of prayer."



contend against, we had preserved, not only our own lives, but the honour and lives of the women and children intrusted to our keeping. As our deliverers poured in they continued to greet us with hurrahs. . . . We ran up to them, officers and men, without distinction, and shook them by the hands—how cordially, who can describe? The shrill notes of the Highlanders' bagpipes now pierced our ears. Not the most beautiful music ever was more welcome, more joy-bringing. And these brave men themselves, many of them bloody and exhausted, forgot the loss of their comrades, the pain of their wounds, the fatigue of overcoming the fearful obstacles they had combated for our sakes, in the pleasure of having accomplished our relief."

What was felt on this day by the othersex, the "Lady's Diary" will tell us. She writes: "Never shall I forget the moment till the latest day I live. It was most overpowering. We had no idea they were so near, and were breathing air in the portico as usual at that hour, speculating when they might be in, not expecting they could reach us for several days longer, when suddenly, just at dark, we heard a very sharp fire of musketry close by, and then tremendous cheering. An instant after, the sound of bagpipes, then soldiers running up the road, our compound and verandah filled with our deliverers, and all of us

shaking hands frantically and exchanging fervent 'God bless you's' with the gallant men and officers of the 78th Highlanders. Sir James Outram and staff were the next to come in, and the state of joyful confusion and excitement was beyond all description. The big, rough-bearded soldiers were seizing the little children out of our arms, kissing them with tears rolling down their cheeks, and thanking God they had come in time to save them from the fate of those at Cawnpore. We were all rushing about to give the poor fellows drinks of water, for they were perfectly exhausted; and tea was made down in the Tye Khana, of which a large party of tired, thirsty officers partook without milk or sugar; we had nothing to give them to eat. Every one's tongue seemed going at once with so much to ask and to tell, and the faces of utter strangers beamed upon each other like those of dearest friends and brothers."

There was severe fighting to be encountered on the 26th, for some of the heroic little band had been left in palatial buildings outside the enclosure, which they succeeded in holding for the night. Help must be brought to them; the guns which they guarded must be brought in, and it was desirable, if possible, to obtain firm possession of the palatial buildings in which they had been set down. All this was accomplished. Two or three palaces were secured,

and the position held by the British became thrice as large as was the area which Brigadier Inglis had so gallantly defended.

Three or four miles before they came to Lucknow, near the new road from Cawnpore, Havelock and Outram, as they advanced, captured the Alum Bagh, the "garden of the Lady Alum, or the beauty of the world." It was an important outpost. It comprised a palace, a mosque, and a private temple, these buildings being bounded by a beautiful garden which was itself in the middle of a park which was surrounded by a wall with corner towers. There was in it ample space for a large military force, and Havelock, as he advanced, found the enemy drawn up in considerable numbers within and without the Alum Bagh; and he captured it only after a fierce contest. He left there ammunition and baggage as well as the sick and wounded, with 300 men, and an array of elephants, camels, camp followers, and loaded carts, besides four guns. He thought it would be one of the strongholds of his position, after he conquered Lucknow, with which he could communicate as he found it necessary.

A very different state of things emerged. The Alum Bagh became completely isolated. Only when by good chance a native messenger succeeded in conveying a brief letter which had been concealed in a quill or in the sole of his shoe did the residents

at the one enclosure hear from those who were pent up in the other.

This was only one grave result of the relief. The British within the intrenchment at Lucknow were as close prisoners as ever. Havelock's men were very much exhausted after the severe fighting they had encountered, and the larger portion of the city he had acquired as the result of their determined courage and energy required more work, wakefulness, and watching than ever. He could neither retain Lucknow as a conqueror, nor could he bring away those who, for four months, had been exposed to all the perils which had beset them. Nor could he send the women and children away to any place of safety. He had no efficient escort to spare.

The only relief that he seemed to have brought was more men to toil at the defence-works, but they had also to be fed, and the supplies had been left at the Alum Bagh. Captivity and short commons were still to be the order of the day at Lucknow.

How these difficulties were solved will be told at the proper time, when other lines of the narrative have been brought up to date.

One remarkable feature of this siege must not be overlooked. It is the presence all through it of a few faithful sepoys who had remained behind when the three native

infantry regiments mutinied at the cantonment on the 30th of May. These men remained steadfast to the end, notwithstanding scanty food, little and broken sleep, harassing exertion, and daily fighting. The mutineers would often converse with them over the palisades of the intrenchment and tempt them sorely to desert to the rebel ranks, but they never flinched; from the 30th of May to the 25th of September, they stood resolutely devoted to duty—"true to their salt." Their conduct did not pass unappreciated. In an order in council, in which Viscount Canning says: "There does not stand in the annals of war an achievement more truly heroic than the defence of the Residency of Lucknow," he makes marked reference to the faithfulness of these devoted natives. After enumerating other well-earned rewards, he says: "Every native commissioned

and non-commissioned officer and soldier who has formed part of the garrison shall receive the Order of Merit, with the increase of pay attached thereto, and shall be permitted to count three years of additional service. The soldiers of the 13th, 48th, and 71st regiments native infantry"—the three regiments which mutinied on the 30th of May—"who have been part of the garrison, shall be formed into a regiment of the line, to be called 'The Regiment of Lucknow.'" Before this the Governor-General had awarded them, as well as various classes of the Europeans who had endured the imprisonment of the Residency, six months' batta.

As to the faithful and firm, tender and true defender of Lucknow, he entered that hateful city as a lieutenant-colonel, and left it as Major-General Sir John Eardley Wilmot Inglis.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE MUTINY AT DINAPOOR—THE DEFENCE AND THE DISASTER AT ARRAH.

PATNA, in the province of Behar, between Bengal and Oude, is a large and important city, the centre of an industrious region; while Dinapoor, ten miles off, is the most extensive military station between Bar-

rackpore and Allahabad. Major-General Lloyd was military commander at Dinapoor when the mutinies began to trouble all the regions round about, and Mr Tayler was the civil commissioner, and consequently

the chief authority at Patna. About the middle of June the district became much agitated by news of disturbances in other quarters; the police force was strengthened, the ghats or landing-places watched, the Company's treasure removed to other stations, and places of rendezvous agreed upon in cases of emergency. The incident of the fanatical bookseller, Peer Ali Khan, and the murder of Dr Lyell on the 3d of July, has been already told.

The Europeans at Dinapoor had a very anxious time of it. The native troops made loud professions of loyalty, but only scanty faith was put in their fidelity.

The barracks of the European troops at Dinapoor was situated in a square of the town inhabited by the natives; farther west were the native lines, and still farther west was the magazine in which percussion-caps were stored.

Major-General Lloyd was an infirm, irresolute old man. He had been a gallant officer in his day, but his conduct on this occasion was the cause of many regrets, bitterly enough expressed sometimes, that he, so advanced in years, should have been left in command of a vast military region. He was unable to mount his horse without assistance, and seemed afraid to give any orders that would have the effect of sending European troops away from Dinapoor.

There were three regiments

of Bengal native infantry at that city towards the close of July—the 7th, the 8th, and the 40th. There were also the greater portion of Her Majesty's 10th foot, two companies of the 37th regiment, and two troops of artillery.

Symptoms began to betray themselves among the sepoys which suggested that it was time they were disarmed. The position they occupied in relation to Bengal, therefore, to Calcutta, and to the troubled provinces west of them, was itself sufficient to suggest this precaution early. The inhabitants of Calcutta had already petitioned Government to disarm the sepoys at Dinapoor, and the officers of the Queen's regiments at the stations all along advocated the taking of this step.

But General Lloyd would not hear of it; he was proud of the sepoys; he was prepared to trust them to the last. Viscount Canning, of course, placed reliance on the general's great experience, and left it to his judgment to determine whether disarming should take place, and when it was to be accomplished. It is generally admitted that had it been attempted at the proper time there would have been little difficulty; but it was not done in time, and hence the incident of the mutiny.

On the 25th of July Major-General Lloyd was convinced that it was time something should be done. He did not

offer to disarm the sepoy, but he ordered the percussion-caps to be removed from the magazine. From the position of the magazine the caps had to be brought along the whole length of the sepoy lines on their way to the barracks of the British troops. General Lloyd did just anticipate that there might be danger in the removal of them, and he sent the 10th regiment and the artillery to the grand square, to be in readiness to advance upon the sepoy lines if disturbance should occur.

Two vehicles went down to the magazine under charge of an officer; the caps were placed on them, and were drawn some distance towards the British lines, when some of the sepoys shouted, "Kill the sahibs; don't let the caps be taken away!" The caps were taken away, however, and were safely conveyed to the officers' mess-room; and the native officers were commanded to go and order the sepoys to give up the caps already issued to them.

Some of the sepoys obeyed. Others, seeing there was no display of force to back the order, fired their muskets, and threatened to shoot the officers. At the sound of these shots the 10th regiment, which had been kept idle in the square or in the barracks all forenoon, were ordered to advance, and they did so—only to see the sepoys scamper off as fast as their legs could carry them. Three native regiments, with their arms

and accoutrements, ran away! There was no force to stop them. They certainly took excellent advantage of very stupid orders.

The English destroyed the sepoy lines, but did not pursue the mutineers. They received no orders to do this; for General Lloyd seems to have feared the danger of being left without them. It is cruel to reflect bitterly on a venerable old man whose past services were an honour to him; but surely it was a grievous oversight in his superiors to leave him in possession of a command he was no longer fit for.

It was now time somebody was doing something in a systematic way, so a surgeon of the 10th seeing the sepoys threatening their officers, brought his hospital-guard to confront them, and even some of his patients got on the flat roof of the hospital, and fired at the mutineers. The surgeon then galloped off, and brought all the ladies and children to the barracks for safety.

It became a question of considerable importance—where had the mutineers fled to? It was soon discovered that they had taken the direction of Arrah, a town twenty-four miles distant from Dinapoor, and separated from it by the river Sone. This was the chief town in the district of Shahabad, and it was surrounded by a country which supplied a large revenue to the East India Company. The muti-

neers might accordingly expect that there would be some treasure to loot there. There were two influential men in the neighbourhood, Baboo Koer Singh and the Rajah of Doomraon, whose countenance the mutineers might have some reason to look for, and whose support they possibly relied on.

As it was, a body of the mutineers crossed the river Sone at a point sixteen miles below Dinapoor, on the morning of the 26th, and advanced towards Arrah. The local police ran away.

The magistrate, and therefore chief authority at Arrah, was Mr Wake, a man who proved himself excellently qualified to wield power in a perilous time. Mr Boyle, an engineer of the main trunk line, had been expecting and making provision against some such emergency as now occurred. He had selected a detached two-storied house, about fifty feet square, standing within the same ground as the bungalow he inhabited, and fortified it with stones and timber, and kept a store of provisions within it.

Mr Wake and the other Europeans at Arrah now appreciated the engineer's foresight. They took up their abode in this fortified house—sixteen gentlemen, all employed in various civil duties in or near Arrah. But while there was not strictly a military man among them, they were joined by fifty Sikhs of Captain Rattray's police bat-

talion. Fortunately the ladies and children had been sent away to a place of safety.

The commissariat was attended to with as much promptitude as possible, but it was not very complete—meat and grain sufficient only to afford the Europeans short allowance for a few days, and a very scanty supply of food for the Sikhs. Most of the Europeans had, besides revolvers and hog-spears, a couple of double-barrelled guns, or a gun and a rifle, and they had abundance of ammunition.

Early on the morning of the 27th nearly the whole of the Dinapoor mutineers marched into Arrah. As usual, they released the 400 prisoners who were in jail, rushed to the collectorate, and looted the treasury of 80,000 rupees. They next attacked the extemporised fort, finding shelter behind trees and adjacent buildings.

It was during this mutiny that Baboo Koer Singh unmasked himself. He boldly headed the mutineers in his true colours. He procured boats for them to cross the Sone; a plan for joining the Oude insurgents after the treasury at Arrah was plundered has been traced to him; he attempted to bribe the Sikhs in Mr Boyle's house to desert, but these sturdy fellows were stanch; they remained true to their salt. Koer Singh was undoubtedly in league with Nana Sahib.

The insurgents brought up two small guns on the 28th, but

a torrent of cannon and musket-balls from the besieged frightened the gunners. The rebels then dragged one of the guns up to the roof of Mr Boyle's bungalow, about sixty yards from the little fort; but as Mr Wake said in a despatch, their cowardice, ignorance, and want of unanimity prevented the fortification from being brought down upon the ears of those it defended. The besieged kept pace with the besiegers in display of energy. Whenever a new battery was seen, another barricade was raised; to render a mine useless, a counter-mine was run out. The Sikhs in the building laboured as if they liked it, and obviously gloried in the part they were taking in the gallant defence. When provisions began to run low, they made a sally one night and captured six sheep.

For seven days and nights were these seventy men besieged by 3000 bitter enemies. Nay, on the last two days the assailants even offered terms which were rejected with contempt.

On the 2d of August the rebels found occupation farther west. They marched in that direction to encounter Major Vincent Eyre; and how they fared will be told immediately.

Mr Wake and his companions, thus relieved of the prowling marauders, found, wonderful to relate, that only one of their number, a Sikh policeman, had received a dangerous wound; the rest had escaped with

scratches and bruises. The Sikhs behaved valiantly, and were proud of opportunities to distinguish themselves. When, during the siege, water ran short, they dug a well underneath the house, continuing laboriously to sink till they came to a spring. When all was happily over, they requested that the well might be built into a permanent one, as a memorial of the part they took in the siege, and that the fortified house should henceforth be called Futtehghurh—the Fortress of Victory. Mr Boyle was only too pleased to comply with these manly requests.

The revolt—one is rather tempted to use a familiar word, the bolt, for such it was—at Dinapoor occurred on Saturday the 25th of July, and General Lloyd made no effort till the following Monday to look after the sepoys. But on that day he sent a party of the 27th foot in the steamer *Horungotta* to disperse the mutineers at Arrah, and rescue the European community. But the steamer went aground after three hours' sailing.

The steamer *Bombay* arrived at Dinapoor in her passage down the Ganges, and General Lloyd detained her for another expedition. She was to set sail towards Arrah with a number of troops, steam up to where the *Horungotta* was aground, take in tow the detachment from that steamer, and then proceed up the river Sone to a

landing-place as near to Arrah as possible.

Early in the morning of Wednesday the 29th the Bombay started, and after picking up the stranded men, the whole disembarked in the afternoon at the Beharee Ghat, on the left or west bank of the Sone. There were 400 men in all, under the command of Captain Dunbar, and they marched to a nullah, the channel of a torrent, which had to be crossed by boats. This caused considerable delay, and when they resumed march, it was along a rough road, and under a bright moon. When the evening was far advanced, they reached a bridge about a mile and a half from Arrah. Captain Harrison, of the 37th, suggested that a halt should be made here until daylight, just to avoid the risk of entering by night a town which was in the hands of an enemy. Captain Dunbar anticipated little or no danger; they marched in, and passed through the outskirts of Arrah an hour before midnight, after the moon had set.

But the enemy knew they were coming, and an ambush was awaiting the arrival of the unsuspecting Dunbar and the victims of his want of foresight. A heavy fire of musketry poured upon them suddenly out of the black darkness of a large tope of mango trees. Mr Wake and his companions heard the din, and at once concluded that some calamity had befallen British troops sent for their relief. As has been

pithily recorded, "the suddenness of the attack and the blackness of the night seem to have overwhelmed the detachment; the men lost their officers, the officers their men: some ran off the road to fire into the tope, others to obtain shelter; Dunbar fell dead, and Harrison had to assume the command of men whom at midnight, and in utter darkness, he could not see. The main body succeeded in re-assembling in a field about four hundred yards from the tope; and there they remained until daylight, being joined at various periods of the night by stragglers, some wounded and some unhurt, and being fired at almost continually by the mutineers. It was a wretched humiliating night to the British. At daybreak they counted heads, and then found how severe had been their loss. Captain Harrison at once collected the survivors into a body and marched them back ten or eleven miles to the steamer. By some mismanagement the men had fasted for twenty-four hours, so that they were too weak to act as skirmishers; they defended themselves as long as their ammunition lasted, but kept in column, pursued the whole way by a large body of the enemy, who picked off the poor fellows with fatal certainty. Arrived at the banks of the nullah, all organisation ceased; the men rushed to the boats in disorder; some were run aground, some drowned, some swam over, some were shot by sepoys and



villagers on shore. How the rest reached the steamer they hardly knew, but this they did know, that they had left many of their wounded comrades on shore, with the certain fate of being butchered and mutilated by the enemy. It was a mournful boat-load that the Bombay carried back to Dinapoor on the evening of the 30th of July."

The list of dead and wounded enumerated 290 out of a small band of 415. Havelock won half-a-dozen of his victories with no greater a loss than this disaster caused.

While this unfortunate expedition was working out its natural results, Messrs Wake, Boyle, and their companions, still held out, till Major Vincent Eyre caused that effectual diversion in their favour which has already been referred to. This able officer had arrived at Ghazee-pore on his sail up the Ganges from Dinapoor to Allahabad, with some guns, when he heard on the 28th of July of the critical position of the handful of Europeans in the house at Arrah. He applied to the authorities at Ghazee-pore for permission to make an attempt to relieve them. The permission was granted, and Major Eyre steamed back to Buxar, and there he met a detachment of the 5th Fusiliers going up the Ganges. Finding the officers and men heartily willing to join him, he left Buxar for Arrah with 160 men of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers, under Captain L'Estrange,

twelve mounted volunteers of the railway department, and three guns.

On the morning of the 30th of July, the day of the disaster just mentioned, Major Eyre commenced a series of operations some miles west of Arrah. But for that unhappy advance the night before, the mutineers might have become hemmed in between Captain Dunbar's force and the brave little band under the gallant major who had so eagerly rushed to the rescue. Hearing that the enemy intended to destroy several bridges on his way to Arrah, Major Eyre pushed on towards that town. On the 1st of August he found the bridge at Bullowtee just cut down, and hastily constructed another. Over it he marched on to Gujeratgunje, there he bivouacked for the night. At daybreak on the 2d he started again, and soon came in sight of the enemy. They were nearly 2500 strong in mutinous sepoys alone; there were with them Koer Singh and his followers besides; and they were drawn up in great force in plantations on either side of the road, with inundated rice-fields in front. Major Eyre boldly pushed on towards their centre, penetrated it, and marched to the village of Beebeegunje. This baffled the enemy's tactics, and they hastily set themselves to prevent his passage over a bridge near that village. They destroyed the bridge, formed extensive earth-works beyond the stream,

and occupied the houses of the village in great force. Major Eyre determined to make a detour to the right, and try to cross about a mile higher up the stream; but the enemy followed him quickly, and made a fierce attack on his small force. After an hour's hard fighting, Major Eyre ordered Captain L'Estrange to make a charge with his infantry. Supported by the skirmishers and the grape-shot and shrapnel-shells of the guns, the infantry advanced, and sent the enemy panic-stricken in all directions. The major then crossed the stream, and marched through open country to within four miles of Arrah, when he suddenly came upon an unfordable river. He lost no time in setting about to get a bridge thrown over it, obtaining the aid of labourers employed on the East Indian line, which was close at hand.

This was too much for Koer Singh and the sepoys. Such energy and perseverance frightened them. It dismayed them so much that they left Arrah altogether, and retreated in various directions. Koer Singh and a large number of mutineers betook themselves to Jugdispore, twelve miles distant.

A reinforcement was sent from Dinapoor to Arrah, which arrived at the latter place on the 8th of August. It consisted of 200 men of Her Majesty's 10th regiment of foot; and a party of 100 Sikhs arriving a day or two afterwards, Major Eyre was en-

abled to lay plans for a march to Jugdispore. The roads were bad, and the rebels' post at that place was strong, so caution was needed.

On the afternoon of the 11th Major Eyre left Arrah with a force consisting of 500 men, marched eight miles, and encamped for the night on a bank of the Gagur Nuddee. Next day he had to make his way over two miles of rice-fields under water, a kind of roadway along which it is peculiarly difficult to convey guns. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon he observed that some of the enemy in the village of Narainpore were preparing to resist his passage of a river immediately beyond. After some skirmishing, Major Eyre opened a fire of grape which roused a large body of rebels who had been concealed behind bushes. The detachment of the 10th, eager to emulate the previous heroism of their comrades of the 5th Fusiliers, and exasperated by their loss under Captain Dunbar, asked to be permitted to charge the enemy at once; Eyre consented. Captain Patterson led them on. They rushed with a shout and a cheer, and the enemy gave way before a charge which they found irresistible. The other infantry came up and assisted in dispersing the enemy from another village, Dullaur, beyond the river. This accomplished, Eyre marched a mile and a half through thick jungle to Jugdispore, maintaining a

running fight the whole way. There Koer Singh's stronghold was but feebly defended ; Eyre took possession of it early in the afternoon, and with it large stores of grain, ammunition, and warlike material. The villagers around Jugdispore immediately sent in tokens of submission to the conqueror.

Koer Singh fled with a few followers to the Jutowrah jungle, where he had another resid-

ence. Major Eyre sent Captain L'Estrange after him with a detachment, but when he reached the place he found that all had again dispersed, and the gallant captain returned after destroying residences of Nana Sahib's ally and his two brothers.

The Dinapoor mutineers, with Koer Singh at their head, marched towards the Jumna regions, as if with the intention of joining the insurgents in Bundelcund.

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE MUTINY AT AGRA.

AGRA was the seat of government of the North-West Provinces. It, like Delhi, is situated on the right bank of the Jumna, and lies about 150 miles from that city, while it is a little under 800 miles from Calcutta. Mr Colvin, the lieutenant-governor, had a harassing time of it from the very beginning of the mutinous outbreaks. From the prominent position of Agra in the troubled region, the Calcutta authorities naturally looked to him, whose official residence was there, for information about the mutinies ; and he was as assiduously busy collecting details, and sending them to the Anglo-Indian capital by telegraph, and by dâks, as a conscientious, able servant of the Government possibly could be.

On the 1st of June Mr Colvin

found it necessary to disarm the 44th and 67th Bengal native infantry, which had their quarters at Agra, because two companies of these regiments had mutinied at another place, and also because the bulk of the men under his own eye exhibited unmistakable signs of dissatisfaction. At the end of the month the only protection that was left for the great and important city of Agra was the 3d European Fusiliers, a corps of volunteer European cavalry, under Lieutenant Greathed, and Captain D'Oiley's field battery of six guns. The numbers were weak. The fusiliers counted about 600, and all the others a little over 200.

A little previous to this time the Kotah contingent of native

troops, consisting of infantry, cavalry, artillery, about 700 men in all, had been brought up from the south-west, and were engaged in the region round about Agra, collecting revenue, burning disaffected villages, capturing and hanging rebels and mutineers. Till about the beginning of July they were looked upon as faithful and loyal. But on the evening of the 4th of July they were seen in another light. Suddenly and unexpectedly the cavalry portion of this contingent broke out in mutiny, fired at their officers, killed the sergeant-major, and then marched off, followed by the infantry and artillery—all of them but a few gunners who helped the British to retain the two guns belonging to the contingent.

Next morning, Sunday, July 5th, an army of mutineers, consisting of about 4000 infantry and 1000 cavalry, with ten or twelve guns, presented themselves at a village close to Mr Colvin's house, three miles from the military cantonment, and four miles from the fort of Agra. It was at once resolved to go out and fight them with the comparatively few British troops who were at hand, and who have been mentioned above, leaving about 200 men of the 3d European Fusiliers to guard the fort. This was all the more necessary because evidences were pretty ample that the native citizens of Agra had begun to think slightly of

their British masters, and all suspicion of fear or timidity must be dispelled.

The opposing forces met at noon. It augured badly that the native women were seen in the village loading the rifles and muskets, and handing them to the mutineers. Colonel Riddell commanded the infantry of the small British force, and the artillery were under Captain D'Oiley.

When about 600 yards from the enemy, the infantry were ordered to lie down, to allow the guns to do their work against the village. For two hours an exchange of artillery fire was kept up—extremely fierce; shrapnel shells, round shot, and grape shot filling the air. A tumbrel belonging to D'Oiley's battery now blew up, disabling one of the guns; the enemy's cavalry took advantage of this to gallop forward and charge, but the 3d Europeans, jumping up, let fly a volley, which effectually deterred them. Most of the officers and soldiers had wished during these two hours for a bolder course of action—a capture of the enemy's guns by a direct charge of infantry. Then followed rapid musketry fire, and a chasing of the enemy out of the village by most of the infantry—the rest guarding the guns. Unfortunately, another tumbrel blew up, disabling another gun; and, moreover, D'Oiley had used up all the ammunition which had been supplied to him. Upon this, the order was given for retreat.

to the city ; and the retreat was made, much to the mortification of the troops, for they had really won a victory. The rebels, it was afterwards known, were just about to retreat when they saw the retreat of the British ; their infantry marched off towards Muttra, but their cavalry and one gun harassed the British during their return to the city. The artillery fire of the mutineers during the battle was spoken of with admiration, even by those who were every minute suffering from it ; the native artillerymen had certainly become most effective gunners. If the cavalry had shown intelligence and bravery similar to theirs, it would have been very bad on this occasion for the British, who had one-fourth of their small force killed or wounded. The loss of Captain D'Oiley seemed to his heart-broken fellow-countrymen irreparable. A shot struck him while he was managing his guns ; he stuck to his post, however, sitting on the carriage as he gave orders. At last he fell, saying, " Ah ! they have done for me now. Put a stone on my grave, and say I died at my guns." He died next day.

The British returned to the fort. Three or four thousand prisoners got loose during the day, and had begun to enjoy the congenial sport of setting fire to all the European dwellings in the city. An officer of the 3d Europeans wrote : " I went out next morning. 'Twas

a dreadful sight indeed ; Agra was destroyed ; churches, colleges, dwelling-houses, barracks—everything burned."

But the British had to think of the fort. All the native servants ran off. A military surgeon wrote that he had eleven of these useful individuals at his command in the morning, but not one at night. The officers drew and carried water from the wells, and the ladies turned their attention to cooking, and keeping their apartments clean. One lady wrote : " We are living in a place they call Palace Yard ; it is a square, with a gallery round it, having open arches ; every married couple being allowed two arches. It is no easy matter to keep our arches clean and tidy." As to calling the square Palace Yard, the imprisoned Englishmen seem to have tried as hard as possible to imagine themselves in London. A commissariat officer wrote of the fort : " Here we are all living in gun sheds and casemates. The appearance of the interior is amusing ; and the streets are named. We have Regent and Oxford Streets, the Quadrant, Burlington and Lowther Arcades, and Trafalgar Square."

There they were, then ; 500 fighting men, nearly 6000 altogether—military, civil, Eurasians, half castes—all shut up in that fort ; and when were they to get out ? an event to be guessed at. More than 2000 of the number were children. Mr

Colvin saw, however, that provided the supply of food and other necessaries was sufficient, there was no such danger to fear as beset Sir Hugh Wheeler at Cawnpore, and Brigadier Inglis at Lucknow. Agra fort was extensive, and within its walls were many large buildings. The defences, too, were strong. There were sixty guns of heavy calibre mounted on the bastions; thirteen large mortars were placed in position; the powder magazines also were well stored, and were secure from accidental explosion. Mr Colvin and his military advisers improved the external defences by levelling many of the houses in the city which approached too near to the fort.

Still, with all their sense of security, the inmates of that strong fort had enough to do to keep up their spirits. Many of them had lost heavily. On the day and night of the 5th of July property had been destroyed in the city to an enormous amount, and most of this belonged to persons who had now to think only of how their lives were to be spared. All was gone. The large shops which had abounded with the most costly articles of necessity and luxury were demolished, and their imprisoned proprietors were, for aught they knew, penniless.

The state of affairs at the fort throughout July and August might be said to consist of no great danger from without, but with innumerable discomforts within.

Mr Colvin sent repeated messages for a relieving force, but there was none to be had. Occasional sallies were made from the fort to punish isolated bodies of the rebels, but the European troops were too few to effect much benefit by sallies. One exploit was worthy of ranking with the mighty deeds of Havelock and his band. Mr Colvin requested Colonel Cotton to organise a small force for the purpose of driving some mutineers from Allygurh, fifty-five miles to the north of Agra. Major Montgomery set forth with about 300 men all told, sixty-one of them being artillery, and reached Hat-trass, thirty-four miles on his way, on the 21st of July. There he learned that 6000 mutineers, under Ghose Mahomed Khan, a lieutenant of the King of Delhi, were prepared to resist him at Allygurh; he marched to Sarsnee on the 23d, rested for the night in an indigo factory and other buildings, and advanced the following day to Allygurh. There ensued a sharp conflict of two hours' duration in gardens and enclosures outside the town; it ended in the defeat and dispersion of the enemy, who left 300 dead on the field. The battle was a gallant affair, worthy of ranking with those of Havelock; for Montgomery contended against twenty times his own number, and moreover, many of the troops among the enemy were Ghazees, or fanatic Mussulmans, who engaged fiercely in hand-to-hand

contests with some of his troops. This detachment of men was too small to enable him to enter and re-occupy Allygurh. He was obliged to leave that place in the hands of the rebels, and to return to Hattrass; but having replenished his stock of ammunition and supplies, he advanced again to Allygurh, held it for several days, and left a detachment there when he took his departure for Agra.

Almost every other city and military station in that part of India was in the hands of the mutineers during July and August.

The mutinies, or attempts at mutiny, during these months in the Orissa and Nagpore districts of south-western Bengal, were of slight importance. The Madras presidency remained almost entirely at peace. There were discontents and occasional plottings, but no formidable resistance of the British power. The presidency of Bombay was affected only in a trifling degree compared with the storms that shook Bengal and the north-west provinces. The Parsees, a wealthy and powerful native community in the city of Bombay, were faithful to the Government, and strengthened the hands of Lord Elphinstone greatly. These descendants of the Persians, many of whom are merchants, ship-owners, and bankers, may always be distinguished from the other natives of India by the termination "jee" to their names. The property in the island on which

the city of Bombay stands is chiefly in their hands. They presented a loyal address to Lord Elphinstone, and their conduct was worthy of the sentiments it expressed. The dominions of the Nizam, the large and important country of Hyderabad, were anxiously watched by the heads of all the three presidencies. It is certain that if that potentate had joined the rebels, Southern India would have blazed up in insurrection. But he remained loyal; and Salar Jung, his chief minister, supported him steadfastly in all the measures that were taken to keep and to put down disturbance when the turbulent Mussulmans of Hyderabad were set in tumultuous excitement by the news of the triumph of the rebels at Delhi. The Maharajah Scindia, under circumstances of great difficulty and peril, managed to maintain the peace at Gwalior, the country north of the Bombay presidency. He retained native troops, but discountenanced their tendencies to rise against the British. The Gwalior contingent, but for Scindia's tact and judgment, would have marched to Agra in a body, and greatly imperilled the "raj," or rule, of the British there. He kept these troublesome troops near him during the months of July and August. Holkar's Mahratta territory, with Indore for its chief city, was similarly managed. On the 1st of July a portion of the contingent kept by this chief rose

against the British at Indore, against his wish and without his privity, but he succeeded in quelling the mutinous spirit among them.

The state of India in that wide range of country north of the Bombay presidency during July and August may be summed

up by saying that the native chieftains were, for the most part, faithful, even when their troops revolted; and the British residents were frequently driven from station to station, and the British influence was as low as it well could be without being quite annihilated.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE RECAPTURE OF DELHI.

GENERAL WILSON knew that he could not take Delhi by assault with the force at his disposal in the first half of August, and he was looking anxiously for reinforcements from the Punjaub. They were due about this time, with Brigadier-General Nicholson at their head. This soldier, who attained his high rank at an unusually early age, had already acquired a wide reputation for daring and energy. He had up in the Punjaub struck terror into the mountaineers, and swept away bands of rebels in front, and on either side of him, in the region between the Chenab and the Sutlej. He arrived before Delhi with a few companions on the 8th of August; but the bulk of his column did not reach that city till the 14th. It consisted of about 1100 Europeans, and 1400 Punjaub troops. Nicholson brought a few guns

with him, but before beginning siege operations it was necessary to await the arrival of a siege-train which Sir John Lawrence had caused to be collected at Ferozpoore.

For ten days after the arrival of Nicholson little was done on either side except a skirmish at Rohtuk, which had some influence in pacifying the district round the siege camp. It was this. About the time of Nicholson's arrival General Wilson despatched Lieutenant Hodson to watch a party of the enemy who had moved out from Delhi on the Rohtuk road, and to afford support, if it should be needed, either to Soneeput or to the Jheend rajah, who remained faithful to his alliance with the British. Hodson started on the night of the 14th of August with 230 of "Hodson's Horse," irregular cavalry named after himself, 100 Guide cavalry, and a



few Jheend cavalry. The enemy were known to have passed through Samplah, on the way to Rohtuk, and Hodson resolved to anticipate them by a flank movement. On the 15th, at the village of Khurkowdeh, he captured a large number of mutineer cavalry, by a stratagem at once bold and ingenious. On the 16th the enemy marched to Rohtuk, and Hodson in pursuit of them. On the 17th skirmishes took place near Rohtuk itself; but on the 18th Hodson succeeded in drawing forth the main body of rebels, who suffered a speedy and complete defeat. They were not simply mutineers from Delhi; they comprised many depredatory bodies that greatly troubled such of the petty rajahs as wished to remain faithful to, or in alliance with, the British. Lieutenant Hodson dispersed them; and thus, as was said above, aided in pacifying the surrounding district.

Wilson held his own before Delhi, waiting for the siege-train, and Nicholson was on the alert for any service he could render. An opportunity soon presented itself. A force of the enemy left Delhi and made towards Bahadoorghur, a town about twenty miles due west, with the obvious intention either of attacking the siege camp in the rear, or of intercepting the siege-train which was on its way from Ferozpoore. The expedition from Delhi amounted to 7000 men. General Wilson entrusted

Brigadier Nicholson with a column to frustrate its design, whatever that might be. Nicholson started at daybreak on the 25th of August, and in his march passed through two difficult swamps, waded a sheet of water three feet deep, and came up with the enemy about five o'clock in the afternoon. They were posted in a position two miles in length, extending from the town of Nujuffghur to a bridge over a jheel, or water-course, named after the town. The rebels had thirteen guns, of which four were in a strong position at an old serai, or travellers' bungalow, on their left centre, the point which Brigadier Nicholson resolved, after a brief reconnaissance, to attack. After firing a few rounds from his guns, he reminded his men of what a bayonet charge meant in the British army, and then ordered them to advance. The infantry did advance to a purpose, driving the rebels out of the serai with tremendous impetuosity. Nicholson then, by a flank movement, drove the enemy entirely from the field, and captured thirteen guns. While this was being done, Lieutenant Lumsden advanced to Nujuffghur, and cleared it of the enemy, during which operation that brave officer was killed. Nicholson returned to the camp next day, having captured all the guns and ammunition of the rebels; and, what was of more consequence, having frustrated whatever de-

sign the expedition set out with.

The Delhi insurgents, knowing that the siege camp was weakened by the departure of the force under Nicholson—they were nearly always well informed of the proceedings of the besiegers—resolved to attack the camp in its weakened state; but as soon as they made their appearance, General Wilson strengthened his pickets, and the affair never became serious. They attempted little more than a series of skirmishing attacks during the later days of August.

With the arrival of September new and important features in the circumstances of the siege presented themselves. It was apparent that within Delhi there was no able officer possessing unity of command, while with the besiegers prospects were brightening. The siege-train arrived early in the month. It consisted of thirty pieces of heavy artillery—guns, howitzers, and mortars of large calibre. It had required all Sir John Lawrence's skill, influence, and energy, both to obtain this train, and to secure and forward men to Ferozpore to escort it, as well as all the necessary animals, carriages, food, camp-equipages, and fodder. But he succeeded. About the same time a battalion arrived from Kurachee, raising the siege army to about 9000 men of all arms. It included Europeans, Goorkhas, Sikhs, Punjaubees, Beloochees, and mountaineers from the Afghan

frontier, but the Oudian and Hindustani element was almost entirely excluded from it.

General Wilson felt that the time had now arrived for commencing the operations of a regular siege, which, as every one knows, depend more on engineers and artillerymen than on infantry and cavalry. By the labour of successive days and nights, breasting batteries were constructed, on which forty-four pieces of heavy ordnance bristled. There were also guns of lighter weight and smaller calibre at various positions.

It was on the 11th of September that the British siege-guns opened their systematic fire on the north of Delhi. On that day the nine 24-pounders in Major Campbell's No. 2 Battery brought down huge pieces of the wall near the Cashmere Bastion. The guns on that bastion attempted feebly to reply, but were soon knocked over, and the bastion itself was rendered untenable. Next day No. 2 Battery opened its fire; and day and night thereafter till the morning of the 14th, with scarcely an interval of silence, upwards of forty pieces of heavy ordnance belched forth slaughter and ruin on the devoted city. The enemy replied with spirit.

The 14th of September was a day not soon to be forgotten by the soldiers of the siege army, nor by the rebels within the walls of the city of the great Mogul. It was the day fixed for the final assault. All ar-

rangements had been made. At four o'clock in the morning the different columns marched from the camp to the places respectively assigned them.

The perilous honour of taking the lead was conferred on Brigadier Nicholson. When he gave the signal the Rifles rushed to the front with a cheer, and skirmished along through the low jungle, which extended to within fifty yards of the ditch. Then he led the first column, and Brigadier Jones the second, from behind the Koodseebagh, steadily towards the breached portions of the wall. As soon as they emerged into the open ground, the enemy's bullets pelted them like hail in front and flank. Officers and men were falling fast on the glacis, and for several minutes it was impossible to get the ladders placed for a descent into the ditch and an ascent of the escarp. This difficulty was speedily overcome, however, and then the fierce struggle began. The British bayonet was irresistible. Through and over all obstacles the troops dashed into the city. Then they fought their way, inch by inch, capturing battery and bastion, from the Cabool Gate on to the Lahore Gate. Here the desperate resistance of the rebels checked the impetuous rush of the British troops. Many were the attacks on the Lahore Gate; and in one of them, when the troops were advancing along a narrow lane which was being

swept by the enemy's grape-shot and musketry, a bullet ended the onward career of the gallant Nicholson.

While this was going on the third column was directing its operations against the Cashmere Gate, through which it had been arranged they were to rush after an explosion-party had blown it in. The advanced exploders consisted of Lieutenant Home, an engineer officer, Sergeants Smith and Carmichael, and a few native sappers with the powder-bags. The firing party consisted of Lieutenant Salkeld, Corporal Burgess, and a few native sappers. These two divisions of the explosion-party on their way towards the gate encountered a heavy fire of musketry from both flanks, and from a wicket in the gate itself. Sergeant Carmichael and a native sapper named Madhoo were killed while laying the bags, but Lieutenant Home only received a blow from a stone thrown up by a bullet. The advanced party then slipped down into the ditch to make room for the firing-party; and in the language of Colonel Baird Smith, "Lieutenant Salkeld, while endeavouring to fire the charge, was shot through the arm and leg, and handed over the slow match to Corporal Burgess, who fell mortally wounded just as he had successfully accomplished the onerous duty. Havildar Tilluh Singh, of the Sikhs, was wounded, and Ramlohl Sepoy of the same corps, was killed during

this part of the operation. The demolition being most successful, Lieutenant Home, happily not wounded, caused Bugler Hawthorne to sound the regimental call of the 52d, as the signal for the advancing columns. Fearing that amid the noise of the assault the sounds might not be heard, he had the call repeated three times, when the troops advanced and carried the gateway with complete success." Sergeant Smith, when he saw Burgess falling, ran forward to fire the train, but seeing it had been lighted, he had just time to throw himself in the ditch before the explosion took place.

Colonel Campbell, now that the gate was open to him, marched boldly towards the Jumma Musjid, in the centre of the city, which he wished to capture. He did not effect this. After a gallant struggle for it, Colonel Campbell fell back on the English church, near the Cashmere Gate, where he had the support of the reserve, and before night-fall he had made his position in and near the church so strong that the enemy could not dislodge him. The reserve column under Brigadier Lingfield did its work bravely in taking possession of the various captured posts, such as the Cashmere Gate. A portion of the siege army, placed under the command of Major Reid for a series of operations in the western suburbs of the city, was not so fortunate as the others, but the

result of the day's fighting was that British authority was partially restored in Delhi after it had been suspended for eighteen weeks. The loss that day was very large—a total of 1135 killed and wounded. The British were in command of a strip of ground and buildings just within the northern wall. Next day they dragged several mortars into position at various points between the Cashmere and the Cabool Gates, to shell the heart of the city and the imperial palace. They also set up batteries, and put several houses in such a state as would serve them either for attack or defence. The enemy meanwhile kept up a vigorous fire upon the positions of the British, and skirmishing went on at all the advanced posts. Position after position was gained each successive day. The magazine was captured on the 17th, and on the 18th the British had secured a firm hold of every position behind a straight line extending from the magazine to the Cabool Gate. And then the bold advance southward was made with conquering tread.

The Delhi bank was captured under a shower of bullets from almost every house-top and window. The mortars were brought out from the magazine, placed in commanding position, and shelled the palace and the quarters of the town occupied by the enemy. A large and strong camp outside the Delhi Gate was evacuated in precipitate

haste by the rebels, and was at once taken possession of by Lieutenant Hodson. Through that gate the cavalry galloped, and rode into the Jumma Musjid, of which they took possession, being speedily supported by infantry and guns. Meantime the imperial palace was being attacked. A column advanced, placed powder-bags against the gate, blew it in, and entered, to find that the enormous building was deserted by all save a few fanatics and numerous wounded sepoys.

Thus ended the siege of Delhi in its capture. Captain Norman concluding a report of it, says: "Called on at the hottest season of the year to take the field, imperfectly equipped, and with the extent of difficulties to be faced very imperfectly known, all felt that a crisis had arrived, to meet which every man's cheerful, willing, and heartfelt energies must be put forth to the utmost; and how well this was done those who were with the army know, and can never forget. For the first five weeks every effort was required, not indeed to take Delhi, but even to hold our own position; and day after day, for hours together, every soldier was under arms under a burning sun, and constantly exposed to fire. Notwithstanding the daily casualties in action, the numerous deaths by cholera, the discouraging reports relative to the fidelity of some of the native portions of our own force, the distressing

accounts from all parts of the country, the constant arrival of large reinforcements of mutineers, and the apparent impossibility of aid ever reaching in sufficient strength to enable us to take the place—the courage and confidence of the army never flagged. And besides enduring a constant and often deadly cannonade for more than three months in thirty different combats, our troops invariably were successful, always against long odds, and often opposed to ten times their number, who had all the advantages of ground and superior artillery."

The loss of men in killed and wounded during the entire siege was 3807; 168 horses were killed, and 378 wounded.

In an address issued to the siege army before the final assault, General Wilson had said that he need hardly remind the troops of the cruel murders committed on their officers and comrades, as well as their wives and children, to move them in the deadly struggle. No quarter should be given to the mutineers; at the same time, for the sake of humanity and the honour of the country they belonged to, he called on them to spare all women and children that might come in their way. The rule thus laid down was strictly adhered to. When the women and children were spared, it seemed more than the natives had looked for; but it must be owned that as to the men, the British soldiers took very little

pains to discriminate between mutineers and the comparatively guiltless. Many a dark-skinned inhabitant of Delhi, against whom no charge of complicity with the bloodthirsty mutineers could have been proved, fell under the ruthless bayonet.

Delhi contained also at the time an enormous amount of miscellaneous wealth—the loot which the mutineers had gathered during the sack of other towns and stations. The British soldiers observed reasonably well the rules of the army concerning prizes and prize-money, but their Punjaabee and Goorkha allies, more accustomed to Asiatic notions of warfare, revelled in the unbridled freedom which their position among the conquerors conferred on them in the circumstances. There was also in the city a large store of various beverages; and as temperance is not as stern a virtue in the British soldiers as bravery, the scenes of drunkenness that ensued may be left to the reader's imagination.

When the imperial palace was entered by the conquerors, they found it empty. The fact is, that when all hope of holding Delhi against the besiegers had vanished, the aged puppet of a king, and nearly all the members and retainers of the once imperial family, took to flight. Captain Hodson was told off to capture the fugitives. He soon learned that among the crush at the exodus of the less warlike inhabitants, when the British

began to make headway, the king and his family, with a large force, had left the city by the Ajmeer Gate, and had gone to Kootub, a suburban palace about nine miles from Delhi. A detachment could not be spared to pursue them. The royal fugitive, however, sent messengers, among them Zeenat Mahal, a favourite begum, with ridiculous offers, as if he had still the power to dictate, or even suggest terms. These were all rejected. It was, nevertheless, desirable to have the king's person in safe custody; and Captain Hodson received permission to promise the guilty old sovereign his life, and exemption from immediate personal indignity, if he would surrender. Hodson knew that he would require to proceed on this mission with the utmost circumspection. He set off with fifty of his own irregular troopers to Humayoon's tomb, about three miles from Kootub. Here he concealed himself and his men among some old buildings, and sent up his message to the palace. After two hours of anxious suspense, he received word from the king that he would deliver himself up to Captain Hodson only, and that on condition that he would repeat with his own lips the pledge of the Government for his safety. The captain went out into the middle of the road in front of the gateway of the tomb, and said he was ready to renew the promise, and receive

his captives. After a time, a procession began to arrive from the palace. Threats and promises were both necessary to bring matters to a bearing; but they were sufficient. The king, his begum, Zeenat Mahal, and her son, Jumma Bakht, were escorted to Delhi. It was a ride during which Captain Hodson and his horse might have been annihilated. There were thousands of the king's retainers in the procession, any one of whom could have shot down the captain. But he rode along close to the side of the imperial palanquins, cool and undaunted, and no one harmed him. Followers and bystanders slunk away as the cavalcade neared the city. The captain rode on a few paces, and ordered the Lahore Gate to be opened. "Who have you there in the palanquin?" asked the officer on duty. "Only the King of Delhi," was the laconic, significant reply. Other members of the royal family were secured next day by the energetic cavalry captain, and sent to Delhi.

As to the principal heroes of the siege, the Queen, in November, raised the artillery officer who had brought it to a successful issue, to the rank of a baronet, and made him a Knight Commander of the Bath. The East India Company, too, conferred on Major-General Sir Archdale Wilson, K.C.B., a pension of £1000 a year. He had served in India as an artillery officer

nearly forty years. What honours might have been conferred on Brigadier Nicholson, if his life had been spared, it is useless to attempt to surmise. His death, in that tortuous lane leading to the Lahore Gate, was deplored throughout the Indian army. He had not attained his thirty-fifth year when he was struck down. No greater tribute to his worth as a soldier could be mentioned than the fact, that Sir John Lawrence had the most unbounded confidence in the young brigadier's military genius, which induced him to entrust to his command a column destined to fight the rebels all the way from the Punjaub to Delhi; and that the seniors who were thus superseded felt that the duty was entrusted to a soldier equal to its demands. The Queen granted the posthumous dignity of a Commander of the Bath upon Brigadier-General John Nicholson; and as he was unmarried, the East India Company departed from their general rule, and bestowed a special grant of £500 a year on his widowed mother, who had, in earlier years, lost another son in the Company's service.

After being struck down at the Cashmere Gate, Lieutenant Salkeld lingered in great pain, till he died on the 10th of October, in his twenty-eighth year. He was decorated with the Victoria Cross. The same decoration was, with all the honours, conferred on Lieutenant Duncan Home. But he died before his

brother officer Salkeld, notwithstanding his almost miraculous escape at the Cashmere Gate. He was killed on the 1st of October, while engaged in an expedition in pursuit of fleeing rebels. Sergeant Smith, and

Bugler Hawthorne also, received the much-coveted distinction of the Victoria Cross. It was honourably won also by Sergeant Carmichael and Corporal Burgess; but they both died pierced with bullets.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### LUCKNOW RELIEVED BY SIR COLIN CAMPBELL.

A FEW words are necessary about Agra before proceeding to outline the story of the rescue of Lucknow—one of the most important events which occurred during the stamping out of the mutinies of India. John Russell Colvin, the lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces, died on the 9th of September, while hemmed within the walls of the fort of Agra. He succumbed to sickness, brought on mainly by the intense anxieties caused by the position the mutinies had placed him in. He had seen much political service in India; and, as the Governor-General said in a graceful acknowledgment of his merits, he left "a name which not friends alone, but all who were associated with him in the duties of government, and all who may follow him in his path, will delight to honour."

Colonel Fraser succeeded him as chief commissioner of Agra. When Delhi fell, Colonel Fraser

watched with anxiety the course followed by several bands of mutineers thus left free to seek opportunities for depredation in other directions. Early in October it was known that an attack on Agra was meditated by the rebels. Colonel Greathed arrived at Akrahad, one day's march from Allygurh, on his way to Cawnpore, with a column 3000 strong, which had been organised at Delhi, after the capture of that city, for the relief of the oppressed British cities and stations in the troubled surrounding region. It was resolved, on the 6th of October, by Colonel Fraser, to obtain the help of Greathed at Agra. That energetic officer consented to turn aside and lend his aid; and after marching forty-four miles in twenty-eight hours—a marvellous achievement in the climate—he reached the parade ground of Agra on the morning of the 10th. His troops, worn out with the fatigue of their



forced march, barely enjoyed three hours' rest, when they had to engage the rebels, who suddenly attacked them in their camp. Greathed made a rapid movement to the right, outflanked the enemy, and captured three guns on that side. In other directions he was equally successful, capturing guns and standards. The mutineers retreated, and Greathed followed them up to a village three miles off, on the Gwalior road. The enemy were utterly routed, losing twelve guns, and the whole of their tents, ammunition, baggage, and vehicles of every description. Agra was relieved.

Sir James Outram, in the enclosure at Lucknow, was commander of the British forces, and the chief personal representative of British power throughout the province of Oude. For the time these were but nominal functions, for, in point of fact, his command extended to little more than the few acres of the Residency and the Alum Bagh.

The enemy renewed hostilities upon the enclosure. They kept up persistent firing daily, they broke down the bridges over the canals and streams which separated the Alum Bagh from the Residency, and they pounced upon every one they saw attempting to leave the intrenchment.

The British, on their part, made frequent sorties to capture guns, blow up buildings, and dislodge troublesome groups of assailants. Six days after the

arrival of Outram and Havelock, some of the garrison made a sally to capture two guns on the Cawnpore road, and discovered a private of the Madras Europeans in a dry well, where he had been hiding himself for several days. He had managed to support life on some tea leaves and a few biscuits he had in his pocket, and had not dared to utter a sound so long as he heard only the enemy all round his well. There was in it besides himself the ghastly dead body of a sepoy, and this unburied corruption rendered the atmosphere so offensive and pestilential that the companion of the dead enemy was fain to creep out at night in the hope of breathing a little fresh air. The sound of friendly voices revived some hope; he shouted as loud as he could in his exhausted condition, and so black and filthy was his appearance that his countrymen, who were in ecstasies of delight at saving him, had all but shot him as a mutinous sepoy.

Outram could neither send aid to the Alum Bagh nor receive aid from it. Things began to look very gloomy; breakfast was chupatties and boiled peas, and it was not uncommon to rise from the form of procedure called dining with the pangs of hunger only faintly appeased. A very old flannel shirt, worn and soiled, which had belonged to poor Captain Fulton, was put up to auction, and ran up in price till an officer, eager to

appear less tattered than he was, paid £4, 10s. sterling for it.

The British within the enclosure could learn little of what was going on in the city. They did pick up, however, that the rebels had bethought themselves of a regular government. They set up a boy eight or ten years of age, a natural son of the deposed King of Oude, as a sort of tributary prince of the King of Delhi. He was a name merely, and the real power was vested in a minister and council of state—the latter being made up out of the principal servants of the deposed king, the chieftains and landed proprietors, or thalookdars of Oude, and the self-elected leaders of the mutinous sepoys. The army was duly officered with all the grades, from general down to corporal and drummer.

The prisoners in the enclosure learned also that a small body of Europeans, including Sir Mountstuart Jackson and his sister, were in the hands of the rebels in one of the palaces of Lucknow. They had been taken during their flight from Seetapore, and it was said that a terrible fate was overhanging them.

Resources were very low in the Residency when November set in, but there was a gleam of hope. Sir John Inglis was in command of his old area in the intrenchment, Sir Henry Have-lock had assumed the command of the palatial additions, and Sir James Outram was com-

mander-in-chief. There were now more men for what labour was to be performed; sanitary improvements were carried out, the hospitals were put in a more tolerable condition; there was no need now for overcrowding; the cool weather had brought improved health; improvements were observable in all respects except two—food and raiment.

Sir Colin Campbell and his movements had been dimly heard of once or twice. But the news was now to be made agreeably definite.

On the 9th of November Mr Cavanagh, who, before these levelling times of trouble, had been a clerk to a civil officer in Lucknow, what was called an uncovenanted servant of the Company, made a most adventurous and perilous journey on foot to a place far beyond the Alum Bagh in order to communicate in person with Sir Colin Campbell, whose approach to Lucknow had been announced by a spy. Mr Cavanagh supplied Sir Colin with full details of what was going on within the Residency, and was ready to act as a guide through the labyrinthine streets of the city when an opportunity of rendering such a service might present itself. As an immediate result of this bold expedition, in the success of which at the outset no one believed, a system of semaphore telegraphy was established which let Sir James Outram know that Mr Cavanagh had succeeded in his daring exploit, and that Sir

Colin Campbell had arrived at the Alum Bagh on the 11th.

All was now energetic arrangement at the enclosure to co-work with the commander-in-chief as he advanced. Strong parties issued out day after day to clear some of the streets by blowing up batteries and houses with the view of lessening the amount of resistance which they knew their deliverers would have to encounter.

The position of the little party imprisoned in the Alum Bagh was very trying. Much sickness arose within the place owing to the deficiency of space and fresh air; and although successful attempts were occasionally made by the chiefs at the Residency to send them food in the intervals, provisions were very scanty. The men were, however, hopeful and resolute; they were prepared to endure and fight to the last, or till aid arrived.

Sir Colin Campbell had left Calcutta on the 28th of October, travelling like a courier, making narrow escapes from capture by rebels on the way, and had reached Cawnpore on the 3d of November, as quiet an arrival as ever entered the gates of the city; not a gleam of the glitter or a shred of the trappings that usually incommode a commander-in-chief in India was in attendance on one of the most illustrious of them.

Remaining at Cawnpore no longer than was necessary to organise the various forces he

had sent on before him, Sir Colin crossed the Ganges on the 9th of November and joined Hope Grant's column the same day at the camp Buntara, six miles short of Alum Bagh. It may be mentioned in passing that this was the column which Colonel Greathed had at first commanded in the Doab, and which so valorously delivered Agra from its state of siege. Hope Grant was now in command of it, according to some rule of seniority, not at all as any slight on the gallant Greathed. At Buntara the commander-in-chief waited till next morning, when he started with a force of about 2700 infantry, and 700 cavalry and artillery, which he had collected with a great deal of trouble.

Sir Colin advanced from this place, blew up a troublesome small fort on the way, and encamped for the night outside the Alum Bagh. He had resolved to avoid as much as possible the waste of life in street fighting. To carry out this purpose, his plan was to enter the city by an eastern suburb where there were many palaces and mosques, but few of the deep narrow lanes which had proved so fatal to Havelock's force. The tactics for the next few days were, accordingly, to consist of a series of partial sieges, each directed against a particular stronghold, and each capture to form a base of operations for attacks on other posts nearer the heart of the city, until at

length the Residency should be reached. 'It will be remembered that street fighting was avoided in Paris by the French Government when it was wresting that city in 1871 from the Communists by a method similar in principle to this. Instead of rushing at barricades in the streets, the loyal troops made their way through the walls of the houses.

After changing the garrison at Alum Bagh, giving a little rest to his troops, and receiving an addition of 650 men from Cawnpore, Sir Colin Campbell commenced his siege operations on the morning of the 14th with a force of about 4000 men. That day he secured the Dil Koo-sha — Heart's Delight — Park, and the Martinière College for half-caste children. When night came, the commander-in-chief was free to congratulate himself on having secured the easternmost buildings of Lucknow, and having brought with him fourteen days' provisions for his own troops and an equal proportion for the troops in the enclosure. The 15th was spent in completing arrangements and exchanging messages and signals with Outram and Havelock. On the 16th he crossed the canal and advanced to the Secunder Bagh, a high-walled enclosure of strong masonry about 120 yards square, loopholed on all sides for musketry, and held in great force by the enemy. After a determined struggle of two hours, this valuable stronghold was in possession of the

besiegers. No less than 2000 of the enemy fell at this storming, than which, said Sir Colin, "there never was a bolder feat of arms."

Captain Peel's naval siege-train won distinguished honours at this reconquering of Lucknow. Early in the month of August Lord Elgin had come to Calcutta, and placed at the disposal of Lord Canning two war-steamer, the Shannon and the Pearl; and from among the resources of these steamers this splendid naval brigade was organised. It consisted of 400 seamen, and no less than ten 68-pounders, and was put under the command of Captain Peel, who had won distinguished honour by his management of a naval battery in the Crimea during the siege of Sebastopol.

After the Secunder Bagh was secured, the naval siege-train again went to the front, and advanced towards the Shah Nu-jeef, a domed mosque with a garden, which the enemy had converted into a formidable stronghold. After a heavy cannonade of three hours, and an obstinate defence, during which an increasing fire was kept up from the mosque and the defences in the garden, Sir Colin ordered the place to be stormed; and stormed it was intrepidly by the 93d Highlanders, a battalion of detachments, and the Naval Brigade. The commander-in-chief remarked in a despatch: "Captain Peel led up his heavy guns with extra-

ordinary gallantry to within a few yards of the building, to batter the massive stone walls. The withering fire of the Highlanders effectually covered the Naval Brigade from great loss; but it was an action almost unexampled in war. Captain Peel behaved very much as if he had been laying the Shannon alongside an enemy's frigate."

Meantime Havelock and his brave men were working valorously for the deliverance which was thus approaching them straight through the walls of the strongholds of their ruthless enemies. It had been agreed by signal and secret message, that as soon as Sir Colin should reach Secunder Bagh the outer wall of the advance garden of the Fureed Buksh, Havelock's most eastern post, should be blown down by mines previously prepared. The mines were exploded; the walls demolished; the works beyond were shelled by mortars: then the infantry dashed through and captured several buildings which had been marked out by previous arrangement.

On the 17th a large structure called the Mess House, defended by a ditch twelve feet broad, with a loopholed mud-wall beyond the ditch, and scarped with masonry, was stormed after several hours of cannonading. No sooner was this done than the victorious troops pressed forward eagerly, and lined a wall that separated the Mess House from the Motee Mehal—the

Pearl Palace. This was a wide enclosure containing many buildings; and here the enemy made a last desperate stand for an hour. But all in vain. The besieging troops, aided by the sappers, broke an opening through the wall, and rushed onwards carrying all before them until they reached that part of the city which had been commanded by Havelock for seven or eight weeks.

The loss in killed and wounded was severe, but less so than that which Outram and Havelock suffered in September. There were in all during Sir Colin's advance to the Residency, with the collateral struggles to which it gave rise, 122 killed and 345 wounded—33 of the wounded and 10 of the killed being officers. The loss of the enemy was between 3000 and 4000 men.

It was now the turn of Outram, Havelock, and Inglis to grasp with fervour the hand of Sir Colin Campbell, who had received a slight wound, but nothing to check his activity for an hour. It is superfluous to remark that those whose deliverance had been so valorously wrought were overjoyed. Their lives were saved; and when the commissariat of the new-comers had time to make proper arrangements, and the old inmates had uttered their prudent maxims about the necessity of eating and drinking quietly at such a time, then what luxuries were enjoyed! wheaten bread, fresh

butter, oranges, and—letters and newspapers from home!

This jubilation, however, could not be allowed to last very long. An announcement was made almost immediately on Sir Colin's arrival, that every European was to leave Lucknow and retire to Cawnpore. This was disappointing to those who had fondly hoped that comfort was to follow immediately upon their deliverance after such long and indescribable miseries. But the rigorous exigencies of war were inexorable. The enemy still numbered 50,000 fighting men in and near Lucknow.

Sir Colin issued an order, therefore, that all were to depart quickly. The sick and wounded were to be removed directly to the Dil Koosha, a distance of four miles in a straight line, but of five or six if it were necessary to take a circuitous route to avoid the enemy. The women and children were to follow the same route next day, and the bulk of the soldiers were to leave when all else had been provided for. The ordnance stores and the Company's treasure—twenty-three lacs of rupees, preserved safely through all the trying scenes of these six months—were to be removed to the Dil Koosha about the same time as the non-combatants, an operation which required peculiar vigilance and caution.

That was a memorable exodus, never to be forgotten by those who made it. Many delicate ladies, unprovided with vehicles

or horses, had to walk these five or six miles of very rough ground, and exposed to, among other alarms, the fire of the enemy's musketry. Lady Inglis behaved on this occasion in a manner worthy of the helpmeet of her gallant husband. A dooly or hospital-litter was set apart for her accommodation, but she refused it in order that the sick and wounded might be better attended to. Mr Rees, in his "Personal Narrative," gives the following interesting extract from a letter written by this lady regarding the exodus. She wrote: "The road was quite safe except in those places where it was overlooked by the enemy's position, and where we had to run. One poor woman was wounded at one of those places. We arrived at Secunder Bagh about six, and found every one assembled there, awaiting an escort of doolies to carry us on. When I tell you that upwards of 2000 men had been hastily buried there the day before, you can fancy what a place it was. . . . We were regaled with tea and plenty of milk, and bread and butter—luxuries we had not enjoyed since the commencement of our troubles. At ten o'clock we recommenced our journey; most of the ladies were in palanquins, but we had a covered cart drawn by two obstinate bullocks. We had a force of infantry and cavalry with us, but had not proceeded half-a-mile when the column was halted, and an order sent back

for reinforcements ; some noise was heard, and it was believed we might be attacked. However, it proved a false alarm, and after two disagreeable and rather anxious hours, we arrived safely at the Dil Koosha, and were quartered in tents pitched for our reception."

Sir James Outram so planned the military movement in this evacuation that each corps and regiment, each detachment and picket, marched silently out in the dead of night without exciting the suspicion of the myriads of enemies around. So cleverly was it managed—without the loss of one man—that the enemy continued to fire into the enclosure long after the British had left it. One of the officers wrote: "An anxious night indeed that was ! We left at twelve o'clock, having withdrawn all our guns from position, so that if the scoundrels had only come on we should have had to fight every inch of our way while retiring. . . . Out we went while the enemy's guns still pounded the old wall, and while the bullets still whistled over the buildings ; and, after a six miles' walk in ankle-deep sand, we were halted in a field and told to make ourselves comfortable for the night."

The fate of the few English prisoners at Lucknow was sad. When the whole of the residents within the enclosure were found to have balked them, a few of the enraged rebels rushed to the Kaiser Bagh, where the unhappy victims were confined, tied Sir

Mountstuart Jackson, Mr Orr, Mr Barnes, and Sergeant Martin to guns, and blew them away. The ladies, it was said, were spared at the intercession of one of the begums of Oude.

Havelock, the gallant soldier, the devout Christian, died on the 25th of November at the Dil Koosha. He had shared the duties of Outram in that "Heart's Delight" during the two previous days ; but stricken down with dysentery, brought on by anxious care and excessive fatigue, he expired next day. Great and universal was the grief throughout the camp when the rumour of this irreparable bereavement spread. He had seen a great deal of service during his forty-two years of military life. When the news reached home all classes of his fellow-countrymen mourned his death, as it was felt to be a bereavement of mankind wherever, in the wide world, the name was heard of this noble soldier, at once pious, daring, and skilful. His widow received a pension of £1000 a year from the House of Commons ; and the public afterwards made provision for his daughters by voluntary subscription—very voluntary.

When Sir Colin Campbell abandoned Lucknow, taking Hope Grant's division with him to Cawnpore, he left Sir James Outram with 3000 or 4000 men to hold the Alum Bagh, furnishing them with as large a supply of provisions and stores as could

be spared. All those who, from sex, age, or sickness, could render no active service at Cawnpore, were sent under an escort to Allahabad, starting on the 3d of December; and they ultimately reached Calcutta by steamers down the Ganges—not fewer than 2000 in number.

When this interesting band, who had passed through vicissitudes so appalling, were approaching Calcutta, Viscount Canning, with a humane nobleness, entirely characteristic of all his conduct during his most tormented viceroyalty, issued a notification, in which he said: “No one will wish to obtrude upon those who are under bereavement or sickness, any show of ceremony which shall impose

fatigue or pain. The best welcome which can be tendered upon such an occasion is one which breaks in as little as possible upon privacy and rest. But the rescue of these sufferers is a victory beyond all price; and, in testimony of the public joy with which it is hailed, and the administration with which their heroic endurance and courage is viewed,” he ordered that a royal salute should be fired from the ramparts of Fort William as soon as each steamer arrived; that all ships of war in the river should be dressed in honour of the day; that officers should be appointed to conduct the passengers on shore, and that the state-barges of the Governor-General should be in attendance.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### DISASTERS AT CAWNPORE REPELLED.

WHEN Sir Colin Campbell set out from Cawnpore to relieve Lucknow, he left General Windham, the Crimean “hero of the Redan,” in command, not so much, as was thought, to fight, as to keep open a safe communication between Lucknow and Allahabad by Cawnpore. But by some unexplained means, communication between General Windham and the commander-in-chief got deranged. Messages were sent by the

former, but they did not reach the latter. Whether the messengers were stopped by the way was not made clear; but probably this is the explanation. At all events, Sir Colin Campbell remained in ignorance of the fact that the Gwalior mutineers were approaching Cawnpore, while General Windham was left in perplexity, receiving no replies to the letters he sent, asking for instructions from his chief, who knew nothing of the



troubles at Cawnpore until the 27th of November. Sir Colin was at the Alum Bagh that day, along with the escaped from Lucknow, and was surprised to hear very heavy artillery firing in the direction of Cawnpore. Leaving Sir James Outram in command of part of the force at the Alum Bagh, and placing the rest under the immediate command of General Hope Grant, the commander-in-chief resumed his march at nine o'clock in the morning of the 28th, and reached Cawnpore late that day.

He found that General Windham had known about the middle of the month that mutineers from Gwalior, Indore, and various other quarters, 20,000 strong, were within thirty miles of Cawnpore by the Calpee road. A week later they were within twenty miles. As the troops at Windham's command were only 2000, that general had to consider how he was to manage to maintain his position. He was in an intrenched fort, which commanded the bridge of boats on the Ganges; but as the city of Cawnpore lay between him and the Calpee road, he left some of the troops in this intrenchment—which, by the way, was at a considerable distance from the one formerly occupied by Sir Hugh Wheeler and his companions in misfortune—and formed with the remainder a new camp, close to the canal, westward of the city, at a point where he believed he would be

able to watch the mutineers and rebels, and frustrate their designs.

On the 26th, having learned that they continued to approach Cawnpore, General Windham started at three o'clock in the morning with 1200 infantry to meet them, and he marched eight or nine miles to Bhowsee, near the Pandoo Nuddee, leaving his camp equipage and baggage near Cawnpore. He found the enemy strongly posted on the opposite side of the dry bed of the Pandoo Nuddee. The enemy opened a heavy fire of artillery, but the British troops carried the position with a rush, and cleared a village half-a-mile in the rear of the enemy, who hastily took to flight. But Windham now became aware, for the first time, that he had engaged with only the advanced column of the enemy, and that the main force was close at hand. This rendered his position very grave, and he retired to protect the city, camp, cantonment, intrenchment, and bridge of boats. He encamped for the night in the Jewee Plain, on the Calpee side of Cawnpore, with the city between him and his intrenched fort. Here disaster assailed him. About noon next day, when his men were preparing for a camp dinner, the enemy opened a tremendous cannonade on them from behind a thick cover of trees and brushwood. How they got so near without General Windham knowing has not been explained. This attack con-

tinued for five hours, chiefly near the point of junction of the Delhi and Calpee roads, and on three sides of the camp. General Windham, distracted by this complication, hastened to see what was doing on the fourth side, towards the city, and, to his dismay, he ascertained that the mutineers had turned his flanks, got into the city, and were beginning to attack the intrenched fort near the bridge of boats. Retreat was at once resolved on; and the retreat became a rush, a hasty scamper to the intrenchment, in the hopes of saving it, leaving a large store of tents, saddlery, harness, camp-equipage, and private property. This booty the enemy at once seized upon, appropriated what was available, and burned the rest. A bonfire of 500 British tents lighted up the neighbourhood that night.

It was a bitterly mortifying day's work for General Windham and his men. General Windham consulted with his superior officers, and it was resolved to defer operations till next day. They would have made a night attack if they could have obtained reliable information regarding the position of the enemy's artillery, but as they could not get that information, they agreed, as has been said, to await next day. The arrangements made in the meantime were specially intended to protect the intrenchment and the bridge of boats, so important in relation to Sir Colin Camp-

bell's position at the time, and his operations in Oude generally. On the morning of the 28th, there was a severe struggle. The Gwalior mutineers were now joined by another force under that audacious miscreant Nana Sahib, and a third under his brother, Bhola Sahib. The position of the British was entirely defensive, and they were sorely pressed. The fierce struggle lasted all day. Prodigies of valour were displayed by the devoted little band who were struggling against utter annihilation by crowds; but the day's work terminated in galling defeat and the irreparable loss of many lives which could ill be spared, a result which intensified the humiliation of the previous day.

That night the mutineers revelled in the city as conquerors. More than 10,000 rounds of Enfield cartridges, the mess-plate of four Queen's regiments, paymasters' chests, and a large amount of miscellaneous property, fell into their hands; and on the morning of the 29th they began to bombard the intrenchment and the bridge of boats. Had they succeeded in breaking the bridge of boats, what might not have been the fate of the refugees from Lucknow! How near they were to worse than they had yet encountered! But Sir Colin Campbell was now in Cawnpore. All that day did the dependant band from Lucknow approach the bridge, against which the enemy was keeping

up a continuous fire. To protect this helpless convoy was the first duty, and, accordingly, leaving the enemy in possession of the city and everything west of it, the commander-in-chief despatched Hope Grant with a column to keep the road open from Cawnpore through Futtehpore to Allahabad, while he himself employed all his other troops keeping the mutineers, bolder than ever, at bay.

When the convoy left Cawnpore, and was fairly on its march for Allahabad, matters were soon brought to a different bearing at the former city. Sir Colin Campbell resolved on the 5th of December to attack on the following day the strong position taken up by the enemy, who numbered about 25,000 men, having forty pieces of artillery.

On the morning of the 6th, Sir Colin began offensive operations, and that day he inflicted on the rebels a defeat which was only equalled by the surprise with which it came upon them. He cut their forces in two and completely routed them, pursuing them fourteen miles

along the Calpee road. The four infantry brigades engaged in this day's work were headed by Brigadiers Greathed, Adrian Hope, Walpole, and Inglis. Where was General Windham? His position was explained in the following passage in Sir Colin Campbell's despatch: "Owing to his knowledge of the ground, I requested Major-General Windham to remain in command of the intrenchment, the fire of which was a very important feature in the operations of the 6th of December, although I felt and explained to General Windham that it was a command hardly worthy of his rank." There is a good deal to be read between the lines here.

The mutineers were so thoroughly worsted on the 6th that their plans seemed all scattered like themselves. Some marched off in one direction, others in another; and Sir Colin Campbell prepared for further operations. He had obtained a firm footing at Cawnpore as a centre from which he and his officers might operate in various directions.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE ARMY OF OUDE.

THE year 1858 entered, and with it the unexpected display of military organisation among the revolted sepoys. The mutiny

had extended to almost every native regiment in the Bengal army. When the old year gave place to the new, it was estimated that 23,000 British troops had landed at Calcutta since the mutiny began, besides others put on shore at Bombay, Madras, and Kurachee, and had advanced into the upper provinces.

When the vehicles returned from Allahabad, in which those who escaped from Lucknow had been conveyed thither, Sir Colin Campbell prepared to move his head-quarters to Ferruckabad and Fort Futtehghur, near which places many insurgent chieftains required his prompt attention. On the 3d of January the commander-in-chief reached Futtehghur, which the enemy had held for six months. But they did not wait to test his quality as a queller of rebellion; they retreated so precipitately that they omitted to destroy a large amount of stores. Sir Colin secured property belonging to the gun and clothing departments, which were of great service to him, and sent a considerable quantity of grain to Cawnpore to lighten the labour of the commissariat for the supply of Sir James Outram at the Alum Bagh.

He punished the Nawab of Ferruckabad severely, for he had been one of the most ferocious leaders of the insurgents. He wrote: "The destruction of the Nawab's palace is in process. I think it right that not a stone

should be left unturned in all the residences of the rebellious chiefs. They are far more guilty than their misguided followers."

Sir James Outram had been left at the Alum Bagh with a picked force of 3000 or 4000 men. While some of his troops were away convoying a supply of provisions from Cawnpore, the enemy, knowing this, resolved to attack him in his weakened state on the 12th of January. He fathomed their intentions, and prepared to defend his position. At sunrise on the day named, 30,000 of them formed a wide semicircle in front and flank of the Alum Bagh. Outram sent out his troops in two brigades to engage this immense host, and then a fierce battle commenced. The main body of the rebels bore with all their might against the two brigades; a body of them assaulted the fort of Jelalabad, while a third, by a detour, reached the Alum Bagh itself. The struggle lasted from sunrise till four o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy, foiled at every point, withdrew to the city or to their original position in the gardens and villages.

Four days later they made another attack; if, with smaller numbers, also with greater boldness. The result was the same as before — utter defeat and terrible loss.

The Nepaulese leader, Jung Bahadoor, with Brigadier M'Gregor, as British representative, entered Goruckpore on the

6th of January, and, in the name of the British Government, took possession of that city, which had been almost entirely in the hands of the rebels for many months. Mahomed Hussein had set up a trumpery government there, and elected himself Nazim. This show was soon obliterated. Many of his adherents were executed. Those who were not hanged were condemned to do sweeper's work within the church, jail, and other buildings, irrespective of their scruples about caste or creed. Several rebellious leaders between Goruckpore and the Oude frontier were captured, and the district was thus greatly pacified.

During the month of January the movements of Nana Sahib, Koer Singh, and Mohammed Khan, of Bareilly, were veiled in much obscurity; although the evidence of their influence in urging the sepoys and rebels to continue the ill-omened struggle against the British rule was most obvious. A price had been placed upon the head of each of the three perfidious miscreants.

After finishing the work for which he set out, for the details of which the reader will have to consult some larger work on the Indian mutiny than the present outline, Sir Colin Campbell returned to Cawnpore on the 4th of February. Viscount Canning came to Allahabad, where the commander-in-chief met him on the 8th, and no doubt they

agreed on an extensive scheme of war policy.

On the 11th, the largest army which had yet been arrayed against the mutineers began to cross the Ganges from Cawnpore into Oude. After crossing, the "army of Oude" was distributed at certain places on the line of route between Cawnpore and Lucknow. On the last day of the month the commander-in-chief crossed the river and took command of the forces, which were destined to besiege, and finally to capture the great city of Lucknow, which had been the scene of so much misery to the British, and the centre of many a subtle plot by the native leaders. Sir James Outram had prepared detailed plans of everything relating to it and its defences as far as he could ascertain.

It seems that the enemy hoped to foil the vast scheme which the commander-in-chief had planned out for himself, by another attack on the Alum Bagh. On the morning of the 21st of February, when the movements of the army of Oude were very observable, 20,000 of them again attacked this stronghold. They threatened the whole length and front of it, and the picket and fort at Jelalabad. But they received a severe check when they came within range of the grape-shot which Sir James Outram had prepared for them. The Alum Bagh was weak in cavalry at the time, for again an escort had been sent to protect

a large convoy which was on its way from Cawnpore. But Sir James Outram detached 250 cavalry and two field-pieces, under Captain Barrow, to the rear of Jelalabad, where they came upon 2000 of the enemy's cavalry, and 5000 infantry. These Barrow's small force kept so effectually at bay that their intended scheme of attack was quite frustrated. The attack on Outram's left flank was made by no fewer than 5000 cavalry and 8000 infantry. These were met by 120 men of the military train and four field-guns, under Captain Robertson, and were completely routed. In the whole affair there were only nine men of the British wounded, and none were killed. The enemy hastened back after this signal defeat by a mere handful of men, to strengthen the defences at Lucknow.

The strong Goorkha force, under Jung Bahadoor, and an effective column of miscellaneous troops, under Brigadier Franks, a most energetic British officer, greatly improved the condition of the country between Oude and Lower Bengal. These two able allies advanced to the centre of Oude during the month of February.

During this month the commander-in-chief had once more to provide for the safety of a party of non-combatants who were being removed from the scenes of struggle and slaughter. It was a convoy from Agra, consisting of a large number of

ladies and 140 children, who, under the protection of the 3d Bengal Europeans, some irregular horse, and two guns, had left Agra on the 11th of February, and came to Cawnpore to be forwarded to Allahabad. On the way, the convoy, as instructed kept a narrow watch for any indications of the presence of Nana Sahib, who was reported to be in movement somewhere in their route. But they accomplished their journey safely.

The trial of the King of Delhi was being carried on in the meantime, being conducted in the celebrated imperial chamber of the Dewani Khas, in that city, where in former ages the Mogul power had been displayed with all the grandeur and gorgeousness of the East. It commenced on the 27th of January, when the aged monarch, the last of a long line of Indian potentates, many of them illustrious, appeared as a culprit before a tribunal of British officers. The president was Colonel Dawes, and Major Harriott officiated as prosecutor. The king appeared infirm as he tottered into the chamber, supported on the one side by his favourite son, Jumma Bukht, and on the other by a confidential servant. He sat coiled up on a cushion at the left of the president, and appeared, it is said, a picture of helpless imbecility, which, in the circumstances, would have awakened only a sense of sincere commiseration. The prosecutor made no attempt at forensic display.

He addressed the judges in a concise, explanatory manner; and announced that the trial was merely to ascertain whether the king was guilty or not guilty. At all events no capital sentence was to be passed upon him, because his life had been guaranteed to him by Sir Archdale Wilson, through Captain Hodson. When the hoary culprit was asked, through an interpreter, whether he was guilty or not guilty, he affected at first to be ignorant of the charges against him; but, after considerable delay, he pleaded not guilty.

The sittings of the court spread over many weeks. The evidence produced was of a very varied character, all tending to show that he had taken part in inciting the mutiny, and had also encouraged the atrocities of the mutineers. It was proved also that so long ago as the summer of 1856 he had been in correspondence with the Shah of Persia, touching the overturning of the British rule in India, just at the time when the Persians made that advance towards Herat, which led to their own humiliation in the recent Persian war.

During the trial the king displayed that mingled silliness and cunning, which all who knew him sufficiently to judge him

fairly, regarded as displaying a great deal of his character. Sometimes he would coil himself up on his cushion, and seem unconcerned in all that was going on—lost in his own reveries. He seemed to pay no attention till something would all at once strike him. On one occasion he had to be roused out of sleep to answer a question put by the court. He would occasionally start up and make an exclamation denying the averment of a witness. Once, when his intrigues with Persia were being referred to, he asked whether the Persians and the Russians were the same people. He several times declared his entire innocence. One of his amusements was to twist and untwist a scarf round his head.

The guilt of the performer of these inane antics was sufficiently proved, and he was sentenced to transportation for what remained of his wretched life. The Andaman Islands—rendered since so unhappily notorious by the foul assassination of Lord Mayo, a successor of Viscount Canning—were named as the probable place of his destination—either there or some other part that might be selected. He was ultimately sent to Tongu, in Pegu, and died in 1862.

## CHAPTER XX.

## LUCKNOW RECONQUERED.

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL left his camp at Buntara, within a few miles of Lucknow, on the 2d of March, and diverging from the road to the Alum Bagh, took that which passed near the Jelalaba fort, towards the eastern margin of the city. He advanced with a portion of his army to the Dil Koosha, his object being to form a camp just beyond the reach of the enemy's guns, and to protect his siege-train as it gradually arrived, to protect also the vast host of elephants, camels, oxen, horses, camp-followers, and vehicles, which were a portion of the besieging army. Under a heavy and well-sustained fire of the insurgents, this advance force secured that day the Dil Koosha and the Mahomed Bagh—a base for further operations. Here Sir Colin placed heavy guns to oppose the enemy's artillery. He then sent for the rest of his troops and the siege artillery, and the next day was spent in bringing forward guns and bodies of troops into positions to be occupied when the regular siege began. The 4th was similarly spent, making the arrangements necessary to render the siege successful. It was ascertained from the spies and otherwise that many of the inhabitants, terrified at the formidable preparations

they saw going on, began to flee from the city on the opposite side, and that the authorities were endeavouring to check the flight, wishing to compel them to fight for their property and their lives within the city itself.

On the 5th General Franks joined the commander-in-chief, after having fought his way across the half of the province of Oude. He was punctual to time. Jung Bahadoor did not arrive at the specified time. This disturbed the plans of the commander-in-chief, and also his equanimity.

The engineers were busy in the meantime collecting the casks, fascines of faggots, ropes, and timbers requisite for a bridge across the Goomtee, the spot selected for which was near head-quarters, where the river was about forty yards wide. The portion of the army which was to cross and operate against the city from the left bank of the Goomtee was put under the command of Sir James Outram. It was the most important command next to that of Sir Colin himself. Sir James effected his crossing safely on the 6th, and encamped securely at night after a little skirmishing. The commander-in-chief deferred all active operations till this force had got into fighting order on the other side of the river.



On the 7th Sir James Outram was attacked in great force by the enemy, but he chased them away with his cavalry, and maintained the advantageous ground he had secured. Sir Colin Campbell made a careful reconnaissance on the 8th, and as the result he instructed Outram to arrange his batteries during the night for an attack next day on the Chukkur Walla Kothee, the key of the enemy's position. On the morning of the 9th this attack was splendidly made, and after desperate fighting and the taking of two villages, Outram advanced and began to fire on the lines of the Kaiser Bagh defences. Sir Colin Campbell, on the same day, commenced a heavy fire of mortars and guns from the Dil Koosha against the Martinière College, which was stormed by the troops under Sir Edward Lugard after the cannonading had done the work for which it was intended. In this successful attack Outram's enfilade fire from across the river distracted the besieged very much. The building and the whole enclosure round it were captured with very little bloodshed, the enemy escaping from the walls and trenches without courting a hand-to-hand contest. The sight of the terrible bayonets threw them into more trepidation than even the visitations from howitzers and mortars.

Thus the capture of the exterior line of defence was accomplished, and with very little loss.

The second or middle line was attacked on the 11th. The attack began by shelling and breaching a block of palaces known as the Begum Kothee. The bombardment was long and severe, but when the chief engineer, Brigadier Napier, about four in the afternoon, announced to General Lugard that the breaches were practicable, Lugard at once made arrangements for storming it. The assault was one of a desperate character, and was characterised by Sir Colin Campbell as the sternest struggle which occurred during the siege, but it was successful. The whole block of buildings was secured, and the enemy suffered heavily.

Outram, in the meantime, had obtained possession of the iron bridge leading over the river from the cantonment to the city, and he swept away the enemy from every part of the left bank of the river between that bridge and the Padishah Bagh, gaining thus a position to enfilade the central and inner lines of defence established by the enemy among the palaces.

On the afternoon of the 11th Jung Bahadoor appeared at the Dil Koosha, when Sir Colin Campbell met him for the first time. A tasteful canopy was prepared in front of Sir Colin's mess-tent, under which the greetings, compliments, and speeches took place. The meeting was, however, brought to a rather abrupt termination when Captain Hope Johnstone, one of

the officers of the chief of the staff, entered and announced that the Begum Kothee was taken. Sir Colin at once broke through all ceremony, expressing a soldier's pleasure at the welcome news. Sir Colin, who had been forced to make all his arrangements for the siege as if no reliance could be placed on this ally, found employment for him next day in attacking the suburbs on the left bank of the canal.

When the officers of the staff visited the Begum Kothee on the morning of the 12th, they were astonished at the strength the enemy had given it. It might have been held against the double of General Lugard's force but for the abject terror of the bayonet felt by the native soldiers. As to its appearance in other respects, that is not a pleasant subject to read graphic descriptions of, but it is in harmony with the "pomp and circumstance of war." Dr Russell, the famous *Times* correspondent, was among those who hastened to the Begum Kothee as a spectator on the morning of the 12th, and he wrote: "I saw one of the fanatics, a fine old sepoy, with a grizzled moustache, lying dead in the court, a sword-cut across his temple, a bayonet-thrust through his neck, his thigh broken by a bullet, and his stomach slashed open, in a desperate attempt to escape. There had been five or six of these fellows altogether, and they had either been surprised

and unable to escape, or had shut themselves up in desperation in a small room, one of many looking out on the court. At first attempts were made to start them by throwing in live shell. A bag of gunpowder was more successful, and out they charged, and with the exception of one man, were shot and bayoneted on the spot. The man who got away did so by a desperate leap through a window amid a shower of bullets and many bayonet-thrusts. Such are the common incidents of this war. From court to court of the huge pile of buildings we wandered through the same scenes—dead sepoys, blood-splashed gardens, groups of eager Highlanders, looking out for the enemy's loop-holes; more eager groups of plunderers searching the dead, many of whom lay heaped on the top of each other amid the ruins of rooms brought down upon them by our cannon-shot. Two of these were veritable chambers of horrors. It must be remembered that the sepoys and matchlockmen wear cotton clothes, many at this time of the year wearing thickly-quilted tunics; and in each room there are a number of *resais*, or quilted cotton coverlets, which serve as beds and quilts for the natives. The explosion of powder sets fire to this cotton very readily, and it may be easily conceived how horrible are the consequences where a number of these sepoys and Nujeebs get

into a place whence there is no escape, and where they fall in heaps by our shot. The matches of the men and the discharges of their guns set fire to their cotton clothing ; it is fed by the very fat of the dead bodies ; the smell is pungent, and overpowering, and nauseous to a degree. I looked in at two such rooms, where, through the dense smoke, I could see piles of bodies, and I was obliged to own that the horrors of the hospital at Sebastopol were far exceeded by what I witnessed. Upwards of 300 dead were found in the courts of the palace, and if we put the wounded carried off at 700, we may reckon that the capture of the place cost the enemy 1000 men at least. The rooms of the building round the numerous courts were for the most part small and dark, compared with the great size of the corridors and garden enclosures. The state-saloon, fitted up for durbars and entertainments, once possessed some claims to magnificence, which were, however, now lying under our feet in the shape of lustres, mirrors, pier-glasses, gilt tables, damask, silk and satin, embroidered fragments of furniture, and marble tables, over which one made his way from place to place with difficulty. The camp-followers were busily engaged in selecting and carrying away such articles as attracted their fancy—shawls, *resais*, cushions, umbrellas, swords, matchlocks, tom-toms or drums, pictures, looking-

glasses, trumpets ; but the more valuable plunder disappeared last night. It will be long before a begum can live here in state again."

From the Begum Kothee progress was next made towards the Emanbarra, a large building situated between it and the Kaiser Bagh, not by open assault, but by sapping through a mass of intermediate buildings. This was so successfully accomplished that on the 14th the building was bombarded by heavy guns and mortars, and taken. This was no sooner done than a body of Sikhs, pressing forward in pursuit of the fleeing rebels, entered the Kaiser Bagh, without a single gun being fired from it. Thus easily was the third or inner line of defence turned. Before night, that part of the city with which Sir Colin Campbell and Sir James Outram had been only too familiar in November, was occupied by troops of the army of Oude. The 14th was a Sunday—a day on which many of the greatest reverses had fallen upon the British, as well as the most signal victories been achieved during this gigantic mutiny.

On the morning of the 15th Sir Colin Campbell felt that he had practically reconquered Lucknow. The rapid progress of the besiegers had paralysed the defenders. It was the taking of the Kothee Begum that astonished the insurgents ; the easy capture of the Kaiser Bagh surprised the leaders of the

British. When this great palace fell into the hands of its captors, a scene followed, the description of which has been so forcibly condensed in "Chambers's History of the Revolt in India," a book to which the readers of this outline are much indebted, that it is here presented. "A soldier," says this authority, "loses all his heroism when the hour for prize and plunder arrives. Those, whether officers or spectators, who have described the scene which was presented when these Lucknow palaces were conquered, tell plainly of a period of wild licence and absorbing greed. On the one hand, there were palaces containing vast stores of Oriental and European luxuries; on the other, there were bands of armed men, brave and faithful, but at the same time poor and unlettered, who suddenly found themselves masters of all these splendours, with very little check or supervision on the part of their officers. At first, in a spirit of triumphant revenge, costly articles were broken which were too large to be carried away; glass chandeliers were hurled to the ground, mirrors shattered into countless fragments, statues mutilated and overturned, pictures stabbed and torn, doors of costly wood torn from their hinges. But when this destruction had been wreaked, and when the troops had forced their way through courts and corridors strewn with sepoy's brass lotas or drinking vessels,

charpoys, clothing, belts, ammunition, muskets, matchlocks, swords, pistols, chupatties, and other evidence of precipitate flight—when this had all occurred, then did the love of plunder seize hold of the men. The Kaiser Bagh had been so quickly conquered, that the subaltern officers had not yet received instructions how to control the movement of the troops in this matter. Sikhs, Highlanders, English, were soon busily engaged. In one splendid saloon might be seen a party of Sikhs melting down gold and silver lace for the sake of the precious metals; in another, a quantity of shawls, lace, pearls, and embroidery of gold and silver was being divided equally between a group of soldiers. In a sort of treasure-room, apparently belonging to some high personage, a few men of two British regiments found caskets and boxes containing diamonds, emeralds, rubies, pearls, opals, and other gems, made into necklaces, bracelets, earrings, girdles, etc., together with gold-mounted pistols, jewel-hilted swords, saddle-cloths covered with gold and pearls, gold-handled riding canes, jewelled cups of agate and jade, japanned boxes filled with crystal and jade vessels. And as it appeared that every one felt himself permitted, or at least enabled to retain whatever he could capture, the camp-followers rushed in and seized all the soldiers had left. Coolies, syces, khitmutgars, dooly-bearers,

and grass-cutters were seen running hither and thither, laden with costly clothing, swords, firelocks, brass pots, and other articles larger in bulk than the actual soldiers could readily have disposed of. It was a saturnalia, during which it is believed that some of the troops appropriated enough treasure, if converted into its value in money, to render them independent of labour for the rest of their lives. But each man kept, in whole or in part, his own secret."

Sir James Outram advanced on the 16th towards the Residency. He marched right through the city, not only to the iron bridge near the Residency, but to the stone bridge near the Muchee Bhowan, in order to check the enemy's retreat—an enterprise requiring all of even his courage and boldness, for the buildings he had successively to conquer and enter were very numerous. When he reached the Residency, however, which he scarcely knew, for hardly a building remained standing, he learned that the houses and palaces on the line between the iron and the stone bridges were occupied by the enemy in considerable force. Here, again, hard fighting commenced, but with the result which had attended all the operations of this siege.

On the same day the enemy made an unexpected attack on the Alum Bagh, which had been left in charge of a small force.

Sir Colin Campbell requested Jung Bahadoor to advance to their rescue. The Nepaulese chieftain performed this service in a soldier-like manner, capturing the post from which the attack was made, and putting the rebels to flight.

Sir Colin Campbell was undoubtedly the master of Lucknow on the 17th. Small knots of the enemy were still fortified in isolated buildings, but these were easily captured. And now an imperative duty was promptly attended to. The camp-followers were not to be allowed to plunder the shops and private houses in the city. Sir Colin did not wish the citizens to look upon him as an enemy. He encouraged them to return to their homes and occupations. He placed pickets of soldiers in some of the streets to protect them from violence, and compelled camp-followers to give up plunder they had appropriated; and issued the following general order: "It having been understood that several small pieces of ordnance captured in the city have been appropriated by individuals, all persons having such in their possession are directed at once to make them over to the commissary of ordnance in charge of the park.

"It is reported to the commander-in-chief that the Sikhs and other native soldiers are plundering in a most outrageous manner, and refuse to give up their plunder to the guards told off for the express purpose of

checking such proceedings. His Excellency desires that strong parties under the command of European officers be immediately sent out from each native regiment to put a stop to these excesses.

"Commanding officers of native regiments are called upon to use their best endeavours to restore order, and are held responsible that all their men who are not on duty remain in camp, and that those who are on duty do not quit their posts.

"All native soldiers not on duty are to be confined in camp till further orders, and all who may now be on duty in the city are to be relieved and sent back to the camp.

"All commanding officers are enjoined to use their best endeavours to prevent their followers quitting the camp."

On the 17th also, Mrs Orr and Miss Jackson—the former the wife of Mr Orr and the latter the sister of Sir Mountstuart Jackson, who, it will be remembered, were put to death on the 22d of November, when the Residency was evacuated by the British—were delivered from a cruel bondage. It was said the begum had interceded for the ladies, but during the subsequent four months their fate remained a mystery. On that auspicious 17th of November, "Captain M'Neil and Lieutenant Bogle, both attached to the Goorkha force, while exploring some deserted streets in the suburbs, were accosted by a

native, who asked their protection for his house and property. The man sought to purchase this protection by a revelation concerning certain English ladies, who, he declared, were in confinement in a place known to him. Almost immediately another native brought a note from Mrs Orr and Miss Jackson, begging earnestly for succour. M'Neil and Bogle instantly obtained a guard of fifty Goorkhas, and, guided by the natives, went on their errand of mercy. After walking through half a mile of narrow streets, doubtful of an ambush at every turning, they came to a house occupied by one Meer Wajeed Ali, who held, or had held, some office under the court. After a little parleying, M'Neil and Bogle were led to an obscure apartment, where were seated two ladies in Oriental costume. These were the prisoners who had long been excluded from every one of their own country, and who were overwhelmed with tearful joy at this happy deliverance. It was not known whether this Meer Wajeed Ali was endeavouring to buy off safety for himself by betraying a trust reposed in him, but the two English officers deemed it best to lose no time in securing their countrywomen's safety, whether he were a double-dealer or not. They procured a palanquin, put the ladies into it, and marched off with their living treasure, proud enough of their afternoon's work. When these poor

ladies told their sad tale of woe, with countenances on which marks of deep suffering were expressed, it became known that, though not exposed to any actual barbarities or atrocities, like so many of their countrywomen in other parts of India, their lives had been made very miserable by the unfeeling conduct of their jailers, who were permitted to use gross and insulting language in their presence, and to harrow them with recitals of what Europeans were and had been suffering. They had had food in moderate sufficiency, but of other sources of solace they were almost wholly bereft. It was fully believed that they would not have been restored alive had the jailer obeyed the orders issued to him by the Moulvie," a fanatical chieftain who had risen high in the esteem of the Begum of Oude, who acted during the rebellious occupation of Lucknow as regent in the name of the son of the ex-king, who had been set at the head of the insurrection in that province.

A combined movement was organised on the 19th against the Moosa Bagh, the last position held by the insurgents on the line of the Goomtee. Some said the begum was there, or, at least, the Moulvie. Sir James Outram moved forward directly against the place, Hope Grant cannonaded it from the left bank of the river, while Brigadier-Campbell, approaching on the remote side from the Alum

Bagh, prevented retreat in that direction. Among the intrenched insurgents discord reigned. The begum reproached the *thalookdars*, or landholders, with disloyalty to her, they in their turn reproached the sepoys; the Moulvie was suspected of a plan of his own to secure for himself the throne of Oude. As soon, therefore, as they learned that the British were approaching, they all did their best to escape, and did escape more successfully than was agreeable to Sir Colin Campbell.

The Moulvie, who had lived in adulterous intimacy with the begum, who had possessed great influence in Lucknow during the temporary suppression of British power, and whose prestige was not yet extinguished, held still a stronghold in the very heart of the city. From this he was dislodged by Sir Edward Lugard on the 21st, and Sir Colin Campbell was at length enabled to expedite the return to their homes and occupations of such natives, as had not been so intimately mixed up with the rebellion as to require very different measures regarding them.

This was the last of the complicated operations of the siege of Lucknow, which had lasted from the 2d to the 21st of March.

The losses suffered by the British were small, all things considered. Sir Colin Campbell was careful of the lives of his men. His tactics all through

the siege had been to allow shells and balls to do as much of the deadly work as possible. During the entire series of operations, there were 19 officers killed and 48 wounded. The whole of the brigadiers and generals escaped untouched. The killed and wounded among the troops generally amounted to 1100. The enemy's loss was supposed to be about 4000. One of the deaths most regretted was that of Major Hodson, of "Hodson's Horse," the captor of the King of Delhi. He fell on the day of the capture of the Begum Kothee. Having no special duty on that day, he rode over and joined in the storming attack, and while assisting in clearing the courtyards and buildings, near the palace of lurking rebels, the gallant Hodson was shot by a sepoy. His own irregular troopers cried over him like children. When he was buried behind the Martinière College, Sir Colin Campbell and his staff attended the funeral, at which the tender-hearted commander-in-chief made no attempt to conceal his emotions.

It will be an appropriate conclusion to this chapter to quote two of the proclamations by which the populace of Lucknow were maddened into the deadly hatred of the British which undoubtedly prevailed among them. These were found after Sir Colin Campbell had had time to gather information regarding the proceedings of the rebels

since the month of November. The first, addressed to Moham medans, reads thus :

"God says in the Koran : 'Do not enter into the friendship of Jews and Christians ; those who are their friends are of them, that is, the friends of Christians are Christians, the friends of Jews are Jews. God never shows His way to infidels.' By this it is evident that to befriend Christians is irreligious. Those who are their friends are not Mohammedans ; therefore, all the Mohammedan fraternity should with all their hearts be deadly enemies to the Christians, and never befriend them in any way, otherwise all will lose their religion and become infidels.

"Some people, weak in faith and worldly, think that if they offend the Christians, they will fall their victims when their rule is re-established. God says of these people : 'Look in the hearts of these unbelievers, who are anxious to seek the friendship of Christians through fear of receiving injury,' to remove their doubts and assure their wavering mind. It is also said that 'God will shortly give us victory, or will do something by which our enemies will be ashamed of themselves.' The Mussulmans should, therefore, always hope, and never believe that the Christians will be victorious and injure them ; but, on the contrary, should hope to gain the victory, and destroy all Christians.



"If all the Mohammedans join and remain firm to their faith, they would, no doubt, gain victory over the Christians, because God says that the victory is due to the faithful from Him; but if they become cowards, and infirm to their religion, and do not sacrifice their private interest for the public good, the Europeans will be victorious, and, having subdued the Mohammedans, they will disarm, hang, shoot, or blow them away, seize upon their women and children, disgrace, dishonour, and christianise them, dig up their houses, and carry off their property; they will also burn sacred and religious books, destroy the musjids, and efface the name of Islam from the world.

"If the Mohammedans have any shame, they should all join and prepare to kill the Christians, without minding any one who says to the contrary; they should also know that no one dies before his time, and when the time comes, nothing can save them. Thousands of men are carried off by cholera and other pestilence; but it is not known whether they die in their senses, and be faithful to their own religion.

"To be killed in a war against Christians is proof of obtaining martyrdom. All good Mohammedans pray for such a death; therefore, every one should sacrifice his life for such a reward. Every one is to die assuredly, and those Moham-

medans who would spare themselves now, will be sorry on their death for their neglect.

"As it is the duty of all men and women to oppose, kill, and expel the Europeans for deeds committed by them at Delhi, Jhujur, Rewaree, and the Doab, all the Mohammedans should discharge their duty with a willing heart; if they neglect, and the Europeans overpower them, they will be disarmed, hung, and treated like the inhabitants of other unfortunate countries, and will have nothing but regret and sorrow for their lot. Wherefore, this notice is given to warn the public."

Another proclamation, addressed principally to zemindars and Hindoos in general, but to Mohammedans also, was couched in the following terms:

"All the Hindoos and Mohammedans know that man loves four things most: 1. His religion and caste; 2. his honour; 3. his own and his kinsman's lives; 4. his property. All these four are well protected under native rulers; no one interferes with any one's religion; every one enjoys his respectability according to his caste and wealth. All the respectable people—Syad, Shaikh, Mogul, and Patan, among the Mohammedans; and Brahmins, Chattries, Bys, Kaeths, among the Hindoos—are respected according to their castes. No low-caste people like chumars, dhanook, and parsees, can be

equal to and address them disrespectfully. No one's life or property is taken unless for some heinous crime.

"The British are quite against these four things. They want to spoil every one's caste, and wish both the Mohammedans and Hindoos to become Christians. Thousands have turned renegades, and many will become so yet; both the nobles and low caste are equal in their eyes; they disgrace the nobles in the presence of the ignoble; they arrest or summon to their courts the gentry, nawabs, and rajahs, at the instance of a chumar, and disgrace them; wherever they go they hang the respectable people, kill their women and children; their troops dishonour the women, and dig up and carry off their property. They do not kill the mahajuns, but dishonour their women, and carry off their money. They disarm the people wherever they go; and when the people are disarmed, they hang, shoot, or blow them away.

"In some places, they deceive the landholders by promising them remittance of revenue, or lessen the amount of their lease; their object is, that when their government is settled, and every one becomes their subject, they can readily, according to their wish, hang, disgrace, or christianise them. Some of the foolish landholders have been deceived; but those who are wise and careful, do not fall into their snares.

"Therefore, all Hindoos and Mohammedans, who wish to save their religion, honour, life, and property, are warned to join the Government forces, and not to be deceived by the British. The low-caste servants should also know that the office of watchmen is their hereditary right; but the British appoint others in their posts, and deprive them of their rights. They should, therefore, kill and plunder the British and their followers, and annoy them by committing robbery and thefts in their camp."

## CHAPTER XXI.

### OTHER STRUGGLES IN MARCH.

**DURING** the month of March many mutinous events occurred in other districts; all of pale importance, no doubt, under the shadow of the final recapture of Lucknow, but each exhibiting the state of feeling among the natives, the fluctuation of fortune among the rebels, and the heroic struggles of the Bri-

tish amid appalling difficulties.

The Azimghur district, nearly north of that of Benares, was the scene of a vexatious rising of the sort. On the 21st of the month a conflict took place at Atrowlia, twenty-five miles from Azimghur, between a body of mutineers and a small force under Colonel Millman, of Her Majesty's 37th regiment, commandant of the Azimghur field force. While the colonel was in camp at Koelsa, Mr Davis, a magistrate, informed him that there was a considerable body of mutineers in the neighbourhood of Atrowlia. The colonel immediately proceeded towards the place with infantry, cavalry, and gunners, to the number of 260; and at daybreak on the 22d he came upon the enemy posted in several topes of mango trees. They were chiefly sepoys from Dinapoor, who had followed Koer Singh. He speedily discomfited the rebels, and put them to flight.

This was but the beginning of the matter, however. While his men halted in the neighbourhood, and were preparing breakfast, Colonel Millman was suddenly informed that the insurgents were advancing in great force. He immediately set forward with some skirmishers to reconnoitre, and found that the unwelcome news was true. The rebels were strongly posted, in the midst of topes of trees and sugar-canes, behind a mud-wall. Millman sent back at once for his

troops; but when they arrived he found it would serve no good purpose to engage the enemy, who were increasing rapidly every hour. The colonel retired slowly from Atrowlia to his camp at Koelsa, closely followed by the enemy, who kept firing at a distance, and endeavoured to turn his flank. He made one dash with his cavalry, but to no purpose; and when the rumour spread through the camp that the approaching force numbered no fewer than 5000, a panic was created among the camp-followers. Many of the drivers left their carts, and all the cooks ran away.

This was more perplexing than may be supposed; soldiers could not be spared for the duties discharged by these people. Besides, Colonel Millman knew that the camp was untenable in case of a night attack, especially when adequate supplies would not be served up to his men. He therefore at once retreated to Azimghur, abandoning a portion of his tents and baggage, which the insurgents secured.

This was a serious reverse. It paralysed the exertions of the few British officers and troops in the district, and the rebels vaunted abroad their triumph, the rumour of which spread among the natives with astonishing rapidity. Azimghur was in imminent danger, for it seemed as if this discomfiture had left it and the country around in the power of Koer Singh and his

associates. The British in the city intrenched themselves in a jail, which was surrounded with a deep ditch, where they were besieged by the rebels, who had all the rest of the city in their hands. A messenger was sent to Benares on the 26th to announce the catastrophe which had occurred; but all that the British authorities there could do meantime, was to send fifty dragoons in carts, drawn by bullocks, and pushed by coolies. A telegraphic message was at the same time sent from Benares to Allahabad, in response to which a wing of Her Majesty's 13th foot and the depot of the 2d regiment were ordered off for service at Benares, or at Azimghur, as the need might be felt.

A rumour that Koer Singh meant to attack Ghazeepore or Benares, on his way from Azimghur to Arrah, created great uneasiness at these stations. It will be seen by-and-by how Sir Colin Campbell had to deal with this district.

A most fortunate victory was won at Goruckpore early in March. A force of 12,000 insurgents, led by such influential chiefs as Nazim Mahomed Hussein, Rajah Dabie Buksh of Gonda, the Rajah of Churdah, and Mehndee Ali Hussein, mounted on elephants, attacked on the 5th of the month about 200 men of the naval brigade, under Captain Sotheby; 200 Bengal yeomanry cavalry, 900 Goorkhas, a few Sikhs—about

1300 men in all—and two guns, under Colonel Rowcroft. The motley little garrison proved stanch, and not only repulsed the attack, but chased the enemy for seven miles, nearly to their camp at Bilwa, and captured eight guns as well as a great deal of ammunition.

This victory was indeed fortunate, for Colonel Rowcroft learned afterwards that many thousands of villagers on the banks of the Gogra were ready to rise in rebellion if the attack succeeded.

It was mentioned in the last chapter that the Governor-General had come to Allahabad. While he was there an affair occurred which caused him and others considerable uneasiness. Some rebels had assembled in the district, at a place called Suraon, between Allahabad and Gopeegunje; and two companies of Her Majesty's 54th regiment, 100 Sikhs, a few Madras cavalry, were sent to dislodge them. Owing to want of correct information concerning the position and strength of the enemy, and insufficient knowledge of the locality, the force came suddenly to a place surrounded by a jungle, in which a large body of the rebels was concealed, who, to the astonishment of the magistrates of the district, possessed six pieces of artillery. They were not dislodged; on the contrary, they opened a fire, which compelled the British force to retreat. In what way or from what source

they had gained possession of these six pieces of artillery could not be accounted for.

The operations of Sir Hugh Rose in Central India — that region south of the Jumna in which Mahrattas and Bundelas were strong—during the month of March were very important. This distinguished officer of the Bombay army kept gradually working his way north to Jhansi, defeating rebels everywhere as he advanced. On the 4th of March, he telegraphed to Bombay the following news, from his camp at Peeplia: "Yesterday, the troops under my command forced the pass of Mudempore, after a short, but very vigorous, resistance. The troops, British and native, behaved gallantly. The pass is extremely strong, and the enemy suffered severely. They numbered about 4000 or 5000 Pathans and Bundelas, and 600 or 700 sepoy of the 52d and other regiments. I sent Major Orr in pursuit; and he cut up fifty or sixty rebels, of whom a large proportion were sepoys. The enemy are scattered in every direction. They have abandoned the little fortress of Seraj, a fort or arsenal, which is the property of the Rajah of Shaguhr, in which I shall have a small force to keep up my communication with the Sangor. I am now in communication with my first brigade, under Brigadier Stuart, at Chendaree; and this gives me command of the whole country up to Jhansi, with the exception

of two or three forts which I can take."

The pass of Mudempore is in the line of hills which separated the British district of Sangor from the small state of Shaguhr. After abandoning the fort of Seraj—a place where they manufactured, in a rude way, powder, shot, shell, carriages, and tents—the enemy precipitately fled from the town and fort of Murrowra, with a triple line of defences, the town and fort of Multhone, the pass of Goonah, the pass and town of Hurat, and the fort of Cornel Gurh. So that the capture of the pass of Mudempore produced advantages far greater than those Sir Hugh Rose was aware of, when he sent his telegram of the 4th.

The Rajah of Shaguhr having joined the insurgents, Sir Hugh Rose occupied that hitherto independent district. He had to be constantly on the alert. Balla Sahib, brother of the Nana, was at this time at the head of an army of rabble, and was levying contributions in various parts of Bundelcund. This rebel exacted seven lacs of rupees from the Rajah of Chuanpore; he destroyed Churkaree by fire, because the rajah of that town resisted a similar demand, and Mr Carne, the British resident there, narrowly escaped being taken by him, while the rajah was compelled to take refuge in his fort.

Brigadier Stuart was, in the meantime, engaged in clearing

out various rebel haunts in the districts lying to the south of Jhansi. He left his camp, near the Chendaree Fort, on the 6th, and marched six or eight miles, through a thick jungle, to Khookwasas, a fort near which a large body of rebels was assembled. Here he found that they had barricaded the road, and lined the hills on either side with men armed with matchlocks; but his engineers soon cleared the barricades, and a small party of the 86th regiment rushed up the hills, and made short work of the matchlockmen. They dislodged them at once. Shortly afterwards, however, he came on the chief body of the rebels, posted behind the wall of an enclosure, about a mile beyond the fort. The 86th dashed forward and cleared them out of that position, Captain Keating and Lieutenant Lewis climbing to the top of it before any of their men, and jumping down into it first. On the 17th, Stuart captured the fort itself, a strong rampart of sandstone, flanked by circular towers, and crowning a hill of considerable height. Captain Keating was severely wounded whilst foremost again of the storming party. The escape of the enemy was provoking. It was almost entirely owing to the fact of a letter arriving too late. The brigadier received a message on the evening of the 16th, informing him that Captain Abbott was within available distance, with a con-

siderable body of irregular cavalry; he despatched a letter at once to Abbott, requesting him to hasten forward and invest the north side of the fort. But this letter did not reach the captain in time; and, consequently, the rebels made their escape northwards. Eight iron guns and two of brass were taken, these being all that were in the stronghold. This left the inhabitants of the town free to resume their peaceful avocations. And they seemed far from being sorry that the rebels were put beyond reach of troubling them.

Sir Hugh Rose, having had his advance to Jhansi greatly facilitated by these successes of Brigadier Stuart, marched on with the second brigade, and reached that blood-stained city on the 21st. He telegraphed to Bombay the following account of his operations, from the 20th to the 25th of the month: "On the 20th, my cavalry invested as much as possible the fort and town of Jhansi. The next day, the rest of my force arrived. The rebels have fortified the walls of the town, and, shutting themselves up in the town and fort, have not defended the advanced position of Jhansi. The Ranee has left her palace in the town, and has gone into the fort. The rebel garrison numbers 1500 sepoys, of whom 500 are cavalry, and 10,000 Bundelas, with thirty or forty cannon. The position is strong; but I have occupied

two good positions, one a breaching, the other a flanking one. I have been delayed by want of a plan of Jhansi, and consequently have been obliged to make long and repeated reconnaissances. I opened a flanking fire, vertical and horizontal, yesterday—the 25th—and hope to open a breaching fire to-morrow, or, at latest, the next day.” As we shall see, a successful assault was made on the town in April.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### STRUGGLING STILL IN APRIL.

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL'S war policy, after the fall of Lucknow, was to crush the scattered mutineers in detail before they succeeded in recombining; and with this view he almost immediately broke up the army of Oude into divisions. The commander-in-chief remained in Lucknow until the middle of April, organising plans of operations for his brigadiers. In the second week of the month he took a gallop to Allahabad—a perilous ride in the circumstances—and had an interview with Viscount Canning, the result of which was the departure of Sir Colin himself, as well as his generals, for active service in districts distant from Lucknow.

Sir James Outram was transferred from the chief-commissionership of Oude to the supreme council at Calcutta.

Sir Edward Lugard was ordered to look after Koer Singh, and the region infested by his

circuitous movements. He left Lucknow with a strong column, and reached Jounpore on the 9th of April, near to which city next day he encountered and put to flight a body of rebels under Gholab Hossein, one of their leaders. When Lugard left Jounpore for Azimghur, a large rebel force, getting into his rear, attempted to re-enter the former city. This caused him to arrange for dispersing these rebels before proceeding farther. He did so, a service during which Lieutenant Charles Have-lock, a nephew of the illustrious general, was killed. This brave young officer had been adjutant of the 12th Bengal native irregular cavalry when the mutiny first broke out, and was thrown out of employment when that regiment joined the revolt. He went as a volunteer with his uncle, and was for nine months more or less engaged in the operations in and around Lucknow. When Lugard was ap-

pointed to the column at present under notice, young Havelock accompanied him, holding a command in a Goorkha battalion, and he was shot from a hut in an obscure village, while the rebels who had got into Lugard's rear were being dispersed.

The column being again put on the march, reached Azimghur on the 15th, where a portion of Koer Singh's main army was encountered at the bridge of boats which crossed the small river Tons at that city. They were defeated and dispersed only after a determined struggle. When the battle at the bridge was over, Sir Edward Lugard discovered the full import of its significance. He had been fighting merely with the rear-guard of Koer Singh's army. That traitor, with the main body of his force, proving too quick for his pursuers, quitted Azimghur on one side as Lugard was entering it on the other. It was extremely desirable, however, that he should not be allowed to go off in this manner, free to work mischief elsewhere; so on the 16th Brigadier Douglas was sent in pursuit of him with two regiments and some cavalry and artillery, while Lugard himself encamped for a while at Azimghur.

When Koer Singh reached a point at which he thought he should be able to cross the Ganges in the district of Shahabad, where Arrah was situated, he separated from some of the

other native chieftains. He had with him 2000 sepoy and a multitude of rabble. Brigadier Douglas pursued them with very rapid forced marches—200 miles in five days of great heat—came up with them at Bansdeh, and drove them to Beyriah, Koer Singh himself being wounded. The rebels at last reached Jugdispoore, the hereditary domain of their wounded chief.

The town of Arrah was at that time occupied by 150 of Her Majesty's 35th foot, 150 Sikhs, and 50 seamen of the Naval Brigade—all under the command of Captain Le Grand. This officer, a little over confidently, sallied forth from Arrah to prevent Koer Singh's force reaching Jugdispoore, or to disturb their rest there. He found them, to the number of 2000, posted in a jungle, but dispirited and without guns. Le Grand's small force attacked them at daylight on the 23d, and the result was a discomfiture of British troops, as mortifying if not as disastrous as that which had been formerly inflicted by Koer Singh.

After some ineffectual firing of howitzers, a bugle sounding retreat was heard, upon which Le Grand's force abandoned guns and elephants, and fled towards Arrah, followed closely by the enemy, shooting and cutting them down. Two-thirds of the men of the 35th were killed or wounded, and among the former was the unfortunate Le Grand himself.



This disaster near Jugdispore hastened the movements of Brigadier Douglas. He crossed the Ganges on the 25th at Seenaghat, and pushed on the 84th foot and two guns towards Jugdispore. But it was not until May that that nest of rebels was cleared out.

Leaving Sir Edward Lugard's column at this stage of one branch of its operations, the command to which Sir Hope Grant was appointed is to be noticed. He was appointed to a column or brigade for operations within the province of Oude, Lugard's being directed eastward of that.

This column consisted of Her Majesty's 38th foot, a battalion of the Rifle Brigade, a regiment of Sikhs, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers—Hope Grant's own regiment—a small body of reliable native cavalry, two troops of horse artillery, and a small siege and mortar train. The Moulvie of Fyzabad, whose influence had reached such a height in Lucknow, had collected a force near Baree, about thirty miles north of Lucknow; and the Begum of Oude had fled, with several cart-loads of treasure, to Bitowlie, the domain of a rebel named Gorhuccus Singh. Sir Hope Grant was appointed to capture, intercept, or defeat the rebels in the service of these leaders. He left Lucknow on the 11th of April, with Brigadier Horsford as his second in command.

Moving circumspectly through a district in which the people

were far from loyal to the British Government, Hope Grant approached near Baree. Here the Moulvie's cavalry got into the rear, and attempted to cut off his baggage train, which was necessarily a very long one, and it was as much as the rear-guard could do to repel this attack and protect the baggage train. But they did it.

Turning eastward, Sir Hope Grant marched towards the Gogra, in the hope of intercepting the Begum of Oude. In this he did not succeed. He obtained information that the begum was retreating northward with one large force, and the Moulvie westward with another, but did not catch either of these evasive personages.

Bareilly, on the Rohilcund side of Oude, was a nest of rebels, which Sir Colin Campbell resolved must be conquered as Delhi and Lucknow had been. Two columns were told off for this important service—one to advance north-west from Lucknow, and the other south-east from Roorkee.

Brigadier Jones was appointed to the latter column, and on the 15th of April he marched from Roorkee with a force of 3000 good troops, strengthened by eight heavy and six light guns. On the 17th he crossed the Ganges at Nagul, knowing that Bareilly was more easily reached from the other side of the river, and he arrived at Mooradabad very opportunely, after an encounter by the way

with an insurgent force near Nuggena, whose guns he captured, and also six elephants.

What rendered Jones' arrival opportune was that Feroze Shah, one of the princes of Delhi, in league with the Bareilly mutineers, marched on the 21st of April to Mooradabad, and demanded money and supplies. Mooradabad was not so deeply steeped in rebellion as Bareilly. The demand was refused, and fighting and pillage were the consequences. While the plundering was at its hottest on the 26th, Brigadier Jones entered the city, put a stop to it, drove out the rebels, captured many insurgent chiefs, and re-established the confidence of the people in the power of the British Government.

General Walpole was appointed to the command of the column which was to proceed against Bareilly from Lucknow, with Brigadier Adrian Hope as the head of his infantry. Leaving the capital of Oude for this march—which was confessedly a very oppressive one, daylight being requisite to guide the troops through numberless lurking dangers, and the sun accordingly shining above them like a ball of fire—Walpole came on the 14th of June to Fort Rhodamow, about fifty miles from Lucknow. It seemed no great place, a group of houses enclosed by a high mud-wall, loopholed for musketry, provided with irregular bastions at the angles, and having two gates. Walpole had

heard while marching through the jungle towards Rohilcund that 1500 insurgents had thrown themselves into this fort, but the number turned out to be much smaller. He certainly did not, as the result showed, attach sufficient importance to the capability of those who used it as a stronghold. It would appear that he made no very careful reconnaissance, and it is certain that the attack on it was made with infantry without a previous application of artillery. The 42d Highlanders and the 4th Punjaub infantry were sent forward to take the fort, but as they approached it they were received with a fire of musketry from a concealed enemy as unexpected as it was fierce and galling, which effectually checked the advance of the assailants. The gallant Brigadier Adrian Hope was killed at the head of his Highlanders.

The enemy being hidden behind the loopholed wall, the British troops could not fire effectively in reply. Everything that was done seemed only to cause more confusion. The supports sent up came too late, or went to the wrong place, and the troops were compelled to retire in a state of exasperation, amid yells of triumph from behind the wall.

Only then it was that the heavy guns were brought up to accomplish what they ought to have been placed for at first; they breached the wall, but the Indians had quietly evacuated

the fort during the night, having suffered scarcely any loss.

During this mortifying disaster Quarter-master Sergeant Simpson, of the 42d, displayed the reckless boldness which characterises a military hero in such circumstances. When the infantry had been recalled from the attack, he heard that two officers of his regiment had been left behind, dead or wounded, in the ditch outside the wall. He rushed back, seized the body of Captain Bromley, and brought it away amid a torrent of bullets; back again, he brought away in his arms the body of Captain Douglas under a similar fire of musketry, and did not cease until he had brought seven bodies thus out of the ditch. The men of the 42d could not forgive General Walpole for what they regarded as a deep personal injury inflicted on them by this order to attack before the guns had been brought into play. It was not like an order given by a general who had observed Sir Colin Campbell's method of procedure before Lucknow.

Sir Colin had his own thoughts when the news of the untoward event reached him. He paid in a despatch a marked compliment to Adrian Hope, saying: "The death of this most distinguished and gallant officer causes the deepest grief to the commander-in-chief. Still young in years, he had risen to high command; and by his undaunted courage, combined as it was with extreme

kindness and charm of manner, had secured the confidence of his brigade in no ordinary degree." Viscount Canning, in a like spirit, officially notified that "no more mournful duty has fallen upon the Governor-General in the course of the present contest than that of recording the death of this distinguished young commander."

General Walpole pursued his march for seven or eight days without encountering the enemy, till on the 27d he had a successful encounter with a large body of the enemy at Sirsa. He attacked them so vigorously with his cavalry and artillery that their camp was captured, and they were driven over the river Ramgunga so precipitately that they had no opportunity of destroying the bridge of boats by which they passed. This achievement enabled Walpole to carry his heavy guns safely over the river on the 23d.

A few days later, Sir Colin Campbell and his column joined him at Tingree, near the Ramgunga; and, after short repose, a few hours' march brought the united columns to Jelalabad, one of the many places of that name in India.

The Moulvie of Fyzabad, it was ascertained, had intended to make a stand at this fort; but he abandoned it for a larger stronghold at Shahjehanpoor, at which place Sir Colin Campbell and General Walpole arrived on the last day of the month, only to learn that the

watchful and energetic Moulvie had again eluded their grasp. Shahjehanpoor, however, was regained after it had been eleven months in the hands of the rebels. But what was very provoking, it was learned here that the Moulvie had retreated towards Oude, a wily move on his part, for his presence there was the thing least desired by the commander-in-chief. Nana Sahib also had quitted Shahjehanpoor a few days before the British arrived, and before he left, had given orders that all the government buildings be destroyed in order to deprive the British of shelter when they arrived. The order was duly attended to, and there being few roofed buildings left, the troops had to encamp under a tope of trees, with earth intrenchments thrown up round their encampment.

Captain Sir William Peel, the spirited and gallant commander of the Naval Brigade, died at Cawnpore after Sir Colin Campbell's force had left that city. After being wounded at Lucknow, he was carried thither on a litter, and gradually became so much better as to be able to walk about a little with the aid of a stick; but he was seized with smallpox, which proved fatal to a system at once ardent and debilitated.

In the upper Doab, numerous rebel chieftains, each at the head of a small force, kept the British commanders constantly on the alert. Brigadier Seaton had the

district round Futtehghur entrusted to his care, and on the evening of the 6th of April he left the city of Futtehghur with 1400 men, infantry, cavalry, mounted police, and artillery, to disperse a body of rebels regarding whom he had received information. After marching all night, he came up with them at seven o'clock in the morning at a place called Kankur. There were among the rebels many troopers well mounted and armed, although the large force was not at all effectively organised. After the artillery had been brought into play on both sides, and a sharp fire from the Enfield rifles of the British, Her Majesty's 82d foot rushed forward, entered the village, and worked such havoc as made the rebels flee in terror, leaving arms, ammunition, and stores. They left also important papers and correspondence which were of great use to the British authorities as throwing light upon the proceedings of the mutineers.

"One of the few pleasant scenes of the month at Delhi," says an authority already quoted, "was the awarding of honour and profit to a native who had befriended Europeans in the hour of greatest need. Ten months before, when mutiny was still new and terrible, the native troops at Bhurtpore rose in revolt, and compelled the Europeans in the neighbourhood to flee for their lives. The poor fugitives, thirty-two in number,

chiefly women and children, roamed from place to place, uncertain where they might sleep in peace. One day they arrived at the village of Mahonah. Here they met with Hidayut Ali, the captain of a regiment of irregular cavalry, which had mutinied at Mozuffernugger; he was on furlough at his native place, and did not join his mutinous companions. He received the fugitives with kindness and courtesy, fed them liberally, gave them a comfortable house, renewed their toil-worn garments, posted village sentries to give notice of the approach of any mutineers, disregarded a rebuke sent to him by the insurgents at Delhi, formed the villagers into an escort, and finally placed the thirty-two fugitives in a position which enabled them to reach Agra in safety. This noble conduct was not forgotten. In April, the commissioner held a grand durbar at Delhi, made a complimentary speech to Hidayut Ali, presented him with a sword valued at 1000 rupees, and announced that the Government intended to bestow upon him the jaghire or revenues of his native village."

Returning to Sir Hugh Rose before Jhansi on the 1st of April, his force encountered an army of the enemy outside the walls of that blood-stained city, and inflicted on them an unmistakable defeat. They were commanded by Tanteea Topee, a Mahratta chieftain, and a rela-

tive of Nana Sahib, who had marched thither to relieve his fellow-rebels who were shut up within the city. Sir Hugh told off from the besiegers a force which he thought sufficient to cope with this new arrival, which contained two regiments of the Gwalior contingent. The rebels fought with the fury of desperation, but Sir Hugh turned their flank with artillery and cavalry, broke them up, and put them to flight. He pursued them to the river Betwa, and captured all their guns and ammunition. During the pursuit, the rebels set fire to the jungle, but, nothing daunted or dismayed, the British cavalry and horse artillery galloped through the flames, keeping close to the heels of the enemy fleeing in terror. That day's work cost Tanteea Topee 1500 men.

The Ranee had relied on the arrival of this chieftain, but the battle of Betwa dashed this hope. Sir Hugh Rose lost no time. Re-arranging his forces, the assault on the city was made at once. The infantry of Her Majesty's 86th and the Bombay 25th regiments soon gained the walls—some by breach and others by ladders. Lieutenant Dartnell of the 86th was foremost in the assault, and he narrowly escaped being cut to pieces when he entered the city. This was the attack of Sir Hugh's left. The right also entered the city and joined their companions near the Ranee's palace. But that princess had fled dur-

ing the night. There was a terrible slaughter; 3000 rebels were slain, including many of the townspeople who favoured them. The British loss was not great, owing to the suddenness of the evacuation. Jhansi was comparatively easily taken, for it was really a place of great strength. Sir Hugh Rose telegraphed: "Jhansi is not a fort, but its strength makes it a fortress; it could not have been breached; it could only have been taken by mining and blowing up one bastion after another."

Sir Hugh moved from Jhansi after this signal defeat of the rebels, and advanced towards Calpee, on the road from that city to Cawnpore, where Tanteea Topee was making strenuous exertions to retain hold in the region. He had been joined by the Ranee and some other rebel leaders; and they had at their command 7000 men and four guns, and were desperately resolved at all hazards to prevent the march of the British column to Calpee. The result was not arrived at till May.

Southward of Bombay, there was trouble in the small Mah-ratta state of Satara. The com-

mander-in-chief and the artillery commandant of the recently deposed rajah were detected in treasonable correspondence with Nana Sahib. One of them, when sentenced to be hanged, influenced by his high-caste notions, begged to be blown away from a gun, as a death more worthy of a nobleman. This was refused; but before his execution he made a confession which afforded the authorities a clue to further conspiracies, which were duly nipped in the bud.

At Kolapore two native officers were blown away from the guns, after being convicted as mutineers. This occurrence excited a great deal of remark at the time. These very men had sat in courts-martial at which numbers of their brother mutineers had been condemned to the same mode of execution; and it was one of these—a man they had sentenced to death, but who escaped by making a confession which implicated them—who was the principal witness against them. Stranger than this, many others had met their doom, aware of the guilt of their judges, who, by making a similar confession, might, perhaps, have been spared.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## PROGRESS OF THE STRUGGLE IN MAY.

BRIGADIER DOUGLAS arrived at Arrah on the 1st of May, and became convinced that he had not a force sufficient to cope effectually with Koer Singh. Sir Edward Lugard, therefore, having left a few troops to guard Azimghur, arrived in the neighbourhood of Jugdispore on the 8th, and came in sight of some of the rebels. Sir Edward Lugard next day was preparing for encampment a little to the west of Jugdispore, when he observed a large body of rebels forming outside the jungle, and moving in the direction of Arrah. Another body of them, more numerous than the former, began to fire at the newly-selected camp, before the British could get their baggage up, or their tents fixed. There was no time now for arranging the camp, so, dividing his force into three columns, Sir Edward Lugard attacked Jugdispore from three points at once, and took it without much trouble, the rebels making only a slight resistance. They retired, however, to Lutwarpore, in the jungle, taking with them two guns they had captured from the British during the previous month.

It was now rumoured that Koer Singh had died of his wounds; and that the rebels under his brother, Ummer Singh, were ill-supplied and in

great confusion. Ritbhunghur Singh, a nephew of theirs, gave himself up to the British, hoping that he would procure forgiveness by proving that, in earlier months, he had befriended certain Europeans at a time of great peril.

On the 10th, after destroying all the fortifications of Jugdispore and the buildings which had belonged to Koer Singh, Sir Edward Lugard followed the rebels into the jungle. He sent Colonel Corfield with a force in one direction towards Lutwarpore, while he, marching through a bed of jungle in another direction, attacked them on a side which they thought needed no protection. Lugard and Corfield were everywhere successful, notwithstanding that it was an instance of that prosaic kind of wars which bring more fatigue than glory.

Though chastised and hewn asunder, the rebels showed a snaky power of recombining; and they continued to harass the neighbourhood as freebooters, if not by formidable military projects. Practically, therefore, Sir Edward Lugard broke down the military organisation of the rebels in that part of India.

In the Goruckpore district, somewhat farther north, Mahomed Hussein with 4000 men attacked the Rajah of Bansee,

one of the chiefs who had remained faithful to the British Government. The rajah fled to a stronghold in the neighbouring jungle, while his enemies plundered his palace, and sacked the town of Bansee.

Mr Wingfield, the commissioner of Goruckpore, came to the rescue. He immediately marched to the stronghold with 250 Europeans and some guns, and found the rajah besieged there. The rebels did not wait to see what Mr Wingfield would do. As soon as they heard he was there, they fled with all their might, notwithstanding the immense superiority of their force in numbers.

About Allahabad insubordination took shapes which might not unfitly be characterised as impudent. They seemed to be meant to show how defiant the rebels could be to the Governor-General and his staff, who still remained in that city. Incendiarism was vexatiously frequent. On the 24th of May a new range of barracks was set on fire, and six of the bungalows were completely destroyed. One poor invalid soldier was burned to death, and many others were severely injured. The road from Allahabad to Cawnpore was scarcely passable without an escort. The British were strong in a few places; but small bodies of the rebels were scattered all over the country—their knowledge of which enabled them to baffle their pursuers. The opposition to the British

rule had assumed that guerrilla character which is very harassing, and particularly difficult to cope with. Flies and mosquitoes are a torture to heroes whose hearts beat high for the tiger-hunt.

On the 2d of May the Rohilcund field force started from Shahjehanpore to commence operations against Bareilly. Sir Colin Campbell assumed the command in person, leaving behind him a small force for the defence of Shahjehanpore. On the 3d he reached Futtehgunje, where it had been arranged that General Penny should join him with a column. The general had unfortunately been killed in a struggle with the mutineers during his march to this rendezvous; but his column was there under Colonel H. R. Jones, who is to be distinguished from Brigadier John Jones, commander of the force which came from Roorkee.

Proceeding on his march, Sir Colin Campbell reached Fureedpore on the 4th—only one day's journey from Bareilly. Here he learned that Nana Sahib, and the Delhi prince, Feroze Shah, had fled from the city; and was informed that Mahomed Khan still remained at the head of the rebels. On the latter point, however, and regarding the number of the enemy's forces, he could obtain no reliable information.

Early in the morning of the 5th, Sir Colin left his camping ground at Fureedpore, and ad-



vanced towards Bareilly, to the entrance of which the only obstacle was a stream with rather steep banks. The rebels, as the British approached, fired some shots from a battery at the entrance to Bareilly, having made scarcely any attempt to fortify the stream that crossed the high road, or the bridge across the stream. Advancing through a suburb on one side of the city, Sir Colin ordered the 42d and 79th regiments and a Sikh regiment, to explore a ruined mass of one-storied houses. Dr Russell described what followed in the columns of the *Times*: "As soon as the Sikhs got into the houses," he wrote, "they were exposed to a heavy fire from a large body of matchlockmen concealed around them. They either retired of their own accord, or were ordered to do so; at all events, they fell back with rapidity and disorder upon the advancing Highlanders. And now occurred a most extraordinary scene. Among the matchlockmen, who, to the number of 700 or 800, were lying behind the walls of the houses, was a body of Ghazees, or Mussulman fanatics, who, like the Roman Decii, devote their lives with solemn oaths to their country or their faith. Uttering loud cries, 'Bismillah, Allah, deen, deen!' 130 of these fanatics, sword in hand, with small circular bucklers on the left arm, and green cummerbungs, rushed out

after the Sikhs, and dashed at the left of the right wing of the Highlanders. With bodies bent and heads low, waving their tulwars with a circular motion in the air, they came on with astonishing rapidity. At first they were mistaken for Sikhs, whose passage had already somewhat disordered our ranks. Fortunately, Sir Colin Campbell was close up with the 42d; his keen, quick eye detected the case at once. 'Steady, men, steady! close up the ranks. Bayonet them as they come on.' It was just in time; for these madmen, furious with bang, were already among us, and a body of them sweeping around the left of the right wing, got into the rear of the regiment. The struggle was sanguinary, but short. Three of them dashed so suddenly at Colonel Cameron that they pulled him off his horse ere he could defend himself. His sword fell out of its sheath; and he would have been hacked to pieces in another moment but for the gallant promptitude of Colour-Sergeant Gardiner, who, stepping out of the ranks, drove his bayonet through two of them in the twinkling of an eye. The third was shot by one of the 42d. Brigadier Walpole had a similar escape. He was seized by two or three of the Ghazees, who sought to pull him off his horse, while others cut at him with their tulwars. He received two cuts on the hand; but he was delivered from the enemy by the quick bayonets of the

42d. In a few minutes the dead bodies of 133 of these Ghazees, and some 18 or 20 wounded men of ours, were all the tokens left of the struggle."

Sir Colin Campbell resolved to bivouac on the plain, and not try to take Bareilly that day. Next morning, it was discovered that many of the leading rebels, and a large body of their followers, had left the place. On the 7th, the British forces entered Bareilly, and took complete possession of it. A large quantity of artillery, most of it recently manufactured by the natives themselves, fell into the hands of the victors, together with a great store of shell, shot, and powder, also of native manufacturing, but no prisoners worth taking.

Thus was Bareilly taken; and it was not deemed necessary to keep the Rohilcund field force any longer in its collected form. The commander-in-chief left General Walpole in command of Rohilcund and Kuamon.

There was no glare of military glory about this campaign, to make it the wonderment and talk of the whole world. For it is literally true that Sir Colin Campbell was, at the time, the cynosure of the eyes and ears of no more limited an audience at the time. But it was a most trying campaign. The ball of scathing fire in the heavens shot fierce and deadly strokes upon the soldiery; and the veteran general's skill was displayed in a supreme degree in

using every available means for the sheltering of the troops he cared for, as a father cherishes his children, from this unappeasable potentate. But he himself, as has been said, "bore heat and fatigue in a manner that astonished his subordinates; he got through an amount of work which knocked up his aides-de-camp; and was always ready to advise or command, as if rest and food were contingencies that he cared not about. The natives, when any of them sought for and obtained an interview with him, were often a good deal surprised to see the commander of the mighty British army in shirt sleeves and a pith hat; but the keen eye and the cool manner of the old soldier, told that he had all his wits about him, and was none the worse from the absence of glitter and personal adornment."

Sir Colin Campbell had left, as was mentioned, a small force at Shahjehanpore on the 2d, when he proceeded on his march towards Bareilly. The command of the place was entrusted to Colonel Hall, who was attacked immediately by a large body of insurgents from Mohumdee in Oude. Hall, seeing it would be vain to meet such overwhelming odds in the open field, retired into the jail with his handful of troops, and prepared for a resolute defence. The rebels seized the old fort, plundered the town, put many of the principal inhabitants to

death, and established patrols on the bank of the river. They were computed at little less than 8000, and had twelve guns. Against this multitude of assailants, Hall held his position for eight days and nights, sustaining a continuous bombardment, and never for an instant thought of yielding. It was the 7th of the month before the commander-in-chief heard of how badly this brave officer was beset. He at once despatched Brigadier Jones with a column from Bareilly, with discretionary power to attack the rebels at Mohumdee, after relieving Hall, if he should think it feasible. Jones reached Shahjehanpore on the 11th, and put the cowardly assailants he encountered to flight. But he soon found that he had been engaged with only a fragment of the large body of rebels who had worked such mischief in the town. On the 15th, he was again attacked with fury, the assailants being headed by the Moulvie of Fyzabad, the Shahzada, or prince of Delhi, already referred to, and, as was reported, the Nana Sahib. The struggle continued the whole day, and was severely trying to the resources and activity of the brigadier.

News of this reached Sir Colin Campbell when he was at Futtehgunje, on his way from Bareilly to a more central station. The commander-in-chief immediately hastened towards Shahjehanpore, where he arrived on the 18th. He

was anxious to give his march-worn men a little rest during the heat of the day; but a cavalry detachment, sent out to reconnoitre, came in sight of a small mud-fort, mounted with four guns. The guns fired on the cavalry, a body of rebel troopers at once appeared, and this brought Sir Colin Campbell and his force into the field. There was some smart cavalry and artillery skirmishing, and the result was that the enemy were driven off to a distance. But it was not satisfactory; again it was only a portion of the main body that had been encountered, the rest being 8000 or 10,000 strong at Mohumdee. Sir Colin Campbell, finding himself weak in cavalry, suspended operations for a few days.

During this very undecided battle, a round shot passed so close to the commander-in-chief as to place him in very imminent danger. This led to a strong desire among the soldiers, that he who was so careful of his men's lives, would display a little more care for his own.

Brigadier Coke had been commissioned to sweep the country round by way of Boodayoon to Mooradabad; but he joined Sir Colin Campbell on the 22d, and preparations were immediately made to advance upon Mohumdee. The advance was made—to find that the Moulvie and other leaders had again eluded the grasp of their pursuers. They had evacuated the

strong fort of the place, destroying the defence works—a proceeding which seemed to indicate that they did not intend to come back.

Sir Colin Campbell proceeded to Futteghur as a central station, from which he could conveniently watch the progress of events.

Three other incidents of this period of the mutiny shall be quoted :

“In many parts of the Doab there was ample reason for British officers feeling great uneasiness at the danger which still surrounded them in the north-western provinces wherever they were undefended by troops. The murder of Major Waterfield was a case in point. About the middle of May the major and Captain Fanshawe were travelling towards Allygurh *via* Agra. In the middle of the night, near Ferozabad, a band of 150 rebels surrounded the vehicle, shot the driver, and attacked the travellers. The two officers used their revolvers as quickly as they could, but the unfortunate Waterfield received two shots, one in the head and one through the chest, besides a sword-cut across the body. He fell dead on the spot. Fanshawe’s escape was most extraordinary. The rebels got him out of the carriage, and surrounded him, but they pressed together so closely that each prevented his neighbour from striking. Fanshawe quickly drew his sword, and swung it

right and left so vigorously that he forced a passage for himself through the cowardly crew; some pursued him, but a severe sword-cut to one of them deterred the rest. The captain ran on at great speed, climbed up a tree, and there remained till the danger was over. His courage and promptness saved him from any further injury than a slight wound in the hand. Poor Waterfield’s remains, when sought for some time afterwards, were found lying among the embers of the burned vehicle; but they were carried into Agra, and interred with military honours. The native driver was found dead, with the head nearly severed from the body.”

The next incident was the disarming the province of Gujerat, lying between Rajpootana and Bombay.

“This critical and important operation was carried out during May. Sir Richmond Shakespeare, who held a military as well as a political position in that province, managed the enterprise so firmly and skilfully that village after village was disarmed, and rendered so far powerless for mischief. Many unruly chieftains regarded this affair as very unpalatable. It was a work of great peril, for the turbulent natives were out of all proportion more numerous than any troops Sir Richmond could command, but he brought to bear that wonderful influence which many Englishmen possessed over the natives

—influence showing the predominance of moral over physical power. The native sovereign, the Guicowar, had all along been faithful and friendly to the British; he trusted Sir Richmond Shakespeare as fully as Scindia"—the Maharajah of Gwalior—"trusted Sir Robert Hamilton, and gave an eager assent to the disarming of his somewhat turbulent subjects. The Nizam, the Guicowar, Scindia, and Holkar"—one of the Mahratta princes—"all remained true to the British alliance during the hour of trouble; if they had failed us, the difficulties of reconquest would have been immensely increased, if not insuperable."

The third is a very pleasant incident, and it gives prominence to a venerable name which most readers have heard before.

"One of the minor events of Bombay city at this period was the conferring of a baronetcy on a native gentleman, the high-

minded liberal Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy. He had long before been knighted, but his continued and valuable assistance to the Government through all trials and difficulties now won for him further honour. The Parsee merchant became Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart.—perhaps the most remarkable among baronets, race and creed considered. Whatever he did was done in princely style. In order that his new hereditary dignity might not be shamed by any paucity of wealth on the part of his descendants, he at once invested 25 lacs of rupees in the Bombay four per cents., to entail an income of £10,000 a year on the holder of the baronetcy. A large mansion at Mazagon was for a like purpose entailed; and the old merchant-prince felt a considerable pride in thinking that Bombay might possibly, for centuries to come, count among its inhabitants a Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy."

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### SIR HUGH ROSE AT CALPEE AND GWALIOR.

MANY of the events to be recorded in this chapter occurred also during the month of May, but they were of so signal importance that the exploits of Sir Hugh Rose, a general whose fame darted rather unexpectedly

on the British public, claim a separate and continuous rehearsal.

After the defeat of the rebels at Jhansi, Sir Hugh Rose marched with the greater part of his two brigades towards Calpee, a

town on the right bank of the Jumna, and on the line of road from Jhansi to Cawnpore. The rest of his troops, under Majors Orr and Gall, were engaging the surrounding region of rebels, capturing their forts, scattering bodies of them, and keeping others quiet by such demonstrations.

When May arrived, Sir Hugh felt that he needed the services of Gall and Orr with himself and the main forces, and he requested General Whitlock to look after the districts they had been reducing to order. While still on his march towards Calpee he heard on the 9th of May that Tanteea Topee and the Ranee of Jhansi intended to dispute his advance at a place called Koonch, and that they had with them a considerable force of infantry and cavalry. They did so, but the British drove them from their intrenchment, entered the town, inflicted severe chastisement upon them, captured their guns, and pursued them to a considerable distance.

All this was done under a sun burning with a heat quite frightful. Sir Hugh Rose was three times disabled by it that day—struck down by the sun—but on each occasion he rallied, and was able to get on horseback again. He caused buckets of cold water to be dashed on him, and in the consequent plashing condition resumed his saddle. Thirteen of his brave overworked soldiers were killed by sunstroke.

Nothing daunted, however, Sir Hugh Rose and his generals fought and manœuvred their way along, till on the 5th they were about six miles from Calpee. There were several skirmishes of rather a severe nature the next day or two, in which the rebels were led by a nephew of Nana Sahib; and it was not till the 18th that Sir Hugh was able to begin shelling the earthworks which had been thrown up in front of Calpee. On the 20th the rebels came out of the town and showed fight with more spirit than they had hitherto displayed; they indeed persevered with something like determination, but they were driven in again.

General Maxwell had astonished the rebels in Calpee by appearing on the other side of the Jumna to assist in bombarding them, but on the 21st a portion of his column crossed the Jumna and joined the main body of the forces with Rose. Maxwell still kept up a fire from across the river, and the enemy having no artillery to reply effectively to it, resolved to make a vigorous attack on Rose's camp. Accordingly, on the 22d, they issued from the town and attacked the British. They pressed hard upon Rose's right, but a bayonet charge from the reserve corps repelled the assailants in that direction. Then an advance of the whole of the line put them completely to rout. About noon on the 22d, Sir Hugh Rose and his

gallant, much-enduring columns made a victorious march into Calpee. The rebels fled panic-stricken.

It was found to be a place of more importance than it had been taken for. During the mutiny the insurgents had erected it into a strong arsenal; and no wonder they had thought of making a stand at it. Fifteen guns were kept in the fort, and twenty-four standards were found. In a subterranean magazine there were discovered—10,000 lbs. of English powder, in barrels; 9000 lbs. of shot and empty shells; a quantity of 8-inch filled shrapnel shells; siege and ball ammunition; intrenching tools of all kinds; tents, new and old; boxes of new flint and percussion muskets; and ordnance stores of all kinds, with several lacs of rupees. There were also three or four cannon foundries in the town.

Calpee was indeed taken; and, it being secure, Sir Hugh Rose naturally thought that the arduous labours of his Central India field force were, for a time at least, ended, and that his exhausted troops might be allowed a rest. He issued to them a glowing address accordingly.

But the rebels had not been seeking rest; for it was on the very day on which Sir Hugh issued this address—the 1st of June—that they captured Gwalior and put Scindia to flight. An immediate resumption of

active operations by the Central India field force was therefore a very stern necessity.

It seems that Tantea Topee, a leader worthy of a better cause, as the Moulvie of Fyzabad also was acknowledged to be, had preceded his troops, and tampered with the troops of the Maharajah of Gwalior. Scindia, hearing of the approach of his enemies, for he had remained uncorruptibly faithful to the British, sent an urgent message to Agra for aid; but before help had reached him, matters arrived at a crisis, and he fled to that city for protection. Although only twenty-three years of age, he had been for five years Maharajah in his own right, and during that time he had won the respect of the British authorities. He had an independent army of his own, consisting chiefly of Mahrattas, a Hindoo race, who had no strong sympathy with the Hindustanis; but the Gwalior contingent was also kept up by him, according to a treaty with the East India Company, and it consisted mainly of Hindustanis and Oudians, who were strongly in sympathy with the rebels, to whom they went over in a body in the earlier months of the mutiny. Scindia had hitherto contrived, by a prudently firm course of policy, to ward off any active hostility on the part of the contingent. He neither sanctioned its proceedings nor provoked its enmity. He had sundry reasons for suspecting

the loyalty of his own Mahratta troops, but he dissembled his suspicions, so that the approach of the rebels, with some of the regiments of the revolted Gwalior contingent among them was a formidable visitation to his capital.

If his own troops had continued faithful, Scindia had both courage and skill enough to give a good account of himself to his enemies; but treachery anticipated a struggle, the issue of which would certainly have been open to doubt. Scindia's body-guard remained faithful, but the bulk of his infantry deserted their sovereign at the instigation of his enemies; or, rather, under the seductive charm of Tantea Topee's solicitations.

When the rebels came within three miles of Gwalior, Scindia met them with his troops well disposed, but his right and left divisions remained idle, while the centre division, comprising the body-guard and some other troops were engaged. At a signal agreed upon, these divisions went over to the enemy. The body-guard fought heroically till half of their number fell, and the rest had to flee. Scindia, attended by a few faithful troops, reached Agra two days after this discomfiture. Most of the members of his family fled to Seepree, while his courtiers sought refuge in all directions.

The rebels, nominally led by Rao Sahib, a nephew of the Nana, but really by Tantea To-

pee and the Ranee of Jhansi, entered Gwalior and endeavoured to establish a regular government. The Ranee, it should be mentioned here, was a princess whom even her enemies did not despise. The only occurrence which exposed her to contempt, was her instigation of the slaughter of the English at Jhansi in June the year before. Throughout the whole struggle after that cruelty she bore herself like a heroine; she proved herself a genuine Amazon, leading and fighting fearlessly, and exhorting her troops to contend to the bitter end against the hated Feringhees.

In the government which the rebels set up at Gwalior, Nana Sahib was elected Peishwa, or head of all the Mahratta princes; and his nephew, Rao Sahib, was set up as chief of Gwalior. Ram Rao Gobind, who had long before been discharged from Scindia's service for dishonesty, became prime minister; and the property of the principal inhabitants was sequestered for their friendliness towards Maharajah Scindia and the British. The rebels seized the immense treasure they found in the palace, and paid their troops out of it; they also declared a formal confiscation of all the royal property. They plundered and burned the civil stations, liberating such prisoners as they thought might be useful to them. Among these were four petty Mahratta chieftains, whom they adorned with insignia and



dressess of honour, on condition that they would raise forces in their respective localities.

When the news spread that Gwalior, the strongest and most important city in Central India, was in the hands of the rebels, the British authorities became keenly aware that the situation was a critical one, summoning the exercise of prudence, promptness, skill, and courage. Sir Hugh Rose was at once looked to as the man who had all these very necessary requisites. He might fairly have claimed exemption from the grave responsibility thus imposed upon him. Exhausted as he was in mind and body by six months of harassing warfare, his brain fevered by repeated attacks of sunstroke, the justice and even expediency of his claim might have been prudently recognised, and the certificate of sick-leave which he was contemplating been granted. But the startling news from Gwalior, he felt, entered a prior claim, and he lost no time.

Entrusting the safe keeping of Calpee to General Whitlock, Sir Hugh at once organised two brigades to march westward to Gwalior. The first of these he placed under the command of Brigadier C. S. Stuart, of the Bengal army; the second, under Brigadier R. Napier, of the Bengal Engineers. Arrangements were made for the co-operation of a third brigade from Seepree, under Brigadier Smith.

The two brigades were pressed forward as quickly as possible,

and Sir Hugh was on the 16th of June reconnoitring the position taken up by the enemy—that was on the tenth day after leaving Calpee. The fort was one of the strongest in India, requiring 15,000 men to man it, and the town was situated along the eastern base of the rock from which it frowned. Rumour assigned to the enemy a force of 17,000 men in arms, but Sir Hugh Rose had no certain information regarding their numbers.

The almost impregnable fort, the Lashkar camp, the Moorar cantonment, the city, and a semicircular belt of hills, had to be reconnoitred, sufficiently, at all events, to determine at what point to commence the attack. The city, it was found, had only a few troops, and the cantonment at Moorar was attacked suddenly. The cavalry and guns having been placed on each flank, Her Majesty's 86th regiment of infantry led the assault; and no sooner did the rebels find themselves attacked at this point than they poured out a well-directed fire of musketry and field-guns. This, however, was speedily silenced, and they were fain to make a precipitate retreat, being driven through the whole length of the cantonment, and chased over a wide expanse of country. There was some terrible fighting during this chase, Lieutenant Neave falling mortally wounded while rushing on at the head of a company of the 71st Highlanders; but the cantonment of

Moorar was secured, and Sir Hugh Rose encamped in it that night—the night between the 16th and 17th of June.

But the city and the fort were still in the hands of the enemy. It was a favourite Indian idea that this fortress was impregnable; and, fortunately for the British, the rebels had done little to strengthen it. They disposed their forces instead so as to guard the roads from Seepree and other places, and it was for this field service that the Ranee of Jhansi, clad in mail, like the true Amazon she was, reserved herself.

Brigadier Smith had to obtain command of the semicircular belt of hills to the south of the city, before he could reach Gwalior from Seepree. His brigade had a long and severely trying march before they reached the scene of conflict. He had to cross the hills before he reached the Lashkar camping-ground. There was a defile defended by three or four guns on a neighbouring hill, through which his column had to pass on the 17th, and in it some heavy fighting took place that day, in which the most distinguished person who fell was the Ranee of Jhansi, fighting bravely to the last. Trying to escape over a canal which separated the Lashkar camp from the Phool Bagh parade, she fell with her horse, and was cut down by a hussar; she still struggled, however, to get across the canal, but a bullet struck her

on the breast, and the Amazon struggled no more. She was a valiant, dangerous enemy, but that hussar would scarcely glory in the sword-cut he inflicted on a queen beside her fallen horse. It is an amiable weakness of men not to like killing women, not even to hang them when they are justly sent to the scaffold. But it was fair fighting to kill the Ranee of Jhansi. The soldier who fired the fatal bullet would not know he had done it. It is said that some of her faithful followers hastily buried the dead body to save it from desecration by the Feringhees. Had it fallen into their hands, the Ranee would have been buried as became a queen.

When night came Brigadier Smith had secured the defile, the road, and the adjoining hills; while the enemy occupied the hills on the other side of the canal. The brigadier secured these hills also on the 18th, after a terrible struggle. He drove the enemy from them, notwithstanding that they were led with terrible energy by Tanteea Toppee. Sir Hugh Rose helped to this result. Leaving only a sufficient number of troops to guard his camp at Moorar, he joined Smith by a flank movement of twelve miles, and bivouacked that night in the rear of his position.

Next day the enemy, who still occupied some of the heights nearest Gwalior, as well as the fortress, poured forth a scathing fire of shot, shell, and shrapnel.

Still Sir Hugh Rose resolved to capture the city by storm. The sappers conveyed guns across the canal under the hot fire of the hills and the fort; the infantry rushed up with reckless daring to the enemy's guns on the hill sides, and captured them. The heights were thus gained, and the rebels panic-stricken, losing all heart on account of these repeated failures, began to flee in confusion. Then the British cavalry scoured the plains in all directions, cutting down the terrified fugitives in large numbers; and by four o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th Sir Hugh Rose was master of Gwalior.

The arrangements for the security of the city were not difficult; the inhabitants gladly aided the conquerors in restoring order, the rebels having treated them during their occupation of the place with relentless cruelty.

The conquest of the impregnable fortress was now a matter of easy achievement; but it was not effected without the greatly-lamented death of a gallant officer, Lieutenant Arthur Rose of the 25th Bombay native infantry. He paid by his death the penalty of reducing the seizure of the bold fortress, which for ages had been the boast of India for its unconquerable strength, to something like a grim joke. While Lieutenant Rose was on duty on the 20th, guarding the police station at Gwalior, a shot or two were unexpectedly fired from the fort. He seemed to regard this

as an impertinence, and what followed shall be quoted from Chambers's "History." "Rose proposed to a brother officer, Lieutenant Waller, the daring project of capturing it with the handful of men at their joint disposal, urging that, though the risk would be great, the honour would be proportionally great if the attempt succeeded. Off they started, taking with them a blacksmith. This man, with his lusty arm and heavy hammer, broke into the outermost or lowermost of the many gates that guarded the ascent of the rock on which the fort was situated; then another and another, until all the six gates were broken into and entered by the little band of assailants. It is hardly to be expected that if the gates were really strong and securely fastened, they could have been burst open in this way; but the confusion resulting from the fighting had probably caused some of the defensive arrangements to be neglected. At various points on the ascent the assailants were fired at by the few rebels in the place, and near the top a desperate hand-to-hand fight took place, during which the numbers were thinned on both sides. While Rose was encouraging his men in their hot work, a musket was fired at him from behind a wall, the bullet striking him on the right of the spine, passed through his body. The man who had fired the fatal shot, a Bareilly mutineer, then rushed out and cut him across the knee and the

wrist with a sword. Waller came up and despatched this fellow, but too late to save the life of his poor friend Rose."

It is difficult to believe that Sir Colin Campbell would have approved of this exploit, for it would seem that he disapproved of self-imposed risks, even when they led to deeds of heroism. Dr Russell of the *Times* wrote, that Sir Colin did not admire that exploit of Lieutenant Marsham Havelock's which won him the Victoria Cross at the battle of Cawnpore on the 16th of July the year before, holding that the brave youth should simply have delivered his message as an aide-de-camp, instead of moving steadily on in front of a regiment opposite the muzzle of a gun at foot pace on his horse till the 24-pounder was seized and silenced: the officers on duty should have been left to win or miss the honour. Brigadier Stuart, however, on this occasion thought differently. In a general order on the 21st he wrote: "Brigadier Stuart has received with the deepest regret a report of the death of Lieutenant Rose, 25th Bombay native infantry, who was mortally wounded yesterday on entering the fort of Gwalior, on duty with his men. The brigadier feels assured that the whole brigade unite with him in deploring the early death of this gallant officer, whose many qualities none who knew him could fail to appreciate." This order was written in the same spirit as conferred on Lieu-

tenant Havelock the Victoria Cross; but still it would seem that the responsible commander was the right man to determine in what manner the impregnable fortress of Gwalior should have been taken, easy as the capture seemed.

Scindia was restored to his throne on the 20th with as much Oriental pomp as could be commanded in the circumstances; the citizens, who lined the streets, expressing their joy at seeing him again. Sir Colin Campbell officially congratulated Sir Hugh Rose on his great achievement, adverting to the many other brilliant services of his campaign in Central India, and thanking the troops for their glorious deeds. Viscount Canning also issued a proclamation, which, in addition to thanking the gallant general of the Bombay army, was intended to encourage other native princes, besides the Maharajah of Gwalior, in a course of fidelity to the British Government, as that government had shown in this case that it was able to maintain them on their thrones when their good faith merited such a manifestation of its power. He concluded by directing that a royal salute should be fired at every principal station in India in honour of the auspicious event.

Tanteea Topee had carried away with him the crown jewels and an immense amount of treasure belonging to Scindia, and the British authorities watched with some anxiety the

progress of this valiant and dangerous rebel leader.

Sir Hugh Rose issued another glowing address to the army of Central India, and retired to Bombay to recruit his shattered health. Referring to the bravery of every one in the campaign, he remarked in this farewell address: "Not a man in these forces enjoyed his natural strength or health; and an Indian sun, and months of marching and broken rest, had told on the strongest; but the moment they were told to take Gwalior for their Queen and country, they thought of

nothing but victory." The brilliant campaign in which Sir Hugh Rose came into foremost notice, a rival on the roll of fame worthy of Havelock, lasted from the 12th of January 1858 to the 20th of June. His operations, like those of that lamented general in his short campaign, were numerous and uniformly successful. It is to be remembered, however, when the comparative merits of the two distinguished generals are mentioned, that Havelock, from first to last, had immensely smaller forces at his command.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

### THE TURN OF THE TREMENDOUS TIDE.

EARLY in the month of June the authorities at Lucknow learned that a body of rebels, estimated at 17,000 or 18,000 strong, under the command of Gorhuccus Singh, had crossed the river Gogra, and taken up a position at Ramnuggur Dhumaree, in the north-east region of Oude. Sir Hope Grant, who was chief military commissioner of the province, set out himself to look for this troublesome crowd. Leaving Lucknow a little before midnight on the 12th, he arrived near Nawabgunje, where 16,000 rebels had assembled, having several guns. By daylight next day he crossed a ford protected

by horse-artillery and a battery, and approaching nearer the town, got into the jungle district. The rebels attempted to surround Grant's force, and began to pick off his men by repeated volleys of musketry. But the general sent a troop of horse-artillery to the front, Johnson's battery and two squadrons of horse defended the left, while a larger body of cavalry engaged on the right with the rebels who were attempting to capture Sir Hope Grant's baggage. On this occasion the insurgents were unmistakable fanatics. Their boldness put General Grant's sagacity to a severe test. A fierce struggle

ensued; there was great slaughter of the rebels, followed by a complete victory. Nearly 600 of the enemy were slain, and the wounded were proportionately more numerous; while the list of killed and wounded on the British side numbered about 100.

It was not a decisive victory, however, for the main body of the rebels escaped, as very usually happened in these struggles. Most of them in this case were Ghazees or Mohammedan fanatics, and these were far more difficult to deal with than mutinous sepoys. Two of them in the midst of a shower of grape brought forward each a green standard which they planted in the ground beside the guns, and rallied their men. The Begum of Oude was supposed to be with them.

On the 15th of June the energetic Moulvie of Fyzabad, Ahmedullah Shah, made his last appearance before men. After being driven from place to place by various columns and detachments of the British, this ubiquitous leader arrived at Powayne, about sixteen miles north-east of Shahjehanpore, with a considerable body of horse and some guns. Juggernath Singh, the Rajah of Powayne, had merited the vengeance of the Moulvie by sheltering two native servants of the East India Company, and was now to be punished for this unlooked-for display of generosity. A skirmish began, which lasted three hours, and during which the Moulvie was brought down

by a shot. His head was at once severed from his body, and head and trunk were sent by the rajah to Mr Gilbert Money, the commissioner at Shahjehanpore. Mr Money had several reasons for not showing any gush of gratitude for the gory gift. He was glad enough, and so was every individual loyal to British interests glad, that this formidable enemy would work no more of his ponderous mischief; but then the Rajah of Powayne was by no means an unquestionably clean-handed person. He had long been an object of suspicion, on account of his unfeeling conduct towards some unhappy fugitives in one of the early stages of the mutiny—a fact which rendered his sheltering of the two native servants of the Company an unlooked-for display of generosity. Besides, the British cause was now obviously on the winning side; and was this alacrity in forwarding a bleeding head and trunk not a treacherous coward's acknowledgment of that undeniable fact? Further, a large reward had been offered by the Government for the capture of the Moulvie. All things taken into account, some of the British authorities began to question whether this reward should be paid for the severed head and trunk. Was it not meant to be paid only for the living man? These questions were all waived, however, and the reward was paid to the Rajah of Powayne.

The corps of volunteer cavalry, which had enlisted under Havelock, continued in existence upto about this time. It was clear evidence that the authorities considered that the pacification of Oude was progressing satisfactorily, that the Governor-General now felt he could afford to disband the officers and gentlemen who almost wholly composed that crack regiment, which had rendered such eminent services at a time when European troops, from their extreme rarity, were valued as doubly precious. In a notification issued at Calcutta, Viscount Canning, after mentioning some of the arrangements connected with the disbanding, spoke of the services of the corps as follows: "The volunteer cavalry took a prominent part in all the successes which marked the advance of the late Major-General Sir Henry Havelock from Allahabad to Lucknow; and on every occasion of its employment against the rebels—whether on the advance to Lucknow, or as part of the force with which Major-General Sir James Outram held Alum Bagh—this corps has greatly distinguished itself by its gallantry in action, and by its fortitude and endurance under great exposure and fatigue. The Governor-General offers to Major Barrow, who ably commanded the volunteer cavalry, and boldly led them in all the operations in which they were engaged, his most cordial acknowledgments for his very

valuable services; and to Captain Lynch, and all the officers and men who composed this corps, his lordship tenders his best thanks for the eminent good conduct and exemplary courage which they displayed during the whole time that the corps was embodied."

Sir James Outram on the same occasion wrote one of his hearty manly letters, and he had special means of observing and appreciating the exertions of the volunteer cavalry, every man of which must have been gratified when the following warm and genial epistle was read:

"My dear Barrow,—We are about to separate, perhaps for ever; but, believe me, I shall ever retain you in affectionate remembrance, and ever speak with that intense admiration which I feel for the glorious volunteers whom you have commanded with such distinction. It would afford me great pleasure to shake every one of them by the hand, and tell them how warmly I feel towards them. But this is impossible; my pressing duties will not allow me even to write a few farewell lines to each of your officers; but I trust to your communicating to them individually my affectionate adieu and sincerest wishes for their prosperity. May God bless you and them."

This disbandment was a visible evidence that that storm was

beginning to calm, but there were still the dying gusts to breast.

Viscount Canning was still at Allahabad, and Sir Colin Campbell had returned to Futtehghur after his participation in the reconquest and pacification of Rohilcund. It was desirable in the highest degree that the Governor-General and the commander-in-chief should confer personally on the military arrangements that were necessary in the altered situation of affairs. For now that the tide had decidedly turned, masterly circumspection was necessary for the avoidance of disastrous inundations. But the British forces were so scattered that during the first week of June no soldiers could be spared to escort their commander-in-chief from Futtehghur to Allahabad. The rebels were always well informed regarding important movements of their British masters; and they would have hazarded a great deal to capture such a prize as the commander-in-chief. Sir Colin had pluck enough for anything dictated by reason, but prudence and every political consideration forbade his travelling through the Doab without an escort.

At Futtehghur he caused a search to be made in the bazaars of the town, and also at Furruckabad, for sulphur, with the view of seizing it for the Government. The rebels still possessed many guns; there was plenty of iron for making cannon-balls;

there was also the charcoal and saltpetre necessary for the manufacture of gunpowder, but sulphur was an imported article in India, and without it powder could not be made. It was desirable, therefore, to secure it so as to render the fire-arms of the rebels useless. It was known also that percussion-caps were becoming scarce among them, from the fact that the less effective matchlock was now commonly in use.

A circumstance occurred in Sind during the month of June well worthy of being remembered, as showing the significance of one class of the difficulties which the governing authorities had to contend with during the mutiny, and even while it was being suppressed. It showed one of the possible inundations which had to be carefully provided against during the reflux of the great tide.

Mr Frere and General Jacob, as respectively the civil and the military commissioners of that country, had acted with such prudence and energy as kept it well in subjection to the British authorities. But it happened during the month that Mr Frere had to steer a course between the dangers arising from the pugnacity of a fanatical Mohammedan and a zealous Christian missionary, which put his wisdom to a trying test. The Mohammedan, a man of respectable character, came to him while he was at Hyderabad, and complained of an inscrip-



tion exhibited on the inner wall of an open-fronted shop belonging to the Christian mission. The inscription was made up of two quotations from the Koran, and an argument to disprove the divine authority of Mahomet himself, drawn from the Koran. It was written in the Sindhi and Arabic languages by the Rev. Mr Matchett, and the Rev. Mr Gell had it hung up conspicuously in the mission shop where Bibles were for sale or distribution. The complainant, whose name was Gholam Ali, had lately returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca, and he stated to Mr Frere that the inscription was offensive, and was felt to be very irritating by his co-religionists, the more so when it was visible to all passers in the main bazaar of the city. Mr Frere read it, and ordered it to be removed. He knew the delicate nature of this order, as will be seen in the following explanation of his conduct, which he forwarded to Lord Elphinstone at Bombay. "I am willing to be judged," he wrote, "by any one who has any acquaintance with the ordinary feelings of a bigoted

Mohammedan population as to the probable effect of such a placard on them. I feel confident that any such unprejudiced person would agree with me that there was much danger of its causing an outbreak of fanatical violence; and holding that opinion, I cannot think that I should have been justified in allowing it to remain. It is quite possible it might never have caused any breach of the peace, but I do not think the present a time to try any unnecessary experiments as to how much a fanatical native population will or will not bear in the way of provocation."

Mr Frere explained to Mr Gell, while requesting him to remove the inscription, that however well meant, it might produce more harm than good. He averted a possible outbreak of Mohammedan zeal, but he provoked a violent outcry against himself by the missionaries and their supporters, who appealed against his decision to the Government of Bombay, and in their narrative charged him with insulting Christianity and encouraging Mohammedanism. But the affair took no further shape.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

THERE was a gradual process of pacification during the autumn of 1858.

One agreeable circumstance occurred about the beginning of this period—the return to Cal-

cutta of the lamented Captain Peel's Naval Brigade in the ripe blossom of the renown they had acquired by their pluck, success, and excellent behaviour in all respects. The heroic Peel had been a universal favourite, and the brigade was a reflex of himself. When they returned down the Ganges to Calcutta the residents of that city gave them a splendid public reception and a grand dinner, at which, among other distinguished guests, Sir James Outram was present. He, in his own graceful and complimentary way, told the assembly appropriately of his own experience in connection with the services of the brigade at Lucknow in the memorable days of the previous winter. Addressing the brigade, he said : " Almost the first white faces I saw, when the lamented Havelock and I rushed out of our prison to greet Sir Colin at the head of our deliverers, were the hearty, jolly, smiling faces of some of you Shannon men, who were pounding away with two big guns at the palace ; and I then, for the first time in my life, had the opportunity of seeing and admiring the coolness of British sailors under fire. There you were, working in the open plains, without cover, or screen, or rampart of any kind, your guns within musket range of the enemy, as coolly as if you were practising at the Woolwich target. And that it was a hot fire you were exposed to was proved by three of the small

staff that accompanied us being knocked over by musket balls in passing to the rear of those guns, consequently farther from the enemy than yourselves."

The province of Bengal was, during the autumn, exempt from actual mutiny ; regular government was maintained, and peaceful industry returned to its regular channels very little disturbed by mutineers or rebels.

As to Behar, situated between Bengal and Oude, Sir Edward Lugard having resigned his command on account of shattered health, Brigadier Douglas succeeded him. He had a good deal to do in the way of dealing in detail with troublesome chieftains and stray bodies of rebels. Captain Rattray, with his Sikhs, had been left at Jugdispore, whence he made frequent excursions to dislodge small bodies of rebels, and to chastise rebellious leaders. On the 17th of July he had an affair of this latter sort on hand, which he describes in the following pithy telegram to Allahabad : " Sangram Singh," he telegraphed, " having committed some murders in the neighbourhood of Rotas, and the road being completely closed by him, I sent out a party of eight picked men from my regiment, with orders to kill or bring in Sangram Singh. This party succeeded most signally. They disguised themselves as mutinous sepoy, brought in Sangram Singh last night, and killed his

brother, his sons, nephew, and grandsons, amounting in all to nine persons—bringing in their heads. At this capture all the people of the south of the district are much rejoiced. The hills for the present are clear of rebels."

In the province of Oude, Mr Montgomery, the chief commissioner, was feeling his way gradually towards a re-establishment of the power of the British. General Hope Grant was his military coadjutor.

On the 15th of July the general left Lucknow for Fyzabad to chastise a large body of rebels who were setting up the authority of the begum in that city. It was thought also that he might on the way relieve Maun Singh, a powerful landowner, or thalookdar, who was besieged in his fort at Shahgunje by several thousand rebels. Maun Singh was a cunning time-server, whose conduct had aroused the suspicion of the British authorities on many former occasions; but it was desirable to secure his friendship, otherwise his hostility was certain, for he was too powerful a thalookdar to be allowed to remain neutral. Besides, the rebels just then assailing his fort had been aroused to this display of enmity by his refusal to act openly against the British. He had applied to Mr Montgomery for aid, and the conclusion come to, all things considered, was that aid might as well be granted.

The principal rebel leaders

about the middle of the month, were the Begum of Oude and her favourite Mummoo Khan, and six or seven besides, more than the half of whom were with the begum at Chowka-Ghât beyond the Gogra. Nana Sahib was, as usual, hiding somewhere—the British authorities could not learn where. It was supposed that he was near the northern frontier of Oude; and it was believed that both he and the begum were aware that their funds had begun to run short; and without funds it was vain to hope that they could keep their forces together.

The advance of General Hope Grant towards Fyzabad alarmed the army which was besieging Maun Singh. It broke up and took to flight, showing how little cohesion there remained amongst them, for their numbers were ten times as large as those of the advancing British.

On the 29th the general entered Fyzabad, and, hearing that a large body of rebels were escaping across the Gogra, a mile or two farther up the river, he pushed on with his cavalry and horse-artillery, but was only in time to send a few round shot into their rear. Grant's undisputed occupation of Fyzabad exercised a great influence in the way of pacifying the province, notwithstanding the escape of the rebels. Fyzabad was a powerful centre of Mohammedan influence; and it was very near the ancient but

decayed city of Ayodha, or Oude, one of the most sacred of the Hindoo cities.

At this time Hurdeo Buksh, a powerful zemindar of Oude, organised a small force of his retainers, which, with two guns, he employed in fighting against some of his neighbours who were hostile to the British interests. Instances of such conduct began to increase gradually, and they were the most effective agencies for producing a gradual pacification of Oude.

Mr Cavanagh, whose plucky adventure in making his way to Sir Colin Campbell's camp from Lucknow will be remembered, turns up again in the district of Oude, between Lucknow and the Rohilcund frontier. He had been appointed chief civil commissioner of the Muhiabad district, and he arranged with Captain Dawson and Lieutenant French to defend his district as well as could be done with the aid of a few native police and troopers. On the 30th of July a body of 1500 rebels attacked a small out-station, which was defended by only about seventy men, who held out gallantly till Cavanagh and French arrived. One bold charge put the 1500 rebels to flight, and the district was soon pacified. Mr Cavanagh won over a good many of the zemindars more by tact than by force of arms. He threatened them with punishments which it is doubtful if he could have carried out, if they assisted the rebels; promised to help them

if the others molested them, and by such means induced them to combine for the maintenance of 400 matchlockmen, at their own expense, in the British cause.

After the capture of Gwalior by Sir Hugh Rose, the rebels made a hasty flight in a north-westerly direction across the river Chumbul into Rajpootana, where a victory was gained over them by General Napier, who was immediately sent after them by Sir Hugh. After that, it seems, they separated into two or three sections, the most important of which was headed by Tantea Topee and Rao Sahib. They comprised some of the best of the mutinied troops, and had in their possession that large amount of Scindia's property which has already been referred to. To these General Roberts devoted his especial and watchful attention. His Rajpootana field force was, however, by no means a large one, as detachments had been separated from it for service in various quarters.

The rebels he meant to hunt down made their appearance at a point more than 100 miles north-west of Gwalior, threatening Jeypore. Roberts was at Nusserabad, and he at once marched to check them. He reached Jeypore on the 2d of July, and there learned that they amounted to 10,000 men. Tantea Topee had Scindia's crown jewels with him, estimated at £1,000,000 sterling, and the

treasure, which was £2,000,000 in value. Being mostly in silver, the latter was of enormous weight; and Tanteea had been trying to get it exchanged for gold. The rate he had offered was silver valued at 50 shillings for a gold mohur, worth only 30 shillings—a discount of two-fifths, terms which would have tempted most money-changers in reasonably peaceful times.

After many minor encounters, and endless marching and counter-marching, it seemed that the only route the rebels seemed to give themselves was to march wherever they might capture a stronghold which would serve as a citadel; while Roberts was severely put to it, endeavouring to intercept them in their progress.

On the 9th of July they took possession of Tonk, a town nearly due east of Nusserabad, and about a third of the distance between that station and Gwalior. They plundered the town, captured three brass guns and a quantity of ammunition, besieging the Nawab in a neighbouring fort. Hearing of this, General Roberts sent on Major Holmes with a detachment, and the enemy took a hasty departure when they became aware of this fact. Roberts was disappointed at not being allowed to come up with them at Tonk. Sending all his sick and wounded on the 1st of August to Nusserabad, he continued the pursuit, Holmes still in advance

of him, towards the south as rapidly as the swampy condition of the fields and roads would allow him.

It was considered so important to catch these Gwalior mutineers that the Bombay Government, which had control of the operations in Rajpootana, sent out small expeditionary forces from several places, as probable opportunities seemed to offer themselves for the interception of the mutineers.

It was fortunate that, by this time, the Government could rely on the fidelity of many of the native rajahs, whose junction with the rebels would have complicated the state of affairs terribly. Tanteea Topee sounded successively the Rajahs of Jeypore, Kotah, and Ulwar, all of them native princes of Rajpootana; but they all refused to give him countenance. This caused the rebel leader to make strangely circuitous marches from one rajah's state to that of another; but wherever the rebels went, General Roberts followed them; and he came up with a body of them near Sun-ganeer, where they occupied a line on the opposite side of the river Rotasery. Roberts was again disappointed of his prize, for no sooner had he routed them, which was done speedily, than the rebels fled with such speed that he had no means of overtaking them.

At length, however, on the 14th of August, having been strengthened by the return of

Major Holmes and his detachment, General Roberts overtook them at Kattara, a village near the Nathdwara hills. They had taken up an excellent position on a line of these rocky eminences, on the crest of which they planted four guns, and worked them like skilled artillerymen. Roberts, advancing through a defile, caused his horse-artillery to beat off the enemy till he got his infantry formed into line. Making a rush up the hill-side, the infantry saw that the rebels were labouring to carry away two guns with a small escort. A volley soon put them to flight, leaving the guns behind them. The rebels escaped in different directions, and their camp, covered with arms and accoutrements, fell into the hands of the victors. The cavalry and horse-artillery followed the fugitives for ten miles, cutting them down in great numbers. All the guns which they had brought from Tonk, four elephants, a number of camels, and a large supply of ammunition, were captured; and the loss of the British was surprisingly small. General Roberts, however, did not succeed in capturing the treasure which Tanteea Topee was known to carry about with him. It was borne on the backs of elephants, and so well were those elephants guarded, both during battle and in flight, that the British never succeeded in capturing them.

After the victory at Kattara,

General Roberts left the pursuit of Tanteea Topee for a time to Brigadier Parkes, who started from Neemuch on the 11th with a miscellaneous force, including, among others, the 72d Highlanders; but the rebel leader, by amazing quickness of movement, still kept eluding his pursuers. He crossed the Chumbul near Sagoodar on the 20th, and arrived at Julra Pateen, a town on the main road from Agra to Indore, which he plundered of some treasure and many guns. He was now in another territory, and General Michel, with the Malwah field force, started from Mhow in pursuit of him. At Rajgurh he was joined by Man Singh, another rebel, who had in the meantime raised his standard in Scindia's territory, and been driven out of it. There was something like a race between Tanteea Topee and General Michel, which would reach Beora first. This was a station on the Bhopal and Seronj road, which would give the holder a powerful command over the whole district, especially as it was one of the stations by which telegraphic communication was kept up between Calcutta and Bombay. The British general came up with the rebel leader on the 15th of September, before he reached Beora. It was not Tanteea Topee's policy to engage in an open field-fight. There was a running series of skirmishes; but when he saw that defeat was imminent, he

thought more of his elephants loaded with treasure than his guns; and abandoning the latter, he escaped with Scindia's enormously valuable property again, having lost in this running scramble 300 men, twenty-

seven guns, a train of draught bullocks, and a large quantity of ammunition. This spoil General Michel took possession of, his loss having been only one man killed and three wounded.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### THE END.

THE military operations carried on by the British authorities had at length been reduced to the breaking up of desperate bands of lawless marauders, and hunting down their leaders. During the months of October and November the disturbances were pretty well limited to two regions—Oude, with portions of the neighbouring provinces of Rohilcund and Behar; and Malwah, with portions of Bundelcund, and the Nerbudda provinces.

In the former region the moving and guiding spirit was the begum. This princess and the Ranee of Jhansi are worthy to be ranked—and indeed may, perhaps, be in the traditions of distant ages of the future in their country—with Boadicea, the ancient British queen, especially in her ruthless, relentless, and at the same time hopeless, aspiration to see the foreign intruders on her native soil annihilated. There are no such

cruelties on record against the begum as there are against the Ranee; and she was therefore regarded, even by those who were hunting her down as determinedly as she plotted for their destruction, with a certain meed of respect. A gallant soldier always entertains this feeling towards a "foeman worthy of his steel;" how much more so towards a patriotic princess?

It was rumoured in the British camps at the time, that the begum, exasperated at the defeat to which the troops led by her generals were uniformly exposed, sent to each of these worthies a pair of women's ankle ornaments, called bangles, jeeringly requesting them to wear these trinkets, since they could not vanquish the Feringhees, and drive them from the land. These, it was said, had the effect of arousing some of her officers to ineffectual attempts to respect her wishes, but how utterly fu-

tile these efforts proved was seen in the result of her heroic struggles.

If the begum lost battles, it was not because she was afraid to carry on open warfare. Very different was the conduct of the despicable miscreant, Nana Sahib. He was afraid to expose his wretched life to the risks of such an ordeal. Hiding in jungles, he endeavoured to keep his contemptible existence a secret from the British. And he has done so ever since, notwithstanding the untold reduplications of Argus, which have been on the look-out for him ever since. If any considerable number of Indians have known anything about him for the last period of nearly two decades, they have been faithful to him in a degree for which Occidentals do not usually give Orientals credit, and they deserve almost some of the kind of praise which has been bestowed on the trusty Highlandmen who knew the hidings of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, and braved death and danger rather than betray him. It was thought, in the year 1875, that the skulking Nana had been unearthed at last, but he was not.

There were no extensive military operations in Oude during the month of October. Sir Colin Campbell was, however, as vigilant as ever. He was waiting for the cessation of the autumnal rains, and collecting several columns, with the view of hemming in the rebels. That

they would soon be ultimately crushed, there was now no room to doubt. There were few of the skilled sepoy of the Bengal mutinied regiments left among them. The stern arbitrament of war and privations innumerable had removed most of them from the scenes of cruel strife which they had inaugurated. Their places were now filled by a rabble of undisciplined ruffians, who, eager enough for lawlessness and loot, were pigmies on the field of battle.

Sir Colin began personally to carry out his well-conceived plan of operations in November. He would compel the rebels to fight or to flee out of the province of Oude. If they accepted the former alternative, the result was not doubtful. If they fled, it would not be by the Ganges, nor into Rohilcund in the one direction, nor into Behar in the other. The only outlet for them left open was over the frontier of Nepaul, where they might hide as long as they were allowed, but where they would no longer be of any military account as rebels.

At the dead of night between the 1st and 2d of November, the resolute commander-in-chief left Allahabad, with carefully selected troops, crossed the Ganges, and once more entered the province of Oude. The first thing he did was to issue a proclamation in which the character of the man—sternly tender and mercifully inflexible—was unmistakably reflected. It read thus:



"The commander in-chief proclaims to the people of Oude that, under the order of the Right Hon. the Governor-General, he comes to enforce the law. In order to effect this without danger to life and property, resistance must cease on the part of the people.

"The most exact discipline will be preserved in the camps and on the march; and when there is no resistance, houses and crops will be spared, and no plundering allowed in the towns and villages. But wherever there is resistance, or even a single shot fired against the troops, the inhabitants must expect to incur the fate they have brought upon themselves. Their houses will be plundered, and their villages burned.

"This proclamation includes all ranks of people, from the thalookdars to the poorest ryots. The commander-in-chief invites all the well-disposed to remain in their towns and villages, where they will be sure of his protection against all violence."

Mr Montgomery, the chief-commissioner of Oude, had a few days earlier issued a proclamation for the disarming of all persons of all ranks, threatening every individual who should disobey, with fine and imprisonment. The Queen's proclamation also was read at the same time at every station, large or small, in British India. This emanation of royal clemency will be referred to immediately.

It was hoped, and with good reason, as the result proved, that these three proclamations would conduce to the pacification which would be as beneficial to the troubled province as it was earnestly desired by those who had the power to effect it by the strongest arm of the law—the army.

While Sir Colin Campbell advanced towards the centre of Oude by Pertabghur, a column was approaching from Seetapore, Hope Grant from Salone, and General Rowcroft from Fyzabad. The begum and her supporters were thus so hemmed in, that they began to bethink themselves of surrender in terms of the proclamation of Queen Victoria, now the Empress of India.

One of the first to surrender was the Rajah Lall Madhoo Singh, a chieftain of great influence, who could not be charged with having stained his hands in any deeds of cruelty.

Ummer Singh, and his confederates also in the Jugdispore district, began to see that their position had become desperate. Sir H. Havelock, son of the deceased general, and Colonel Turner, pressed upon them so closely that they could not fail to see that their final discomfiture was certain. The gracious proclamation of the empress was an open refuge to them also if they chose to avail themselves of it. Indeed, their case had been rendered peculiarly hopeless by the annihilation of one

of the refuges which they had known well how to turn to account at need. The Jugdispore jungle, twenty-three miles in length and four miles broad, was cut down—an effective display of offensive and defensive military tactics which was begun in November by Messrs Burn, railway contractors. Oude was entirely reduced to subjection to the British in the beginning of the year 1859.

In the Malwah region General Michel inflicted a severe defeat on Tantea Topee at Sindwah on the 19th of October; and another on the 23d of the same month near Multhone. In this latter encounter the British general literally cut the fugitive rebel leader's army in two; and it is considered probable that if he had pursued the larger section of it instead of the smaller, as he did, Tantea Topee might have been captured earlier than he was. After this that remarkable man was hunted like a beast of prey. His enemies gave him no rest. During November he made some extraordinary marches in the country immediately to the south of the river Nerbudda. He was known to have lost nearly all his guns and military stores; and his followers, though loaded with encumbering wealth of silver, were footsore and desponding. His companion leaders then began to think of the Queen's proclamation; and the Nawab of Banda, the most influential among them, was the

first to seek General Michel with the view of availing himself of the deliverance it afforded. Tantea Topee was subsequently taken, tried by court-martial, and hanged.

As in all great conflagrations, there was much stamping-out required at the close of the Indian mutiny, after the flames at the principal centres had been brought under control. Robber bands survived the guerrilla warfare which set in after regular military organisation by the rebels had been rendered impossible. But the story of the mutiny rounds off into an effective close in November—almost as effective as if the muse of history had turned fictionist for the occasion. Minor results of the tale of horrors were indeed visible to a later date; but in that month a change in the government of India was proclaimed throughout the length and breadth of the empire; the British army had become so largely augmented in the country, as to render the prospects of the mutineers hopeless; the rebel leaders had begun to tender their submission under terms of the royal proclamation; the skilled mutinous sepoys had been, to a large extent, removed from the scenes of strife by battle and privation; the military operations had become little more than the chasing of lawless marauders; and the armed men still at large were mostly dupes of designing leaders, or rather ruffians whose watchwords were

pay and plunder, rather than patriotism and nationality.

The event which rounds off the story of the Indian mutiny was one of the most significant occurrences in history. It was the demise of the great East India Company. That mutiny was the end of many things. When reading or recording—to take only one example, but it is one fraught with many materials for reflection—the trial of the King of Delhi, and the sentence passed on the senile felon, it is next to impossible to help feeling that the judge on the occasion was the last representative of the East India Company; and that he was condemning the last great Mogul, and heir of the house of Timour the Tartar—of Tamerlane the magnificent—to be transported across the seas.

The bill in the British Parliament which decreed the cessation of the functions of the mightiest and most extraordinary commercial power the world has ever seen, received the royal assent, and became an Act of Parliament on August 2, 1858. The last special general court of the Company was held in London on the 1st of September; and the immediate purpose of it was to grant a pension to Sir John Lawrence. This was done, and was followed by an earnest tender of thanks by the East India Company generally, to its servants of every rank and capacity, at home and in India. It had been provided by a clause

in the Act that the court of directors should elect seven members to the new council of India. They did so; and the Government nominated eight—the greatest name in the latter list being that of Sir John Laird Muir Lawrence, who was expected to return to England, and for whom a place at the council board was kept vacant.

The 1st of November 1858 was a day to be remembered in India. On that day it was made known throughout the length and breadth of the empire that the governing power of the country had been transferred from the East India Company to Queen Victoria. On that day a royal proclamation was issued, which has been regarded by many as the Magna Charta of native liberty in India. This proclamation was read, with all the accompaniments of ceremonial splendour that were conceived necessary to give dignity and force to it in the eyes of the natives, at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Kurachee, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Nagpoor, Mysore, Rangoon, and other great cities; as well as at every British station, large or small, where it was read to the accompaniment of such military honours as the place could afford. The proclamation was translated into most of the languages and many of the dialects of India. In whatever tongue, it was printed in tens of thousands, and distributed wherever natives were wont to congregate most.

It came upon the stage of affairs as a grand and, as it proved, a startling effect. A new thing had happened under the sun, and interest in the mutiny paled before it. It was the wonder and the talk of the village, the bazaar, the temple, the bungalow, the exchange, the barracks, and the palace. Its purport was this: Queen Victoria is now Empress of India! There was something in this the natives could understand. They never had understood the relations borne by the Company to the crown and nation of England. As has been said, "They were familiar with some such name as 'Koompanee;' but whether this Koompanee was a king, a queen, a viceroy, a minister, a council, a parliament, was a question left in a state of doubt."

The shape it took to their minds was that Queen Victoria was Empress. Whether this corresponded with a rigorous interpretation of the Act of Parliament by which Her Majesty came into this new relationship is not a question of any consequence in reference to the pacification which was thus auspiciously crowned. It had been rendered possible by victories on the field of battle; it became a fact and was blazoned abroad by the proclamation, which added pomp to the power by which the mutineers had been compelled to yield to an extent which only required this sound of the benign voice of mercy to

induce them to yield altogether. The purport of the proclamation was: The Queen being now virtually Empress of India, the Governor-General was her viceroy; the native princes might rely on the observance by Her Majesty of all treaties made with them by the Company; she desired no encroachment on, or annexation of, the territories of those princes; she would not interfere with the religion of the natives, or countenance any favouritism in matters of faith; neither creed nor caste should be a bar to employment in Her Majesty's service; the ancient legal tenures and forms of India would, as far as possible, be adhered to; and all mutineers and rebels, except those whose hands were stained with blood shed in actual murder, were assured of a full and gracious pardon when they laid down their arms.

The spectacle at the reading of the proclamation at Bombay was the most imposing the natives of India had ever witnessed. The ceremony was indeed rendered as similar to it as possible in all the other cities where the proclamation was read. But at Bombay the governor, Lord Elphinstone, and all the chief civilians were present; the military officers and the troops; the clergy of all the various Christian denominations; the merchants, ship-owners, and traders; the Mohammedans, Hindoos, Mahrattas, Parsees—

all were represented in the throng which listened to the proclamation, read first in English and then in Mahratta.

The shouting, the music of military bands, the firing of guns, the waving of flags, the illumination of the city at night, the fireworks in the public squares, the blue lights and manning of ships, the banquets of the wealthy, and the revelry of the people—all the various noises and displays and degrees of endurance by which human nature labours to give utterance to feelings which cannot otherwise be expressed, were produced in Bombay on that memorable day.

Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy outdid all his fellow citizens in the munificence of his rejoicings and the magnificence of his display. Parsees and Christians vied with each other. What is wonderful, Christians themselves were at one. Catholics and Protestants were for one day, in one respect, at least, in harmony. Protestant and Catholic churches, Mohammedan mosques, Hindoo pagodas, and Parsee temples, were alike lighted up on that auspicious night.

At Calcutta the proclamation was received with similar fervour. This is more wonderful than every one will see at a glance. The inhabitants of the Anglo-Indian capital have always been a community very difficult to please. They are like the inhabitants of most capitals

where pens are not clogged and speech gagged. The proclamation, however, had the exceptional good fortune of being approved of by this fastidious population.

The Europeans consented to lay aside minor considerations of mutual hostility to do honour to the great principles involved in the proclamation. The natives here also joined in the demonstrations which fitly accompanied a ceremony of vital importance to nearly a score of millions of their countrymen. At a public meeting held early in the month, an influential doo, Baboo Ramgopal G said, among other things: "If I had power and influence I would proclaim through the length and breadth of the land—from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from the Bramapootra to the Bay of Cambay—that never were the natives more grievously mistaken, than they have been in adopting the notions foisted in them by designing and ambitious men—that their religion was at stake; for this notion I believe to have been at the root of the late rebellion."

These words are an appropriate conclusion to this account of the great mutiny in India, which has been sketched in brief outline in the preceding pages, from the first display of insubordination in the beginning of 1857, to the issue of the royal proclamation in the month of November 1858. The writer,

or rather summariser, has not presumed to offer any reflections similar to those he did not hesitate to express when telling the story of other mutinies in this volume, beyond such reflection as is always implied in the use of epithets. Nor will he now, great as the temptation is. The mutiny overflowed with both the romance and the wretchedness of war; the conduct of the conquerors for bravery was such as will never find its proportionate counterpart in the records of the most expressive language. But the Titanic struggle bristled with grave and solemn things to the conquering race. Let no reader of the story of the Indian Mutiny in larger or in less detail, forget for a moment that there is a point of view from which it is regarded by the relatives and descendants of the mutinous sepoys, and which is the patriotic polestar under from that of the country—of Sir Henry Havelock,

Sir Colin Campbell, Sir Hugh Rose, and their heroic companions. To the natives of India it is perfectly natural that Nana Sahib, the Moulvie of Fyzabad, the Ranee of Jhansi, the Begum of Oude, and all their heroic companions, should appear, not as mutineers, but as patriots and martyrs in the holiest of causes. If the natives of India had a terrible lesson read to them in their crushing defeat, not less impressive was the lesson—written in the blood of innocent children, helpless women, and the bravest of soldiers—which was unfolded to the eyes, understandings, and hearts of their conquerors. It would well become them now to bear themselves towards the subject-people more than they have in the past, in the spirit of doing as they would be done by: a spirit which was not, and is not, universally characteristic of the conduct of Englishmen in the East.

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